

COBBETT'S

POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOLUME LXXXVII.

FROM JANUARY 3, TO MARCH 28, 1835,

INCLUSIVE.

LONDON:

**PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHOR,
11, BOLT COURT, FLEET STREET.**

1835.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

VOLUME 871

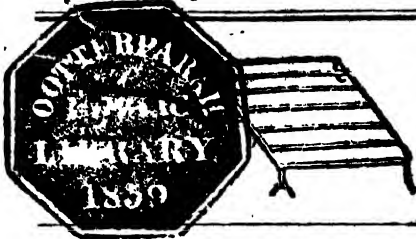
- No. 1. To the Editor of the Standard.—To E. L. Bulwer, Esq., M.P.—To Mr. Grey, Chichester.—Spies and Poor-law Bill.—Sir Robert Peel's Speech.—Richmond v. Marshall.
- No. 2. Oldham Election.—Manchester Address.—To the just and sensible People of Manchester.—Mr. Wakley.—Mr. J. M. Cobbett.—To the Editor of the True Sun.—To Mr. Hume.—Manchester Election.
- No. 3. The Elections in Lancashire.—To the Editor of the True Sun.—Poor-law Bill.—Elections.—Monstrous Abuses in the Navy.—Police Work.—Manchester Radicals.—Middlesex Election.—Stopping the Supplies.—To Sir Robert Peel.—Judge Taunton.—Legacy to Labourers.—President's Message.
- No. 4. Letter I. to Sir Robert Peel.—Rathcormac Murders.—Assassination.—War by America against France.—Birmingham Election.
- No. 5. To Correspondents.—Letter II. to Sir Robert Peel.—To the Editor of the Standard.—Bribery and Corruption; Fall of Judas.—Penenden Heath Petition.
- No. 6. Letter III. to Sir Robert Peel.—To the Editor of the Standard.—To Sir J. Graham, Bart.—Choosing a Speaker.—Infanticide.—"His Lion."—Elections for Surrey.—Legacy to Labourers.—American Paper-Money War.
- No. 7. To Correspondents.—Letter IV. to Sir Robert Peel.—To the Friends of the True Sun.—Church Property.—Surrey Election.—Members of the True Sun.
- No. 8. Letter V. to Sir Robert Peel.—Irish Anti-Tory Association.—To E. Dwyer, Esq.—To the Readers of the Register.—Toryism.—Ireland.—People of Oldham; Lord Egerton's Visit to Oldham.—Church Reform Commission.—Meeting of Weavers' Delegates.—The Speakership.
- No. 9. Letter VI. to Sir Robert Peel.—To Dr. Black.—Education.—The Fires; To Mr. Richard Else.—The Speakership.—The Parliament.—The King's Speech.—Petitions from Lancashire.—Notices of Motions.—Address to his Majesty.—The Poor-law and the Debt.
- No. 10. Proceedings in the House of Commons.—Stopping the Supplies.—Ministerial Explanations.—State of Agriculture.—Speeches on Malt-tax.—Distressing Case.—Legacy to Parsons.
- No. 11. Malt-tax.—Perfidious Whigs and Stupid Lumber Troop.—To the People of Oldham and of Manchester.—The Church; Letter of James H. Griffen: Answer.—Curious Dilemma.—Perfidious Whigs.—Last Shift.—Repeal of the Malt-tax.
- No. 12. Malt-Tax kept upon the backs of the people by the Whigs.—To Sir Robert Peel.—Malt-tax Division.—Legacy to Parsons.—Wanted, by a Bolton Weaver.—Pledge-breakers.—Londonderry.
- No. 13. Church Commission.—Wrangling Factions: Alleged Breach of Privilege; the Chancellor of the Exchequer; Oration; a Committee about Orations.—Irish Church Property.—Pensions.—Amendments of the Reform Bill.—National Debt.—Londonderry.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER

Vol. 87.—No. 1.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, JANUARY 3RD, 1835.

[Price 1d. 2d.]



TO THE
EDITOR OF THE STANDARD.

Wolsley Hall, 30. Dec., 1834.

SIR,

It was my intention to address, this week, a second letter to Sir ROBERT PEEL, containing some remarks on his speech at the Mansion-house; but, in an article which I find in your paper of yesterday, you speak out so much more plainly, and so much more ably, that I prefer the addressing of myself to you; and I shall, with great respect for your talents, and with giving you full credit for the goodness of your motives, at once proceed to offer you the observations, which occur to me, as necessary for me to make and to publish on that article; taking care, when I have so done, to insert the article itself.

The article was, it appears, drawn from your able pen by my having expressed my *wonder*, that you, who had spoken of the Whigs as a faction *down, never to rise again*, should have begun to be *frightened*, and to think *their return to power a possible thing*; and, further, by my asking, what would be *worse* than that which we have now to endure could befall us, even if the Whigs were to return to power. The contents of your article may be shortly expressed in the following propositions, which when I have stated them, I will observe on, one by one.

1. That, twelve days ago, you were frightened; and that you still feel some, though not so much, alarm, at a possible restoration of the Whigs; but that in both cases the alarm has arisen less from the

imminency of the danger, than from its tremendous magnitude.

2. That the Radicals have talent, energy, and singleness of purpose; and are bold, peremptory, and fanatically bent on revolution.
 3. That the Whigs must, if they return to power, carry into full effect the wishes of the Radicals, and make all the dreadful changes which they propose.
 4. That one item of these changes is the canceling of the public debt.
 5. That to cancel the public debt (which might be either cause or effect of the triumph of the Radicals) must produce indiscriminate confusion, and mutual slaughter.
 6. That a failure of a *speculation in pepper* was the *most feasible* cause of the panic of 1825.
 7. That such an event would inflict as great sufferings upon the poor as upon the rich, or greater; because industry is protected by the security of property; and every poor man ought to know, that he would lose even the fruit of his labour, if the property of the rich and the great were destroyed.
 8. That though absolute chaos did not then come, many thousands of families would sink into almost a want of bread and cheese and of food coarse enough to suit the regimen prescribed by the MARTINEAU school of politicians.
- I should observe that the article which called forth my remarks, was published just after the arrival of Sir ROBERT PEEL, and before the issuing of his *manifesto*; for, if I had seen the manifesto before I wrote the letter to you, I should not have written that letter at all. I now proceed with the propositions.
1. That twelve days ago you were frightened; and that you still feel some, though not so much, alarm, at a possible restoration of the Whigs; but that, in both cases the alarm has arisen less from the im-

minency of the danger, than from its tremendous magnitude.

Oh no! sir! it is the *imminency* that frightens you; and here is the cause of it. You had sense enough to see, that *the people* had not changed at all: that there had been none of that "*re-action*" with which the Tories flattered themselves. You had sense enough to see, that the Whigs were down, because the people had abandoned them; and not because the people had fallen in love with the Tories. You saw that excorations on the Whigs kept hand in hand with suspicions of the Tories. The address from the town of MANCHESTER, which thanked the King for having turned out the Whigs, on those prominent accusations, the *Poor-law Bill*, and the refusal to repeal the *malt-tax*, and which had, by way of rider, an *unanimous vote of censure on the Duke of WELLINGTON*, for having supported the Poor-law Bill, and the red-coat-court-of-justice Bill for Ireland: this address and resolution would have been a sure guide for *you*. You would have said, "We must repeal the Poor-law

Bill and the malt-tax, and adopt a mild course of government, or else our fate will be that of the relapsed "in the Scripture, whose last end was "worse than his first." It was when you entertained the rational expectation, that the Tories would *act thus*, that you were bold and confident; but when you found, after the arrival of Sir ROBERT PEELE, that the Whig system was to be persevered in: when you saw that the Radicals would be compelled, if not to make common cause with the Whigs, yet not to do any thing to weaken their power of combating the Tories; when you found that the line of policy of Sir ROBERT PEELE was going to be such as would decide against the Tories all those who were balancing before; then, *and not till then, you began to be alarmed*; and I saw clearly the ground of your alarm, at the time when I addressed my letter to you.

2. That the Radicals have talent, energy, and singleness of purpose; and are bold, peremptory, and fanatically bent on revolution.

Now, sir, though I hate the name, I am what *you call* a RADICAL; and it will be allowed, I am sure, that I am as formidable to our foes as any one of the whole host. I assert, that, if you mean by *revolution* an overthrow of this ancient and excellent (though horribly abused) form of government; if you mean by revolution an overthrow of the several orders in the state, or any of those orders; if you mean a subversion of the ancient and fundamental laws of the country, under which laws, before they were so greatly perverted, and many of them totally subverted, England was so really free for so many ages; if you mean that I wish for a state of things to arise, when property shall not be held sacred, next after the property in life, limb, and labour; if these, or any of these, be what you mean by "*revolution*"; then your accusation against me, and against all who think with me, is most calumniously unjust; and for proof of the injustice, we have only to appeal to our well-known and well-recorded acts.

From the years 1816 to 1820, ours was a life of persecutions the most savage. *Imprisonment* was the mildest visitation that we had to endure: the dungeons groaned with the effect of our sufferings. Exile and pecuniary ruin, or death in a dungeon, was *any* own lot. The imprisonment, and the ferocious indignities of that inoffensive, brave, and public-spirited gentleman, in whose mansion I now am, are never to be thought of without inexpressible indignation. The mockery at the groans of OGDEN; the death of RILEY, in his dungeon; the massacre of MANCHESTER; the swarms of execrable spies, employed to entrap unthinking men. All these are not to be forgotten; nor are we to forget that PARSON HAY of MANCHESTER, who gave the word of command on that terrible day, received the living of ROCHDALE, worth two thousand pounds a year, immediately after that massacre, he having a great living before. And what was all this for? And why were the dungeon-bill, and power-of-imprisonment bill passed? Because a million and half of us petitioned

the Parliament for a *reform of the Commons' House*; and because we stated that our objects, in wanting this reform, were, that all pensioners, and other persons living out of the taxes, should cease to live out of them, except in consideration of well-known public services; that the interest of the debt should be so reduced as that we might have to pay only according to the amount of the sums borrowed; that the salaries and allowances of all men in public employ should be reduced on the same principle; that the standing army, in time of peace, should be greatly reduced; and, finally, that our burdens should be lightened, particularly by a REPEAL OF THE TAX UPON MALT.

Was there any *crime* in thus petitioning, sir? Yet we were hunted like wild beasts; our situation was little other than that of the wolves, in the reign of that king who put an end to their race. To injure us, to swear falsely against us, formed the straight road of success in life; and, as in the case of the wolves, to destroy or injure us, formed an expiation for crimes, and a white-washing for character. A man, confined on a charge of *burglary*, was taken out of jail, the charge being *withdrawn*, only a fortnight before he was brought to give evidence against Sir CHARLES WOLSELEY; and his evidence was believed in preference to that of two reporters of *even ministerial newspapers*, who produced in court the reports that they had taken on the spot!

Our situation was precisely that of the wolves; and if we had shown, or were now to show, a little vindictive ferocity, the wonder would not be so very great. However, we did not show it; and we never have shown it; and, for my own part, I defy any man to bring forward, from any one of my hundred of volumes, any sentiment hostile to the *ancient laws* and *prescriptive rights* of any order in this community. Therefore, you have no ground for apprehension on this score. We are no *innovators*; but, on the contrary, our war is, and always has been, against *innovations*.

3. That the Whigs must, if they return

to power, carry into full effect, the wishes of the Radicals, and make all the dreadful changes which they propose.

Leaving out the word "dreadful," I believe this is quite right; for, if the Whigs come in again, they must repeal the Poor-law Bill, and the malt-tax; they must remove altogether the hierarchy in Ireland; they must reform the church here in good truth; and I, for my part, will never rest, while there shall remain a Bourbon-police, and while there shall remain one single jot of those *innovations*, in the introducing of which, Sir ROBERT PERL has had the principal hand; and, above all things, they must come to an equitable adjustment of that debt, which is the great cause of all the turmoil; and which cannot much longer co-exist with those orders of the state, to destroy which I have never known, in my whole life, a man (that I call my friend) to express the desire. But, sir, it is a hackneyed affair, to charge people with wishing to overturn the Government, the moment they complain of oppression. Want the malt-tax to be taken off: you are instantly "a *revolutionist* and a rebel." Want Lord WALSHINGHAM not to have three church-livings in Hampshire, and to swallow up the revenues of half-a-dozen other livings in Surrey and Hampshire, leaving the miserable incumbents forty or fifty pounds a year each, and to have their pittance augmented by *taxes raised on the working people*; express a wish to see this, and hundreds of things like this, put to rights; and you are instantly guilty of "*blasphemy* and *sedition*." This insolence we have been compelled to submit to during the greater part of my life; and to this insolence we are resolved no longer to submit.

4. That one item of these changes is the *canceling* of the public debt.

Sir, who has ever called for a *canceling* of the public debt? Nobody; and this misrepresentation is unworthy of a man like you; and it is, above all things, impolitic; especially if you do really believe that the Radicals have so much power as you say they have. We

have never called for a *canceled* of the debt, and we have never called it the *public* debt. What we have called for is this; that, in the first place, the interest of the debt should be reduced upon principles of undeniable equity; and, as my colleague has most amply proved, the fundholders have been overpaid, principal as well as interest, long ago. I here come to a proper place to advert to a passage in the speech of Sir ROBERT PEEL at the Mansion-house; namely, that passage where he speaks of "*respect for property*"; and of people of "*intelligence*" and property being *tired* of the *pressure from without*. Alas, sir! it is he, above all men living, that has caused the pressure from without, and the pressure from within, too. But of this I will speak under another head.

5. That, to cancel the public debt (which might be either cause or effect of the triumph of the Radicals), must produce indiscriminate confusion, and mutual slaughter.
6. That a failure of speculation in pepper was the most feasible cause of the panic of 1825.

Let us stop here to observe, in the first place, as, indeed, I already have observed, that we do not propose a *canceled* of the debt. But, if it were canceled all at once, would the confusion and slaughter be *greater* now than it would have been if it had been canceled in 1826? You know that then the Ministers themselves told us, in the House of Commons, that we had, at one time, been *within eight-and-forty hours of barter*. That you know, sir, is a *canceled* of the debt at once. And, sir, do you think a man an enemy of the country, who wishes to *get rid*, by some means or other, of a thing so dangerous as this? The present most pressing troubles of the Ministry notoriously arise out of measures adopted by President JACKSON. What! and could you endure the thought of upholding a system which exposes this, the greatest of all the kingdoms upon earth, to be thrown into such a state of distress, embarrassment and uproar, by the mere domestic regulations of a foreign prince

or chief magistrate? And yet this must be the case as long as this monster continues to exist in any thing approaching to its present magnitude. Oh, no, sir! when I shall be Prime Minister of England (pray don't laugh), I will "*take order*," that no internal regulations of General JACKSON shall disturb all the mighty pecuniary affairs of this kingdom; shall add a third to the real amount of the interest paid to the fundholder; shall really violate all contracts for time between man and man; shall make bonds, jointures, settlements, legacies, quite other things than those which they were intended to be; shall make the mortgager pay to the mortgagee a third more than he has contracted to pay: I will take care that these things shall not be after I become Prime Minister; and if Sir ROBERT PEEL does not take care of the same sort, and to the same extent, my opinion is that he will not only soon cease to be Prime Minister, but that he will be *the last Prime Minister* that we shall have under this form of things. I was surprised to hear you talk about the "*speculation in pepper*," being the "*most feasible*" cause of the panic of 1825-6! *Pepper*, sir! I could hardly believe my eyes; but really, if you do believe this, and if the Tories believe the same, the bottomless pit is open before them. One night, in the House of Commons, Sir ROBERT PEEL, waving his hand across the table, and looking at the Treasury bench, said: "Between me and office I see "*a great gulf*." It was impossible, of course, not to think of DRVES and LAZARUS, and to substitute the bosom of Lord ALTHORP for that of father ABRAHAM; and, sir, confining ourselves to this side of the grave, better to him would have been the lot of DRVES than to be in his present situation, and entertain the monstrously absurd opinion, that "a failure of a speculation in pepper" was the most feasible cause of the panic of 1825-6!

Why, sir, *I myself caused that panic* to come some months sooner than it would have come; and is it not criminal in a minister not to have known this; and, knowing it, ought he not to be

punished in the most severe manner for attempting to uphold a system that lays a whole kingdom like this open to the danger of being troubled for one single half minute by a private individual, who is worth little more, perhaps, than the clothes upon his back, and the bed that he lies upon? You, sir, have always discovered a virtuous dislike of this system; at least, you have as far as my observation has gone; but it is clear from the "speculation in pepper," that you do not know its history, which, therefore, I will give you the history of the concern since *I took it in hand*.

In 1804, when Mr. PITT was Minister and the debt *four hundred* millions and a little more perhaps, I, in a letter to Mr. PITT, first proved that the paper-money was depreciated; then proved that his sinking fund was a bubble; then besought him to raise the supplies out of a tax on the interest of the debt; then told him, that even *complete triumph in war, would not save the higher orders in England, unless this debt were put an end to in time*. Look into the *Register*, sir, much about thirty years ago, and there you will find this letter; and divers letters to the gaping Richmond-park ADDINGTON, to somewhat the same amount; and you will also find that the profligate SHERIDAN said, in the House of Commons, that the Government ought to *prosecute* me for promulgating those opinions.

In 1806 and 1807, under the title of *FATE OF THE FUNDS*, I was still more elaborately urgent upon this important matter.

In 1814 and 1815, during the agitation of the question of the Corn Bill, *I protested against the Corn Bill*, as a thing of *no use* to the land, and a source of *discontent to the manufacturing part* of the nation; and again showed that the real remedy, and only remedy, and only means of safety to the orders of the state, was a reduction of the interest of the debt.

In 1818, Mr. TIERNEY had urged, in the House of Commons, the passing of a bill like that which was afterwards passed under the name of *PEEL'S BILL*,

I, then in exile to avoid the dungeon, of CASTLEREAGH and SIDMOUTH, addressed a letter to TIERNEY, proving to him, that, if *such a bill were passed*, and persevered in, without tax-reducing measures, England must be *convulsed*, and that the end must be a change, destructive, in all probability of all the orders of the state.

In 1819 (*my opinion* having been *quite sufficient* to make them pass just such a bill as I had said would produce these consequences) *PEEL'S BILL* was passed by an unanimous and joyous vote of both Houses, followed by an interchange of *congratulations* on the subject by the Speaker and Regent; and, upon my receiving the news of it, I instantly declared, that, if ever that bill were carried into *full effect*, I would suffer myself to be broiled on one of CASTLEREAGH'S broadest gridirons, while SIDMOUTH stirred the coals, and while CANNING stood by making a jest of my groans.

In 1822 came out the one-pound notes again, and away went the bill.

In 1823 came the NORFOLK PETITION, praying for an equitable adjustment, in order that the affair might be justly settled, and that the constitution might be saved from destruction.

In 1823, the one-pound notes having produced *prodigious "prosperity"*; that prosperity having been ascribed by the then Mr. ROBINSON (now Lord RYON) to the *wisdom and energy* of an *unreformed* Parliament; and he having described me, amongst others, as a "*wild dreamer*" for wanting to *reform* so *wise* and *efficient* a House: thus provoked, I said, in the *Register* (February 1824): "Now, mind, ignorant and insolent man, I tell you that, *before this day*," "two years, your banks will blow up," "and your prosperity will be blown to the devil." The banks blew up in a year and eight months from that day; but not, Mr. Standard, by the combustible force of a "speculation in pepper"! The gold began to leave the country early in 1825. Its departure became very rapid by the month of May. In June the train of blowing-up had been laid by prosperity ROBINSON very com-

pletely. It wanted only the match, and that match was furnished by Mr. JONES, a zealous Radical of BRISTOL, who went to a banker's to demand gold for forty pounds in the banker's notes. The banker refused payment in gold, and offered him payment in Bank of England notes. Mr. JONES wrote to me. I darted off to BRISTOL; brought back Mr. JONES's petition to the House of Commons, complaining of the matter; sent down a writ at the same time, to arrest the banker for the debt. The petition was presented, though after a great difficulty; out came all the story; and the whole country now learnt, for the first time, that they *had a right to demand gold*, and to refuse Bank of England notes; on came the PANIC, and away went the banks; the "speculation" never having been heard of from the first to the last.

In 1826, when the law under which we are now staggering along, was passed, I petitioned the House of Commons, expressing my thanks to them for having determined to abolish the one-pound notes in England; but beseeching them at the same time, to *reduce the amount of the taxes*; concluding my petition in somewhat these words; "for, your humble petitioner knows, as well as he knows that fire burns, that, if the present law be carried into effect, with the present amount of taxation, this kingdom will have to undergo such trouble and such suffering, as were never before experienced by any country in the world."

I, sir, whose petition upon this occasion, and whose representations and supplications upon all former occasions, had been received by the aristocracy, and especially by the clergy, with affected contempt, and with real deadly hatred, of their author; I, sir, might *laugh* in the midst of these troubles and these sufferings which are now come upon the country; and I will not, especially after the hootings and howlings, and triumphings of the 16. of May, 1833, say that I see them with sorrow; for I really do not; and, I shall now watch to see whether the aristocracy

and clergy, when at their wit's end, will still treat me with opprobrium, instead of listening to my advice; but, for you, sir, who have not these causes of resentment, and this source of satisfaction, it is as well for you to see the thing in the true light; and if you do see it in the true light, you will see that neither Whig nor Tory can proceed much further in an attempt to raise fifty millions of taxes a year, with wheat at five shillings a bushel, without plunging the country into that state of confusion, which you appear so much to dread.

7. That such an event would inflict as great sufferings upon the poor as upon the rich, or greater; because industry is *protected* by the *security of property*; and every poor man ought to know, that he would *lose even the fruit of his labour*, if the property of the rich and the great were destroyed.
8. That, though absolute chaos did not come, in 1825, many thousands of families sunk into almost a want of bread and cheese, and of food coarse enough to suit the regimen prescribed by the Martineau school of politicians.

Mr. STANDARD, how came you to name Mother MARTINEAU! Unless, indeed, you could have told us, at the same time, that the Duke of WELLINGTON and Sir ROBERT PEEL, without whose cordial support, the Mother Martineau bill never could have passed, had had the good sense and the resolution to confess that they were misled into a support of that bill, and that they intended to repeal it? Mother MARTINEAU is a poor gossiping creature, vain of talking nonsense, because it appears to her to be something new, and because it gets her something in the way of pelf at the same time. Her consultations with the *homme de lettres et avocat* were things to laugh at, until moulded into a real downright revolutionary measure, supported by the hero of STRATHFIELDSAY, and the millionaire of TAMWORTH. Then they became serious things: then they became a line of demarcation: then they cried "war to the cottage": then, at

any rate, they decided me, never again, with tongue, or pen, to utter one word more than law compelled me to utter, in support of the aristocracy, or the church. Ah, sir! Here it was, that the Lords and the Tories *missed* it. The people had seen the Whigs pass the bill, in spite of all our strenuous exertions against it: they knew how the people hated it: they knew that they should make sure of the people by rejecting the bill: and yet they supported it: and passed it; and that, too, with the declaration of Lord ALTHORP, that, "he must be a bold man that would bring that bill in again"! When I, seeing that the bill would pass the Commons, exclaimed, "Thank God, we have yet a House of Lords, "and just such a House of Lords as we "now stand in need of"! I cannot say, that I had any thing amounting to a hope, that they would take the hint. At any rate, they despised my warning: and *be the consequence theirs!* If you, sir, could have seen Mr. CÆRWYND, last night, dinned with the indignant reproaches of the electors of STAFFORD, they having accused him of having voted for the Poor-law Bill, and having called upon me (who was present) as a witness to the fact; if Sir ROBERT PEEL could have seen that gentleman, at that moment, never would he expect the "pressure from without" to cease, as long as that bill should remain in existence. It was your most able writings *against that bill*, which first excited my admiration of your talents; aye, and it was your having discovered that the present Ministers meant to enforce it, and to keep on penny-a-line CHADWICK in the business; it was this sad discovery, and another or two of the same cast, that made you *begin to fear that the Whigs would return to power*; aye, and return they will, and they will repeal the bill, I'll warrant them.

You tell us, sir, that the canceling of the debt would produce dreadful ruin; and that even the PANIC reduced thousands of families to the utmost want, though by no means squandering, gambling, or improvident persons. Could it do more in this way than

PEEL's Bill has done? Hundreds of thousands of the most virtuous and frugal families have been brought from competence, and some from opulence, down to the poor-house, by that bill, and by other measures growing out of it, in which measures, also, Sir ROBERT PEEL was a partaker. More than a hundred thousand farmers and their families have been brought down to sheer poverty and servitude, by that bill. The work of confiscation is still silently going on, against farmers, traders, gentlemen; and this is now to be pushed along by the very man who was the first author of it! He will not push it on far, be you well assured, sir. Is nobody to be thought of but the usurers? Is the labourer to be pinched, to keep the usurers up with double pay? Are millions to suffer for years, because *one man will not unsay his blunders*? Oh, no! the people will try the Whigs again: nothing worse can come than a man resolved to push on this system of injustice; this system, too, which constantly keeps the whole frame of the Government in such a state, that it may be totally destroyed in one single half hour. Talk of the "*sacredness of property*," indeed! In a state like that which we are in, there is no such thing as property of any sort, *without money*, an universally acknowledged measure of value. There is no property at all; for as to *barter*, what has the working man to barter but the fruit of his fists, or of his cudgel? Now, then, do you, who are so much in dread of a canceling of the public debt, know that it can be canceled at any moment, by the mere motion, the mere assembling together of fifty thousand men in Kent, in Essex, in Surrey, or in Sussex? Do you not perceive the effect that that would have in London; the effect that it would have upon the *Bank*? And, sir, would not this be a great deal worse than even the canceling of the debt by act of Parliament? And is it not the very first duty of every Minister, and of every Member of Parliament too, to endeavour to render so terrific an effect *impossible*? And *impossible* it never can be rendered, as long as the debt

shall exist to any thing like its present amount.

What! sir; if the King were told, "Here is a thing, may it please your Majesty, existing in your dominions, in consequence of the existence of which, it is *possible*, that your Majesty's throne may be overturned in an hour"; would he not say, "*Put an end*, somehow or other, to the existence of that thing, as quickly as possible"? Well, then, that thing does exist; and it exists, too, remember, in company with the POOR-LAW BILL! Sir Robert Peel talks, and you talk, about the "*intelligence*" of the country, and of a "*reliance*" upon that. Let him rely upon it: let him continue to insinuate that the working people are a senseless rabble, and want to destroy all property; let him rely upon the "*intelligence*." The "*intelligence*" will give him his reward I'll warrant it. He never heard the petitioners for parliamentary reform propose to *bundle out the bishops*, or to *reform the Peers*: that was reserved for the "*intelligence*." While the Tories were struggling for a higher qualification to vote, I, in a letter addressed to the House of Lords, told them, that they had no real friends on earth; no reliance for support except upon the unambitious working people, who, as naturally as the sparks fly upwards, would look upon them as their protectors, and who would protect them against their foes; but that they, in their wisdom, having decided otherwise, must take their chance and keep their coronets and estates as long as they could. Nothing in this world would be more easy than to settle all quietly, and make all safe; but the die now seems to be cast the other way: the Poor-law Bill seems to have been the last throw, and to have been destined to decide the game, and that, too, without the possibility of carrying its own provisions into effect! You take great pains, sir, to represent to us the horrors of a civil war; and you tell us, that the poor man must suffer as much, or more, than the rich. What, then, do you think that he will come lower than to potatoes and salt? Can

anything worse befall him than *coarser food*; than Parson Lowe's workhouse; than the workhouse dress; than the separation of husband from wife; and children from both; than the being cut off from all communication with friends and relations; than seeing his dead wife or child "*disposed of*" by the hired overseer for dissection? Can any state of things arise to make his situation worse than this? The church, you are afraid, is in danger! The church, sir, why then the church-service too; and do you know that the Bishop of London, who was also one of the *Poor-law Commissioners*, was one of the supporters of the DEAD BODY BILL? Do you know, that the "*BURIAL OF THE DEAD*" is one of the principal services of the church? You know, I suppose, that a body that is hacked to pieces by a parcel of surgeons has not Christian burial; and, if Christian burial be of "*NO USE*," why is there a burial service? And why do the parsons *receive fees for burying the dead*? Why, then, sir, be alarmed about the church? If it be of "*no use*" in this respect, why not the same in other respects?

I admire the sublimity of the horrors, which you set before us as the *infallible* consequences of a blowing up of the funds and paper-money. First as a matter of course, there must, you tell us, be a "*CIVIL WAR*." For what? Why must there? For *what reason*? Do you believe that the fundholders would sally out armed? And *against whom*; and on *what ground*? Did they do this in *France*? Did they do it in *America*? In each of which countries the paper-money was annihilated in *one day*. Oh, no! There would be great confusion in and about London; but, in every other part of the kingdom, parochial arrangements would instantly be made, for keeping all the people at work, and on good wages; real and moveable property would make voluntary sacrifices most liberally; and, in a month, all would be quiet and right again. The *Poor-law Bill* (if it be pushed on) will have done a great deal to *sour* the working people: but still nothing will make

Englishmen *cut each other's throats*; and, of that, be you well assured.

What, sir! Do you think that the weaver and the ploughman will become ferocious upon finding that they can have beer at 1½d. a pot instead of 6d.; that they will cut rich men's throats, and plunder their mansions, because the hop, soap, sugar, tea, and tobacco taxes are no longer demanded of them; that they will become tigers, because there is no longer any law to put a workhouse dress upon them, and to separate husband from wife, and both from children; that they will, in short, become savages, because there is no longer any hired overseer to "*dispose of their bodies for dissection*"?

No, no; you do not think this: you had soared into the regions of poetry, and you will, I am sure, thank me for letting you down again. But, though I am certain that there would be none of the horrors of which you speak, I am by no means insensible to the *ulterior* consequences to the *landholders*; for it is impossible that the ruined fundholders should not obtain *some compensation*; and it would also be *impossible again to tax the labour of the people* to raise the means of making that compensation!

However, let us hope that things will never come to this extremity. Let us hope that the easy and effectual means of prevention will be adopted. If I am not much deceived, you, sir, wish for those means to be adopted as sincerely as I do; and, at any rate, I remain, without affectation,

Your friend

And most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

P.S. I informed you, some days back, that I would order a copy of my little book, entitled a "*LEGACY TO LABOURERS*; or, *what is the right which the Lords, Baronets, and Squires, have to lands in England, more than any other men have to the same lands?*" You and Sir ROBERT PEEL are everlastingly talking about the "*rights of property*," the "*inviolability of property*," and the "*danger to property*." Now, sir, here you will find this matter probed to the

very bottom; here you will find what the law of nature, what the law of God, and what the law of this land, say upon this subject; and you will find, too, that while the book is so small as to be within the reach of every journeyman and labourer, it leaves nothing unexplained, which it is necessary for the most learned of men to know about the matter. You will here see the sacredness of property maintained, not by loose declamation and half invective; but by those unerring guides, reason and the laws; and you will also find the same guides dictating to every man who has a conscience within him, to maintain the rights of life, of limb, and of labour. The distance from London; the moving backward and forward from place to place; the inevitable delay in receiving proofs, and returning them to London, have, in spite of the great attention of my printers, prevented this little book from being published at the time that I expected; and now is come the hubbub occasioned by this *most prodigious* dissolution of Parliament, the object of which I cannot, for the soul of me, guess at. However, his Majesty has been so good as to give us a little breathing time after this hubbub shall be over. Time to steady our heads a bit; and, during this interval, namely, on Saturday the 17. of January, the book will be published, bound in leather, price SIXTEEN PENCE, having cost me more labour than a whole volume or two of the *Register*. Lords, baronets, and 'squires, will not read it, of course; and, as to the members of Parliament, they know too much of the laws of God and man already; and they think more, or, at least, the late members of Parliament did, about keeping the property that they have got, somehow or another, than about their right to it; but, sir, you will read this book; and so will the journeymen and labourers; and so will the tradesmen and the farmers.

TO E. L. BULWER, ESQ., M.P.

Wolsey Hall, Dec. 30, 1834.

SIR,—I have read in a book, of which you are the author, called "*England and the English*," some remarks relative to the Poor-law Amendment Bill, as it is called, and relative to the character of the English working people, and particularly the people of Sussex, which, those remarks having come under my eye, I cannot suffer to remain in print unnoticed by me; and, having observed that the *True Sun* has taken a great number of opportunities to praise this work of yours, through that paper I think it right to convey my remonstrances with you on the subject.

WITH REGARD TO THE POOR-LAW BILL, I have discussed that subject on so many other occasions, that I shall only, in this place, observe, with regard to it, that you not only go the full length in justifying that horrible measure in all its parts, but that you actually boast of being one of the inventors of it; you boast of having submitted your Malthusian doctrines to a person high in power, leaving it to be pretty clearly understood that you mean, the person from whom Sir HERBERT TAYLOR lately received the great seals, and who is now, very appropriately, living amongst the gabbling, filthy, and unfeeling Parisians, signing himself "H. BROUGHAM, *homme de lettres et avocat*." This is enough for me to say on this part of your book; except that I may just add, that I hope, that if you offer yourself for a seat in Parliament again, you will read this part of your book to your intended constituents, as one of the grounds upon which you rest your claim to their votes.

With regard to the character of the working people of England, the passage of your book to which I allude is the one that I am about to quote. In other parts of your book you speak most disparagingly of the working people of England; who, if the world believe you, must be regarded as the most degraded, brutish, and improvident wretches upon the earth; you eulogize the horrible system of Parson Lowe, which, by this

time, the deceived Lord RADNOR repents of having eulogized; you relate as facts, things contained in that book of lies, which Lord ALTHORP, without the King's authority, laid upon the table of the House of Commons, in the first session of the ten-pounder Parliament; and by stealth circulated these lies amongst us, while, from the Government offices, they franked the villanous book to every part of the kingdom. But it is truly curious, that you should have selected, and quoted, as admitted facts, that which is related by the poor-law runner, OKEDEN, when you know, that his report has been *proved to be a mass of lies*, by the magistrates of Dorsetshire, and particularly by one of the magistrates, who is a clergyman, and who has published an exposure of OKEDEN's lies; and that OKEDEN, in his excuse, has been obliged to throw himself upon *mistake and want of memory*, as to the main part of the charge against him.

In order to give countenance to this horrible law, you draw a contrast between the character of the French working man and the English working man, the latter of whom you hold up to contempt and hatred. I grudge the space that I am here requesting from the Editor of the *True Sun*; but, to avoid the possibility of the charge of misrepresenting you, I must take the whole passage, false, disgusting, and contemptible, as it is: "Riding through Normandy one beautiful Sunday evening, I overheard a French peasant decline the convivial invitation of his companion: 'Why, no, thank you, (said he), I must go to the *guinguette*, for the sake of my wife and the young people, dear souls!' The next Sunday I was in Sussex, and as my horse ambled by a cottage, I heard a sturdy boor, who had apparently just left it, grumble forth to a big boy swinging on a gate, 'You sees to the sow; Jim, there's a good un; I be's jist a gooin' to the Blue Lion to get rid o' my missus and the brats, rot 'em!' We see by a comparison with continental nations, that it is by making the Sabbath dull that we make it dangerous.

"Idleness must have amusement or it falls at once into vice; and the absence of entertainments produces the necessity of excess. So few are the harmless pleasures with us on the Sabbath, that a French writer, puzzled to discover any, has called the English Sunday, with a most felicitous *naïveté*, '*Jour qu'on distingue par un pudding*!'—Save a pudding he can find no pleasurable distinction for the holiday of the week!"

Now, Mr. BULWER, first as to the fact: the Frenchman, and his "dear souls," must pass, I am afraid, without a feasible proposition for inquiring into the truth of the statement; but with regard to the STURDY BOOR of Sussex, something like proof is within our reach. You "*ambled*" by the cottage. Was there anybody, besides the unfortunate four-legged animal, *amblyng* by with you? Perhaps not; but you can tell us *what cottage it was*. You remember the spot, undoubtedly, as well as the words of the "BOOR"; and, you so accurately remember the words, and the name of the boy, JIM, that you, doubtless, can remember the spot, and the identical cottage. You are sure that it was the "*Blue Lion*" too. Very well, then; and now let us find out, in the county of Sussex, in the first place a sign of the *Blue Lion*; next a cottage, somewhere, not very far off from the sign of the *Blue Lion*; next proof of the time when you were in Sussex; next a man living in a cottage somewhere near the *Blue Lion*, who at that time kept a sow; and, lastly, let us find that, at that cottage, there was a big boy JIM living. If we do find all these things to have been in Sussex, at the time that you can prove that you were there, then we believe that your story is true; otherwise we must believe that you have grossly libelled the working people of that exemplary county. There is, however, another thing that we must find to be true; and that is, that some man now alive, ever heard a Sussex man say "I be's."

Now, sir, I make you this offer: I will appoint a person, a native of the county of Sussex, who is as good a

scholar as you are, and who is of character and state of life, full as respectable as those that you can have any pretensions to. He shall accompany you, or any Englishman chosen by you, to go and inquire into the above facts, and to make us a report on the same. If you decline this offer, there can be but one opinion as to your veracity in this matter: if you accept of the offer, then, until the inquiry has been completed, our judgment must be suspended. I cannot, however, even here help observing on the strangeness of the circumstance, that the BOOR should have required JIM, who did not belong to his family, to see to the sow; for, if JIM had been his own son, he would not have told him that he was going to get rid "*o' my missus*"; but of your mother; and then it would have read thus: "I be's just gooing to the Blue Lion to get rid of your mother and the brats, your brothers and sisters, rot'em!" If JIM were the son of a neighbour, then there comes this monstrous improbability; that a neighbour's son was to see to the sow; that is, to feed her; and he was to go into the house where "my missus and the brats" were, to get the food. Mr. BULWER, another time, when you are libelling the labourers of England, do not say anything about *Jims* or *Blue Lions*. Sussex is a good wide space, but there must be a *Blue Lion*; that Blue Lion is a fixture; and to that Blue Lion I fix you. However, I wait; and so will a good many of the public wait, to see whether you accept of my offer.

With regard to the nasty gabbling French writer, who would seem to ridicule the idea of the working man's Sunday in England being distinguished from the other days, only by his having a pudding for dinner on the Sunday. In the first place, it is a falsehood, and a specimen of that frivolous and contemptible rubbish, which Frenchmen call wit. It is a falsehood; and, if it were not, by what better could the Sunday be distinguished, than the circumstance of its being habitual with the working people to have the best dinner of the week on that day, when all the family are at home; a circumstance not

much in accordance with your tale about the "BOOR" and *Jim* and the "brats" and the "*Blue Lion*."

Now, then, let us see what is the true character of the working people of England, whether in town, or in country. Is there one man out of one hundred, who has a wife and children, who does not take delight, in a town, to take that wife and children out walking of a Sunday? I lived several years at KENSINGTON, one of the great outlets of London; and it used to be one of the great pleasures of us, and of our friends who visited us, to sit at the windows and behold, in the summer evenings, the innumerable working men going by into town from the country, with their wives and children. The mother carrying the smallest in her arms; the father with the next smallest, and each of them leading, perhaps, one by the hand. And is it not the same at BIRMINGHAM, at MANCHESTER, at LEEDS, at NEWCASTLE, at BRISTOL, at BATH, in short, everywhere, from London, down to the smallest villages? And, as to the country people, is it not notorious, that excessive fondness of their children, and their indulgence to them, is their invariable character. It is the same generally in all the towns; and as to wives, in what country upon earth are they treated as they ought to be, except in England, in the United States of America, and in English settlements? Who ever saw a Englishman; who ever saw one of those BOORS, that you have the rudeness to call them, sit and smoke his pipe, or stand by, and see a woman lifting heavy lifts, carrying heavy loads, or performing any rough or nasty work; and who ever saw a German or Frenchman who would not sit, or stand by? Look at the women of Sussex; and then look at those of France! Look at the delicacy, the modesty, the cleanliness of the former; and then see the coarse, the leather-faced, the grimy-fisted, the gabbling Frenchwoman, coming ten miles to market, with the load of a jackass upon her back; and see her in that marketplace doing that, even while she is talking with men, at the very thought of

being compelled to imitate which, a Sussex woman would die. I have seen Frenchwomen too; and have seen their lazy husbands sitting with a pipe in their jaws, while their wives were working like slaves. I have seen scores of women at different times, quit the arms of their husbands, or of young men, in order to perform in their presence, and in the presence of scores of people, walking along the ramparts of St. OMERS, those acts rather than perform which, under such circumstances, even a profligate English woman would rather suffer death.

In conclusion, one word as to that improvidence and laziness, which you prefer against the working people of England generally. As to their improvidence, I will be bound to say, that upon this very estate of Sir CHARLES WOLSELEY, there are amongst the working people, a greater quantity of providence, neatness, sedulous care of children, than are to be found in the whole of that famous Normandy, of which you speak; and which is, by-the-by, far the best, in this respect, of the whole of the provinces of France. But what need we more than this one fact, that we read in the advertisements of the hotel-keepers at PARIS, that their hotels are furnished with "*COMMODITÉS A L'ANGLAISE*"; that is to say, with "*privies in the English fashion*." What do we want more than this as a characteristic of the whole country, and of the whole continent, indeed, as compared with England? The truth is, that as to all the places, except these hotels, which English people pay for, there is no such thing as decent reserve with regard to these matters: and yet this is the country which you are holding up to the imitation of England. This is the country which you would have us look to for an improvement of our laws, customs, and manners.

But, sir, there is a short way to go to work with you. You justify the inhuman rigours of the Poor-law Bill, upon the ground that the working people of England are improvident and lazy. Now, then, does not England far exceed all the whole world united, in

res of all sorts? Is there a country containing a BIRMINGHAM, a MANCHESTER, a LEEDS, a LONDON? Are not these the just pride of England, and the wonder of the whole world? Is there any other country with canals to go under mountains, and to go under turnpike roads? Is there any other country where rail-roads and steam-carriages are to be seen? Are we not everlastingly boasting of these wondrous works? Is there any other country with homesteads, mansions, gardens, woods, such as are seen in England? Are there post-chaises and coaches worthy of the name in any other country in the world? Does any other country present, and in such numbers, such bridges, churches, and cathedrals? Talk of the vineyards of France and the beautiful climate; but let it be recollected, that the *grapes* to furnish the dessert at the coronation of the King of France (Charles the Tenth) were sent from England. In short, we know, and all the world knows, that there is no other country, of ten times its size, that contains as much of *valuable things* as England contains. And, who has made it all? All except the earth itself, has been made by the hand of man; and not by men that dress in fine clothes, and talk, and write. Some of them, indeed, have had their share in inventing and directing; but the things have all been created by those who work with their hands: and even those who have invented and directed, have sprung from those who work with their hands.

And is it not being pretty impudent to call the English working people *boorish, improvident, and lazy*; and to justify the passing of a law to deprive them of assistance in case of hard necessity, except upon condition, that men would die rather than submit to? I leave the public to answer this question, and

I am your most humble

And most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

MR. COBBETT'S LETTER TO MR. GRAY, OF CHICHESTER.

*Wolsley Hall (Staffordshire),
Dec. 28, 1834.*

DEAR SIR,—Your letter got to Bolt-court the day after it was written; that is to say, the 27. instant; it was opened there by the person who keeps the shop. It was shown to my son John, as being nearest at hand of any son of mine. It was determined by him, in consequence of the time that it would have taken to obtain an answer from me, to go down to Chichester at once, and to offer himself; which he was fully authorized to do, I having recommended him to the people of Coventry at the last election for that place.

It has been matter of wonder with many persons, that I have not, upon this occasion, urged on different bodies of electors to choose my own sons, of three of whom I can say (the other being articulated to an attorney), that I know of no three men so sober; so capable of discharging great masses of business; writers so quick, and so correct, and so well stored with knowledge as to the continental nations, as well as England, as these three sons. This is a great deal to say; but I see no reason for suppressing the truth with regard to them, because they are my sons.

Well, then, why have I not put them forward upon this occasion? Why, it seems like asking a favour; and I have not been accustomed to ask favours. Then, there is always a jealousy in such cases: there is always a sort of feeling that you are seeking for some gratification of your own. And, besides this, there is the just pride of the sons themselves, neither of whom would submit to ask favours any more than the father would. The father has been, in fact, proscribed, and the proscription descends to the sons.

These are the reasons why I have not put them forward. I know well what would be the effect of my having my sons, William, John, and James, in Parliament with me; young men, well read in all the laws; well acquainted with the nations on the conti-

went;—excellent French scholars; but, of still greater value, born and brought up in the country; intimately acquainted with all rural and parochial affairs; and, above all, having sucked in with their mother's milk right notions regarding the value of the working people; and I am sure that there is not one of them who would not perish rather than leave undone any thing in his power to sweep from the Statute Book the horrible Poor-law Bill.

Sir, this is a true description of these gentlemen. If the people of Chichester should choose one of them, I shall consider it a great compliment to myself: but I shall value it still more as something done for my country in general, and for the people of the excellent city of Chichester in particular. The fact is, that all three of these sons ought to be chosen as members of Parliament, at the ensuing election; and ought to be so chosen without any application from me. I destined them all for farmers; but they were swept away, along with me, from that spot where I fondly hoped that they were to live all their lives. I was dragged back again to undergo fine, imprisonment, exile, pecuniary ruin, over and over again. They had to follow my fortunes; but, being constantly with me, till they were approaching towards mature age; having before them such an example of sobriety, of industry, of quiety, amidst all sorts of troubles and privations; living amidst books and writings and publishings; never seeing an hour spent in playing cards or idleness of any kind, they could not well be other than learned and able men, being blessed with sound minds in sound bodies. In short there they are, always ready, I am sure, to act with zeal, industry, and disinterestedness, with which their father has laboured; if their country call on them, I am sure they will obey the call to the utmost of their power; if it do not call on them, I shall never advise them to thrust themselves forward to ask for seats in Parliament as a favour.

To the people of Chichester, who agree with you, as to this matter, I beg

leave to present my best thanks. I never forget the great kindness with which I have always been treated at Chichester; and, if the people should choose my son as a member to represent them in Parliament, they will, I am quite sure, find, that no temptation will ever induce him to depart, for one instant, from the principles, in which he has been bred up; and which are those of the constitution of England, as that constitution was, at the time when their father was born; they well understanding all the monstrous encroachments, which, since that time, have been made upon that constitution.

I beg you to accept of my best and kindest regards; and to be assured that I always remain

Your faithful

And most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

Mr. James Gray, Chichester.

SPIES, AND POOR-LAW BILL.

In another part of the *Register*, I have inserted an account of the whole of the trial of RICHMOND, who, as appears from his own acknowledgment, was a paid spy in Scotland. The trial is *very interesting*, and should be read by every body that can get an opportunity of reading it; but this is by no means all; for this very fellow, RICHMOND, was one of the principal evidences produced by the poor-law-commissioners to *justify the passing of the Poor-law Bill*! Reader, read this trial? read the history of this man. Then see this man become one of the *guardians of the poor*, in the great parish of St. Luke, London. Do, pray, read the history of this man in this trial; then see him a witness in support of the Poor-law Bill; and bear in mind, that the church-wardens and overseers of his parish most satisfactorily *proved* his evidence to be false; and it is a bill, passed upon evidence like this, that SIR ROBERT PEEL and his set are going to keep in force, and to thrust on into execution, under the guidance of penny-a-line CHADWICK. Poh! what! is this one

of the "*institutions of the country*," too! Are spies and the Poor-law Bill "*institutions of the country*"? Poh! Let the Whigs and Tories toss up who shall be Ministers: the people need not care a straw about the matter. All that we have to do is, to look quietly on, and see the debt and the bushel of wheat take their course!

THE following article I take from the *Standard* of the 29. Dec. I have made my remarks upon it at full length, in the first part of the *Register*; and I am sure the reader will be obliged to me for giving him an opportunity of reading it.

Mr. Cobbett, in the letter with which he has honoured this journal, and to which we alluded on Saturday, commences with the following paragraph:

"Sir,—From an article which appeared in your paper of the 17. instant, it would seem that you are a good deal *frightened*. You do indeed set out in a rather easy and bold tone; you give us a list of the new Ministry, making a rather formidable array, but you immediately afterwards fly off into speculations as to the horrors which will take place, *if the Whigs should get back again into power*, as if, with Macbeth, you were saying to yourself, 'Take any shape but that.'

"Very hideous I must confess, sir; but may I be so bold as to ask *what it is* that can have brought the frightful image into your mind? *What it is* that can have made you think such a thing possible? Then come some very grave observations as to the *consequences* of so untoward an event. You give us a long list of revolutionary movements, ending with the overthrow of the church, the nobility, and even of the throne. You frighten me half to death; but upon recovering my breath again, I ask myself *What it is* that can have given you reason to fear the possibility of the arrival of such dreadful

evils? And then immediately that brings me back again to the question, *what is it* that can have made you suppose it possible that the Whigs can return to power? Having hardly had time to put this question to myself, and pushed forward by my anxiety to know the worst that is to befall us, I find the picture of horrors wound up by a description of the *danger to property*, and especially the danger to property in the *funds*.

"So, so," said I to myself, "is that all? &c."

That twelve days ago we were frightened, if Mr. Cobbett will have the word, we do not pretend to disguise; that we still feel some, though much less, alarm at the possible restoration of a Whig administration, we will even confess also. In both cases, however, our alarm was, and is produced, much less by the imminency of the danger, or even its probable arrival, than by its tremendous magnitude. Mr. Cobbett is aware that a great, though improbable calamity, will often terrify one much more than a less and even certain mischief. "If" (says Dr. Johnson) "ten thousand men were to be sure that one of their number, taken by lot, must be hanged the following morning, few, if any of them, would enjoy a quiet night's sleep."

Here, though the chances are ten thousand to one against the arrival of the danger, its awful extent supplies the want of probability. Now, this is just our state with respect to a restoration of the Whigs to office. We believe the event extremely improbable, but we know that it would lead to the ruin of the nation; a ruin in which all our own comforts, and enjoyments, and prospects, for we do not disguise a selfish feeling, would suffer in the direct ratio of our humility. Before going farther, however, let us correct a misapprehension of our meaning, we are sure it is no more, into which Mr. Cobbett has fallen. "What," asks the member for Oldham, "is it that can have made you suppose it possible that the Whigs can return to power?" We did not, and we do not, suppose it

possible that the Whigs can return to power. They cannot return to power; for, of independent power they never were in possession; they can, however, return to office, though the possibility is, we hope, a very remote one. They can return to office; this is what they seek; and they are willing to take office with its emoluments and patronage, even upon the condition of serving as the passive instruments of those who, assuredly, would carry into effect all the changes which we, at least, regard as the greatest political evils, and to ourselves and to our rank, and to all below that rank, if any are, as the greatest of temporal private calamities. This explanation will, we think, reconcile the apparent inconsistency (alluded to in another part of his letter by Mr. Cobbett) of our late, we may add of our present, contempt of the Whigs, properly so called, with the admitted possibility of this most despicable party's resumption of place. We know the perfect impotence of that party, either to gain or to defend the heights of office by their own unassisted exertions; but, having seen them for four years secured in the administration of the Government by another party, and seeing that other party now straining every nerve to replace their tools, we cannot shut our eyes against the possibility, that they who have defended the Whigs, so long and so effectually, against what we believe to be the sense of the country, and against what we know to be its vital interests, may, through neglect or relaxation, or error, on the side of those who ought to oppose them, obtain another victory.

We see before us two parties, the one utterly destitute of character and talent; wholly vacant of political principle of any kind, sordid and complying even to servility; need we say that we are describing the Whigs? Behind this party we see another, possessing real talent, almost irresistible energy, a straightforward singleness of purpose, that, if its object were good, might be called noble—that in any case cannot be considered base. We see this second party able, bold, and peremptory, fa-

natically bent upon revolution; and with the terrible disinterestedness of fanaticism, willing to resign to their degraded pioneers, all the plunder of office, provided only that they themselves can advance, by the aid of these degraded pioneers, to a revolutionary triumph. These allies are now embodied in indissoluble union: is there nothing, then, to alarm a man of even firm nerves, in the march of such an array? Can we hope, successfully, to oppose the attack of such a force, if we are supine, indifferent, or doubtful?

We hope that we have answered Mr. Cobbett's question, "What it is which makes us suppose it possible that the Whigs can return to office?" In order to remove, as far as we may, one of the chief grounds of this frightful possibility, we will now address ourselves to the danger itself—to the danger of a restoration of the Whigs to office. A Roman writer, Sallust, who lived in the most tempestuous period of his country's history, who, probably, saw more of the alternations of factious rule than was ever seen by a man of any other generation, has bequeathed this maxim to posterity; "the place of command (*imperium*) can be preserved only by a perseverance in those arts by which it is acquired." If the Whigs are now restored to place, they will be restored solely by that faction, upon which they themselves have fixed the merited nickname of "Destructive." Restored, however, by the Destructive faction, we know by the maxim quoted, we know much better by their own more recent practice, they must conduct the government conformably to the views of their Destructive allies. They must carry into full effect every item of that combination of ruinous changes which we have laid before our readers.

To one item of these changes Mr. Cobbett makes allusion—the canceling of the public debt; but this, though certainly not the last, would probably not be the first of the exploits of a Whig Government, acting by favour of Destructive support, and by consequence acting upon Destructive principles. It would probably be preceded by the

destruction of the church, by a civil war arising out of an attempt to exclude the aristocracy from their present place in the constitutional sovereignty. Civil war would, probably, be the plausible pretext for canceling the debt; if not, civil war would certainly be its instant consequence! Yes, a great destruction of property, whether substantial property, or artificial property, never yet occurred in a nation, except as the consequence of civil war—or, if not—as the parent of a state of universal misery and despair from which men must seek refuge in indiscriminate confusion and mutual slaughter.

In another article of Friday's *Register*, Mr Cobbett warns us personally, that "a man who has nothing to live on but his pen, must resolve to live upon bread and cheese, and small beer, or at least to be able to live upon bread and cheese, and small beer; or to give up all hopes of obtaining honest fame." But we trust that even "the man who has nothing to live on but his pen," may be found to whom living upon bread and cheese, and small beer, would be no hardship, and who is yet influenced by motives compared with which fame of any kind, false in its most alluring shape, would be an object of contempt. *Contemptu famæ contemni et virtutem* was a fine saying for a Pagan; but we have better lights; and, in any case, the anonymous writer for a daily newspaper must shake hands with the whole family of ambitious feelings. Unknown, he cannot be the object of fame; voluntarily enrolled in a degraded caste (unwisely degraded, we think, but so it is), he renounces all the other baits of ambition with his eyes open. We come back, however, to the motives of a more worldly kind, which may be supposed to influence even the man who must live by his pen, and who does not look for luxuries beyond bread and cheese, and small beer, and nevertheless would devote every faculty of his mind to protect property from destruction. We select this particular class as representing all honest, modest, unambitious men, who are contented to live by their labour, whether that

labour be exercised by a goose-quill, or a spade, a saw, or a trowel, a shuttle, or an anvil. These men, we say, are all interested in the protection of property, in a degree not inferior to that in which the legal possessor is interested. Such men, if they are wisely obedient to the laws of God and Nature, have families dependent upon them for daily bread; families, any member of which they could not see, without pain, in want of food, even for a day; still less condemned to a condition of future life inferior to that in which they have been brought up. This is the great advantage which we have above the nobility and landed gentry. Each of them rears a family, one member alone of whom can maintain his father's rank. We, while the channels of industry are protected by the security of property, may trust, under God's providence, that all our children will at least stand in our own rank—we may hope that some of them may rise above it. This is an advantage little thought of, but it is an advantage which will teach every father, at once wise and affectionate, not to envy the condition of the great. This advantage, however, and every other which the poor man possesses, is put in peril by any great convulsion of property, and is sure to be swallowed up in that civil war which, we repeat it, is inseparable on one side or the other, from such convulsions.

A correspondent, whose letter we insert, and who seems to think with Mr. Cobbett, that a canceling of the debt would be a good thing, proves how lamentably ignorant even acute men may be, as to the necessary effect of such a measure. Our correspondent seems to think that the effect of canceling of hundreds of millions of debt—of the annihilation of hundreds of millions of what is supposed to be property, and what indeed serves all the purposes of property, would stop with the number of actual stockholders; he forgets the millions of their creditors, the millions of their servants, the millions of their tradesmen, the millions who have money invested in insurances, savings banks, and annuities. He forgets that a can-

celing of the debt would even press upon the debtors of the stockholders. We have no measure by which to estimate the effect of the convulsion of which Mr. Cobbett and our correspondent make so light; because no people ever yet existed in a state of commercial society so complicated and artificial as ours; but we can make some approaches to an estimate by recalling the scenes of 1825 and 1830. In the first of these years, a cause so trifling, that it is not yet ascertained what that cause was, inflicted a wound upon commercial credit, that was felt in every cottage in the kingdom. What,

"If the breath that kindled these grim fires,"
in which so many noble establishments were consumed,

"Awaked, had blown them into sevenfold rage!"

What, if instead of the failure of a speculation in pepper, the most feasible cause of the panic of 1825, a national bankruptcy had been proclaimed; if, instead of supporting private establishments, as public credit did support them, the failure of that buttress had given the first notice of the ruin, what would have been then, the chaos of destruction? Many who lived by their pens, even in that year of comparatively trifling calamity, found it difficult, we can assure Mr. Cobbett, to procure even bread and cheese, and small beer, for their families. Many, very many cases have come to our own knowledge of families sinking, in that year; steps which they have never since recovered. They were not those idle men; they were no speculators, no gamblers; men contented with bread and cheese, and small beer; many such men we have known, who, more than participating in the losses of customers and employers, and debtors, have descended from even bread and cheese and small beer, to a kind of food coarse enough to suit the regimen prescribed by the Martineau school of politicians. The agitation of 1830-31, produced the same mischiefs, though in a less degree; but how can we compare these inflictions, or any thing like them, with the over-

whelming scourge of national bankruptcy! The loss of property to an individual may be an inferior calamity, because the insulated loss may invite sympathy and aid from those who do not suffer, and must if it be insulated, still allow to the sufferer the opportunity of restoring himself by exerting his strength, or his talents, or his skill, in the service of others who can pay for their exercise. But the loss of property to a whole people, is a calamity wholly without the hope of solace or relief; a calamity not inferior to pestilence or famine, and one which universally leads to, if it does not spring from, civil war! And what is civil war? May we take the blood shed in the field, or on the scaffold, the time wasted in cruelty and pursuit of the vengeance, or the property submitted to the flames, as a just index of the horrors of civil war? Ah! no; a wise man presents traits of civil war far more terrible than these. He tells us that "they who fall in civil war, in civil war are the happiest." The full cup of bitterness is reserved for the beggared victors, the beggared vanquished, and the beggared neutrals, down, aye to the poor ground labourer, driven, like Virgil's husbandman, even from his poor cottage, by the rude intruding soldier. These are the deep enduring temporal calamities attending civil war. But deeper calamities than these follow; the moral depravation of the people. We learn, from the authority already quoted, Plutarch, and the history of 1600 years and more verifies the maxim, "no good man prospers, few good men escape in times of civil discord." In such times ambition, the desire of gain, worldly prudence, and even the pursuit of safety, are all enlisted on the side of vice. Civil war is the discipline of Satan. And are we to incur the possible risk of all these horrors, for the sake of speculative changes? Are we to be told that in deprecating such a risk, we have no better motive than the desire to improve upon a diet of bread and cheese, and small beer? We think our readers will come to a different conclusion. We think that they will see, with us, that

there is no escape from a palsy upon the industry of the country; from a convulsion of property and from a civil war, except in the steady exclusion of Whig administration. If they trace selfishness among our motives, and idoubtless they will find it among them, that selfishness will be seen to be merely the instinctive sense of danger which Providence has mercifully bestowed upon all animals down to the very lowest, to serve not only as a protection to the individual, but a means of warning to all of the same species.

SIR ROBERT PEEL'S SPEECH.

At the Mansion-House, 23. Dec. 1834.

Sir R. PEEL rose, and spoke to the following effect:—"Although the Lord Mayor has mentioned my name in particular, in conjunction with the rest of his Majesty's Ministers, I am relieved from that embarrassment which, on occasions such as this, generally accompanies the mention of an individual name, for I am convinced I should greatly mistake the object and under-rate the importance of this meeting if I thought it was intended merely for the purpose of marking respect and consideration for any person, however high my public station. I cannot, therefore allege as an excuse for the imperfect expression of my acknowledgments to this great assembly that I am overwhelmed by the force of personal feelings. I believe your object to be, in a crisis of great importance, to convey to the King that his Majesty, having exercised a high prerogative of the Crown, according to the forms and the spirit of the constitution, will receive a constitutional support from a great body of the King's subjects, remarkable for their *intelligence*, remarkable for their *respectability* and *wealth*, remarkable for the deep interest which they take in the *welfare of the country*. Your object also is, I trust and believe, to *animate and encourage* in the performance of their *arduous* duty those Ministers who have been the objects of the King's choice, and have not shrunk from the

responsibility of office. We are neither assembled for the purpose of compliment nor for the purpose of celebrating a party triumph. (Hear, hear). I believe that your feelings, if I have correctly interpreted them, are in strict consonance with the feelings entertained by a great proportion of the *intelligence* of this country. (Cheers). It is impossible to deny that, since the important events which have taken place within the last six weeks, there has been a state of *calm and tranquillity* in the country—a calm and tranquillity which, after the political excitement that had prevailed, could not well have been anticipated. I do not mistake the character of that state of calm and tranquillity. I do not construe it into an indifference to public affairs, into a lazy acquiescence in any Government that the King may be pleased to form, or any measures which that Government may propose. On the contrary, I feel convinced that this calm and tranquillity is perfectly consistent with the utmost vigilance, and, if necessary, the most determined resolution. (Hear, hear). The present condition of the public mind is no more inconsistent with active motion than the serenity of the ocean is inconsistent with occasional displays of resistless and overwhelming force. (Cheers). I believe that if the public feeling found expression in words it would speak in these or similar terms: '*We are tired of agitation*, (great cheering); we are tired of that state of *continued excitement*, the effect of which in private life is to withdraw men from their proper business, and in public life is to consume the energies of public men on other than their proper duties. *We hate the pressure from without*.' (Loud and protracted cheering, which drowned the conclusion of the sentence). '*We are content* (continued the Right Honourable Baronet) that the *public* will should be expressed *through authorized and constitutional organs*. At the same time we require Government to be administered for the sole purpose of promoting the true interests of this country. (Cheers). We require that there shall be a full and patient consideration of

everything that can be fairly suspected as partaking of the character of abuse, and if after such patient consideration the abuse *be proved*, we require that it shall be corrected, first, from hatred of the abuse; and secondly, from love and respect for those ancient institutions which abuse has the tendency to disfigure and impair.' (Cheers). I believe that to be not an incorrect representation of the public feeling, and I also believe that no Government can maintain itself in the public estimation which is not prepared deliberately to act on such principles (Hear, hear). I am convinced, notwithstanding the manner in which the exercise of the prerogative of the Crown has been received, and although it is the duty of public men to co-operate with the sovereign when they have it in their power to enter into his service without sacrifice of principle, yet that no Government can stand unless it be supported by public opinion, and unless its members possess the public confidence. (Hear, hear). I do not agree with the views of some persons, who are disposed to overlook the men who constitute a Government, and regard merely the measures they propose. I do not believe that any Government can be stable or permanent which does not possess public confidence. I do not believe that a cold approbation of measures, after previous scrutiny, will avail for the support of a Government, without reference to the heads which conceived and the hands which are to execute those measures. In every department of private life it is upon the confidence we feel in certain individuals that we proceed: it is not this particular act or that, though we may approve its grounds and principles, that ensures our confidence in men, but it is our general reliance in their known integrity and honour that induces us to trust them. In the public service the same principle prevails. In the profession of the law you do not rely upon such eminent individuals as Lord Lyndhurst or Sir James Scarlett merely in reference to some particular act of theirs which you know to be right, but because you feel con-

vinced, by their distinguished eminence and unimpeachable characters, that their decisions will be dictated by sound judgment, and by a sincere determination to do that which they conscientiously believe to be right. The same is the case with respect to acts of military enterprise. I ask you what brought this country to that pinnacle of military glory on which it stood during the last war—what preserved us from the proverbial vicissitudes of fortune? It was not the numbers of our army—it was not the lines established here or the fortifications erected there—it was not mere military skill and conduct that made victory the certain consequence of battle, but it was in conjunction with the native valour of British troops—the confidence reposed in *one magic and immortal name*. (Enthusiastic cheering). It was that feeling, influencing *the lowest soldier*, which inspired into his heart a new energy, and nerved his arm with new vigour. (Cheers). And when the Government of this country was suddenly changed, what was it that made the whole community acquiesce with silent approbation in the decision of one man to obey the appeal of his Sovereign, and to fill for a time with his single person the great chasm in the public service of the state? It was not a simple reference to this or that particular act which he might perform, but it was irresistible and spontaneous confidence in his undaunted resolution, and in that pure and disinterested singleness of purpose, (cheers), which led the same man who had shown himself ready in a crisis of extraordinary difficulty to assume power at the command of his Sovereign; which led him, acting solely upon his own suggestion and advice, to relinquish it. (Cheers). Without confidence in public men, without confidence in their good intentions, without confidence in their determination to fulfil any promises they may make; without full reliance upon their wish to consult the real and permanent interests of the country, no Government can proceed with success. Appeals to individual acts, cold, formal, acquiescence in mere de-

tails, are not enough. I may undertake to say, on the part of his Majesty's Ministers, that it will be our object to attain and confirm the confidence of the people, not by rash and precipitate pledges for the removal of every thing that may appear at the first superficial and imperfect view to be an evil; not by undertaking to make every concession hastily demanded by popular feeling; not by rashly promising relief from the *pressure of taxation*: but by patient and dispassionate examination into *practical grievances*, and the proposal of remedies maturely considered, and designed less as a gratification of a popular wish, than the safe and permanent redress of a real evil. *I am charged with having offered no particular pledges as to specific measures.* My answer is, 'A month has not yet elapsed since I left Rome: I have within that period travelled from the south of Europe, and reconstructed the King's Government.' But could any thing be more absurd than to pledge the Government to details and particulars which there has yet been *no time to consider*, and in reference to which, if pledges were now offered, we might find ourselves unable to redeem? (Hear, hear). I think it would be neither politic nor just to pursue that course. I think the public opinion to be gained by it scarcely worth having. I have already intimated in a public address to my late constituents the *tone and spirit* of our Government, and I now repeat that the Ministry of which I am one will maintain no abuse under the mistaken notion that it can be for the interest of Government to support it. We will not resist the application of a remedy to any grievance under the mistaken impression that it is not for the interest of Government to conciliate the public feeling by acting for the public good by redress of grievances and correction of abuses as far as possible. (Hear, hear). But I will not, by pledging myself to relieve *particular burdens* or hastily to adopt particular remedies, debar the Government from affording that fair consideration which is due to the claims of all interests, or put out of our power a deliberate appli-

cation of the most efficacious remedies. (Hear, hear). I repeat, possessed as the Ministry are of the entire confidence of the crown, our main object will be to conciliate the good will and secure the confidence of all *that portion* of the community that is most capable of exercising an *enlightened judgment on public affairs*, (hear, hear), convinced, as we are, that they do require the correction of abuses, but wish it to proceed consistently with a respectful maintenance of the integrity and independence of those *institutions* of the country which, in the aggregate, comprise *the ancient established constitution in church and state*. But sure I am that they do not wish our institutions to be corrected at the expense of collision with or a destruction of the independence of any of the established orders of the state. (Hear). If we, in concurrence with those whose *goodwill* and acquiescence it is *desirable* to obtain, and, consistently with the maintenance of the independent action of Lords and Commons, can apply a remedy to existing abuses, such a course will much more tend to the efficiency and permanency and satisfactory working of practical reforms than if they were carried through *menace and clamour*, against the will of those who have a right to be consulted, and whose cordial co-operation is essential to a happy result. (Hear, hear). I conclude by again declaring, that in the execution of our public trust our object will be to conciliate and confirm public confidence, both as the highest reward of public men, and as the most efficacious instrument of good Government. To obtain that confidence will be our earnest hope; second only to that which, even on an occasion like this, it cannot be unbecoming in a Minister of this country to express, *that it may please Almighty God to direct and prosper our consultations to the advancement of true religion, and the safety, honour, and welfare of this great country.*

COURT OF EXCHEQUER.

(London Sittings at *Nisi Prius*, before Mr. Baron Park, and a London Jury).

RICHMOND v. MARSHALL AND ANOTHER.

This was an action brought by Alexander David Richmond, whose name has been long familiar to the public as connected with the state trials in the west of Scotland in 1817, for libels published in *Tait's Magazine*, of May, June, July, and August, 1833. The libels complained of, which are of great length, are contained in a series of articles published in *Tait's Magazine*, under the title of "The Spy System; or, 'Tis Thirteen Years Since." They purport to be reviews of a work published in Glasgow on the subject of the system of espionage pursued by the Government during the disturbances of 1817; but in the course of them Mr. Richmond is accused, not only of participating in those disturbances himself, but as being the principal instigator and promoter of them; and divers opprobrious epithets are lavished on him as a person who betrayed a number of innocent and ignorant victims into crime and misfortune for the purpose of getting money from the Government. In short, he is throughout spoken of as a spy employed by the Government.

Mr. Richmond defended his own cause, but was assisted by Mr. Steer, to whom he occasionally referred when a legal point was mooted.

Mr. RICHMOND, on rising to state this case, in which he was the plaintiff, considered himself called upon to assign, before he went into its detail, the reasons which had induced him to deviate from the customary practice of employing some member of the bar to manage the proceedings for him. It originated not in his being opposed to that custom, neither was it because he entertained the slightest disrespect towards the gentlemen of that branch of the legal profession, but it was because he looked upon the case as one of so complicated a nature, and so extensive in its operations, that to sift it with the minuteness necessary to an arrival at all its bearings, with an accuracy requisite to do him justice, it would lead to such enormous expenses as would far outstrip his means. The case was surrounded with difficulties much exceeding those ordinarily to be encountered. The action was brought by himself against the defendants, who were the London publishing agents of a work printed in Edinburgh, entitled *Tait's Magazine*. The defendants had pleaded first the general issue, and next a justification to the whole of the libels. At present he would not go further into the pleadings, as it would be requisite for him to go into the libels *seriatim*, and should, as he proceeded, have occasion to call the attention of the jury to the state of the law. It would be necessary for him to go over a general retrospection of nearly twenty-five years, and his object, in doing so was to show the position in which he was placed in society at the period of the libels re-

ferred to. The scene of this case, or rather the place in which the circumstances occurred, was Lanarkshire, in Scotland, a large manufacturing county, and it was necessary to draw the attention of the jury to some events connected with the cotton manufacture, to show the general condition of the population, which condition led to the occurrences in question. As far back as 1800, certain proceedings were taken by the manufacturers, with a view of reducing the price of labour. Between that year and 1809, two or three attempts were made in Parliament, and two committees were appointed by the House of Commons to inquire into the state of manufactures. The last of these committees was in 1809. After the appointment of that committee, Mr. Samuel Whitbread and other enlightened individuals recommended that the operatives should form committees or associations of their own, for the purpose of regulating the prices of labour. This step was accordingly taken, and they commenced their operations about the end of 1809, and were continued until the winter of 1811 and 1812. Every person at all connected with trade at that period would recollect, that the year 1819 was one of great mercantile distress; numbers went into the *Gazette* and were utterly ruined, and a consequent depreciation in the price of labour followed. Another application was consequently made to Parliament, in which Lancashire, Scotland, and the north of Ireland joined. Failing, however, in their application against the restrictions, and the question not being listened to, and considering that their demands were not unreasonable, it was by some resolved, by way of experiment, to try what effect a strike of hands would have. A general consultation was therefore held, and the result was, to put the experiment into operation in Scotland and Cumberland. From the year 1809, he had become an active manager and agent in the business. A committee of five persons, he himself being one, had been formed for the purpose of conducting the affair to a favourable issue, if possible. After consulting upon this subject, and supported as they were by most of the leading merchants and manufacturers—he did not mean to say that all individuals ranking in that grade of society coincided in the course they were adopting—it was agreed that a strike should take place. The whole kingdom of Scotland struck at once. Such an event could not have been brought to pass had it not been for the existence of the association to which he had alluded; proceedings were next taken, and it was arranged to try the question in Scotland. The consequence of the "strike" was, that the Government became alarmed at so formidable a state of things, and in the course of five or six weeks troops were poured into all the districts in which the strike had been made. Other and numerous steps were taken, and himself and various individuals were arrested and indicted before the Court of Justiciary in Scotland. During the progress of the proceedings he had become

acquainted with many gentlemen of high rank and learning, and amongst them was the present Lord Jeffrey, then editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, who took a deep interest in his affairs. It would be well for him to state, that the Supreme Court of Scotland was unshackled by any statute law; the court possessed a legislative as well as a judicial power, as it would at once apply a remedy, without waiting for an act of Parliament. In such a case as that to which he had called the attention of the jury, the Supreme Court had an unlimited power of awarding punishment. In England it was different; for whilst the Court of Scotland could sentence persons convicted of this offence to transportation for life, or any thing, indeed, short of capital punishment, that of England was then restricted to the infliction of three months' imprisonment. As might be imagined, great excitement prevailed over the country. It was, however, highly creditable to the population of Scotland, that, throughout the whole of the affair, their conduct was of so peaceable a nature, that he believed £l. would have more than covered any damage sustained by any disturbance or act of theirs. With regard to the indictment against himself, he was advised by the then Mr. Jeffrey and Mr. Cockburn, not to stand the test of trial, but to wait until the excitement of feeling had subsided. Upon this kind suggestion he acted, and at the end of fourteen or fifteen months, during which time he had been totally separated from, and deserted by, the parties for whom the sacrifice of his own comforts had been made, and almost utterly ruined, he surrendered. The court, then taking a more lenient view of his case, sentenced him to one month's imprisonment. He had been thus minute on this part of the case, for the purpose of showing the position he had held in society at the time of these events. He then referred to the position of matters in the country as regarded the manufacturing population when a re-action took place, a re-action consequent upon the peace of 1815, and also to the events of 1816 and 1817. Prior to the meeting of Parliament in the last-named year, very considerable excitement, it would be remembered, existed; a large mass of persons were out of employment, and a large number of petitions were got up and presented to the legislative body upon the subject of the then state of the manufacturing population. Information at this time reached him that the Ministers had received information of the existence of a secret conspiracy to overturn the Government. Being well aware of the precise state of the country to which he resided, and having at the same time been in continual contact with the people, he was appealed to by a Mr. Finlay, a gentleman who was thoroughly acquainted with his station and the rank he held in society, because he was known to have been connected with, and to have assisted in the getting up of the petitions to Parliament in 1817. Mr. Finlay approved of the general

picture he had given to Messrs. Jeffrey and Cockburn, of the condition of the country. He felt at that period, that he had sufficient influence with the people to prevent them from proceeding to acts which were opposed to a continuance of the general tranquillity and peace of the country. He had, nevertheless, stated, that he would not lend his assistance, unless under particular conditions. The first of those stipulations was, that he should be at liberty to communicate with his friends at Edinburgh upon the subject. That proposition was objected to, but after the lapse of a few days, further negotiation took place with him. The next condition was to this effect, that should he fail to persuade the people to abandon their course of proceedings, such of them as might have been taken into custody in consequence of information furnished by himself, should be secure from punishment, let their offence have been as clear as possible. Another condition was, that he was at full liberty to adopt what steps he might deem proper, without any interference, unless in the event of the probability of actual danger arising to the public peace; and that whatever were the results of any measures acted upon by the Government, Messrs. Jeffrey and Cockburn should be made acquainted with them. He had next proposed that several other persons should be admitted into the confederacy—persons who were unacquainted either with him or with each other: and that then, their respective accounts being checked, there could not by any possibility be a garbled statement. He further also stipulated that the most profound secrecy should be observed, and that he should hold no communication with the Government. Unluckily, however, this last condition was not adhered to by all the parties concerned. Over the individuals breaking through the compact in question, he had no control; and the consequence of its infraction was, that he found himself placed in a very ambiguous position, and his friends refused to permit him to make any real statement of the affair. In consequence of the stipulation in question not being strictly enforced, it led to the premature apprehension of several persons connected with this secret confederacy, and they were brought to trial, but, for the want of proper evidence, were acquitted. Of the parties so acquitted he knew but two, but the arrest of those persons led to the declaration, that he knew of the existence of the confederacy. As it was a prosecution of a novel nature, from the circumstances connected with it, all the popular counsel gave their assistance to the accused parties, and they were acquitted. He had not been arrested, and if the men had been convicted, he should have had no hesitation in laying the whole of the facts before the public; but, as it was, he was prevented from so doing; and he ultimately suffered the greatest misery, and a very great pecuniary sacrifice. He had been advised by some of his friends to quit the

country, and they offered him their assistance to do so. Messrs. Cockburn and Jeffrey said, "No; Mr. Richmond has been ruined by his exertions to keep the peace of the country, and the Government are bound to indemnify him." In consequence of this a representation was made to the Government, and a sum of money was given in full of all demands upon Government. Mr. Richmond, then, after some further observations, proceeded to state the nature of the libels of which he complained. The first of these publications appeared in the number of *Tail's Magazine* for May, 1833, and was headed "The Spy System of the last Thirteen Years!" It stated that in the summer of the last year 1820 the Whigs and Reformers of Edinburgh, after a long day of gloom, saw a ray of hope, held a meeting, at which a resolution was proposed that "the present Government had refused to alleviate the distresses of the people, and had employed spies and informers to a most unprecedented extent, and who were in many cases the cause of those disturbances for which other persons were frequently punished." It next went on to state, "It was a system equal to that of the Inquisition, or France under Richelieu and Mazarin; that amongst the worst of these spies was one Richmond, a clever knave, and therefore the more dangerous. This man became acquainted with Messrs. Cockburn and Jeffrey, and when he was indicted for being concerned in a combination, they advised him not to stand a trial, and he accordingly ran away, and was outlawed. He shortly afterwards came back to Scotland, and again made an application to Messrs. Cockburn and Jeffrey for money." This assertion was totally devoid of truth; and so far from his having applied to Mr. Jeffrey for pecuniary assistance, that gentleman, when he was sentenced to the imprisonment already mentioned of one month, wrote a letter in which he condoled with him in his misfortunes and enclosed, of his own free will and unsolicited, a sum of money. The second libel stated that, "This knave Richmond made another application to Mr. Finlay, who was at that time full of a grand state secret or plot to overthrow the Government, and Richmond was just the man to suit his purpose, and who could be advantageously employed to obtain information of the facts connected with the supposed plot. Accordingly an arrangement was immediately entered into between these two worthies. But when rogues fall out honest men get their own; and accordingly, some time afterwards, Richmond wrote a work in which he stated that when he was applied to, to become a spy, he refused to do so until he had consulted his friends, Messrs. Cockburn and Jeffrey, upon the subject, as a saving clause." In other extracts, Mr. Richmond was designated a "villainous spy." One of the expressions applied to him was, "the social Barker found more credulous victims." The plaintiff here commented at some length as to what might be formed a true and proper definition of the

law of libel. He should define a libel itself to be the use of an expression which was calculated to depreciate or to lower a man in the estimation of his fellows. He would, therefore, contend, with every confidence, that the phrase which he had just quoted came within that definition. No event ever excited more unmitigated horror than the circumstances arising out of the trial of the man named "Burke," and as the whole scope of English language was not capable of conveying an idea of greater atrocity than that expression, he thought the jury would be instantly so convinced that the publication in question was a libel, that it could not be necessary for him to make a single animadversion as to the animus of the writer. In another part he was termed "a ruffian," and was stated "to have proposed a treasonable oath, and to have corrupted a weaver." The article next proceeded, in reference to the conditions made by Mr. Richmond, to say, that "a treasonable address had been posted up in Glasgow by the spy and his emissaries." Now he submitted that these articles had been written with the view of confounding events and circumstances, and by such means to raise up an unfavourable impression against him. The occurrences of various years had been mingled together in such a manner as most artfully to confound his intentions. There was likewise a distinct charge of treason against him. The Habeas Corpus Act had been suspended, in consequence of the report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the subject of the general insurrectionary movements throughout the country. The statements further said that "the Government wished to get rid of their creature, Richmond, and to ship him off to the Cape of Good Hope, but he was too good a judge, and he stuck to their skirts like a burr. He was not content with a few hundreds. This poor weaver talked contemptuously of a few hundreds. He knew his power, and was determined to exert it. At this time the people of Glasgow had begun to be suspicious of Richmond, and the circumstance of his connexion with Finlay increased the suspicion." He was also accused of having incited parties to commit offences against the Government and against the law. It was likewise stated that he had first met Mr. Finlay as an honest man, and that he had seduced him into becoming a spy by the offer of such advantages as a needy man would be likely to grasp at. He had been employed, it was asserted, to discover a plot which absurdly was supposed to exist in the breast of Mr. Finlay, and not being able to ascertain that such plot existed, it was affirmed that he had created one himself. It was then said that without Mr. Finlay the infamous spy, Richmond, would never have been engaged to discover a plot, which fortunately broke down, instead of terminating in blood. He was thus treated as an incendiary, as a traitor, and as a spy. His attention was originally directed to this matter

shortly after the publication of the number for May, and he wrote a letter to the editor which reached that individual prior to the publication of the next number. Instead, however, of inserting that letter, the editor published a commentary, written by some person who had read his communication, treating every attempt to controvert the original statement with irony, sarcasm, and contempt. The last libel of which he had to complain was contained in the number for August in the same year; it, like its predecessors, appeared in the form of a review of what had previously been published in a penny unstamped paper in Glasgow. It began, as usual, with "The Spy System." The libel stated that "it was not they who had driven Richmond to execration and contempt, but it was his own exasperation at the fact of his annuity having been stopped at the Home-office; and that, therefore, having extorted all he could from one party, he would now endeavour to extort money by making the public acquainted with all that with which he was acquainted. Why did not the patriot spy come forward at the time when the Tory lawyers were doing all they could to hang and transport the poor men, and endeavour to save them?" They were saved; and if they had not been saved he should have come forward and stated what he knew. It was true, and he did not deny the fact, that he had had communications with the crown lawyers in Scotland in reference to the trials, but no one was incarcerated in consequence; and he could say with confidence, that it was by his interposition and influence that not a single individual underwent one hour's imprisonment during the existence of the Suspension Bill in 1817. The events of 1819 had been mixed up wilfully and cunningly with those of 1817. With the latter, however, he had nothing whatever to do. In fact the principal condition for which, at the original negotiation, he had stipulated, was, that he should have nothing to do with the prosecutions, and therefore it was that he was unable to render any assistance to the crown lawyers. He had, doubtless, been cited upon the first trial, but that was the only solitary occasion where he had been put into the witness-box. Subsequently, however, he had informed the crown legal advisers that he would afford them no assistance. Mr. Richmond then proceeded with a number of passages from the number of the Magazine for August, each and all of which he contended were of a libellous character as against himself. He next expressed his regret that the rules of evidence prevented his going into a statement of various other matters, which, by way of more clearly elucidating the case, he was anxious to place before the court. He should however rely upon the integrity of the British jury, and be satisfied that, under all the circumstances, they would judge the case fairly and impartially. It was at least eighteen years since he could be even imagined to have had any connec-

tion with the occurrences to which this case had reference, and he must here observe, that it had fallen to the lot of but few persons, possessed of his slender pecuniary means, to effect so much benefit to his fellow-creatures as he had had the happiness to accomplish. He would put it to the jury, as Englishmen, to say, with a view of showing the animus of the writer, that supposing all the statements to have been founded in fact, could there be a doubt that an injury must be inflicted by their publication, whether they did or not come within the true definition of a libel. He repeated, that never was any thing so utterly devoid of truth as the assertions contained in the publications in question. The intention of these libels was to show, that at one particular period the Government of this country did not hesitate to resort to the basest means to control the people, and that the men who were executed had taken up part in illegal proceedings, and that they were led on as dupes. The base insinuation, that he had led the people on to mischief, he utterly and indignantly denied. He then referred to Oliver, and said that though his (the plaintiff's) name had been connected with that individual, he knew nothing about him. He declared the whole of the charges brought against him were false, and added that if the motives of a man were looked upon as the test of good actions, and of good and upright intentions, then was that the most virtuous act of his life for performing which he had been so grossly calumniated and traduced in the libels in question. The plaintiff concluded a speech of nearly four hours' duration, by stating that the spirits and nerves of most men would have given way under the series of attacks which had been heaped upon him, and sat down, after expressing his thanks to the court and to the jury, for the patient attention they had extended to him.

Mr. Sergeant TALFOURD (for the defendants) here intimated, that he should feel it his duty to call evidence in support of the plea of justification.

Mr. STEER (who was engaged for the plaintiff) then called

Mr. Thomas Brown, who stated himself to be plaintiff's attorney; he produced the copies of *Tail's Magazine* for May, June, July, and August, 1833, in which the alleged libels were published. He had purchased them at the shop of Messrs. Simpkin and Marshall, Paternoster-row. The firm was Marshall and Miles, but they carried on business under the firm of Simpkin and Marshall.

Cross-examined. Knew that Mr. Miles was connected with the firm, because he had had a communication with him.

The copies of the Magazine were then put in, and the articles complained of read. They were of great length.

Mr. Richmond then said that he had numerous witnesses to speak to his standing in society for the last twelve or fourteen years.

Mr. Baron PARK. You have not put any

plea of special damage on the record; and you therefore cannot prove by these witnesses that you have sustained that damage.

Mr. Richmond was content to rest his case where it was.

Mr. Sergeant TALFOURD then rose to address the court for the defence. He commenced by saying, that he felt great difficulty in addressing the court, in consequence of the plaintiff having selected the London publishers of the Magazine for this action, and making them responsible for the matter of which he complained. They knew nothing of the contents of the Magazine; they merely received it from Edinburgh by steam, and could have no unfriendly feeling towards the plaintiff, of whom it was very possible they might never, before the present action was brought, have heard even the name. He admitted that the plaintiff had laid down the law of the case very correctly, and that publishers of a libel were as much the subject of an action as the writer or proprietors of the publication in which it appeared. He might have gone further, and said, for it was the fact, that not only the present publishers were responsible for the alleged libel, if it should be held to be such by the jury, but that all the vendors of the Magazine, nay, every person who had lent that Magazine to any friends or acquaintance, were equally liable in the eye of the law. But when he (Mr. Sergeant Talfourd) admitted this, he was surprised at his bringing this action against the defendants, especially when he took so much credit to himself as he had done for integrity and disinterestedness, and the general excellence of his conduct. It would doubtless be right to bring an action against the publishers of a libel, when the person aggrieved could not get at the editor or proprietor of the work; but that justification could not be urged in the present instance, for the name of the editor and proprietor of the publication was legibly printed on every cover of the Magazine. It was a fact that Mr. Richmond had taken no steps whatever to prosecute Mr. Tait, the editor and proprietor of the publication in which the alleged libels appeared. The plaintiff must have known the fact of Mr. Tait being the party against whom the action ought to have been brought, as the plaintiff had addressed a letter to him by name, complaining of the articles in question. What possible excuse then could Mr. Richmond have for passing by Mr. Tait, and singling out the London publishers of the Magazine? The reason why he did so was, that he knew he could not venture to bring an action of this kind, where his conduct in the transactions to which the articles referred had occurred and was so well known. There he could not venture to appear. If the plaintiff had been any thing other than a spy (let him deny the epithet as he may), would he not have brought his action in Scotland, and against the editor and proprietor of the journal in which the matter complained of appeared, and where he could have called

those persons of high and honourable character of whom he had spoken so much as being his friends, to give evidence in his favour? If they thought so highly of his conduct in the transaction referred to, they would only have had to step, as it were, across the streets to vindicate his character from those charges, had he brought his action in Scotland and against the proper party. Why had he not brought his action sooner? The article of which he complained, and out of which the other matter arose, was only a review of a work which had been published twelve months before the review appeared, and which work contained all the charges of which the plaintiff now complained. Why did he not bring his action against that work, when it was avowedly published by a Mr. Peter Mackenzie? Is Mr. Richmond to allow these charges to be brought against him in Glasgow, where he said his relations and friends chiefly were, and where they had become matters of notoriety, and then turn round and pounce on the London publishers of *Tait's Magazine*? He brought the action against the London publishers because he knew that the high and honourable persons whom he had represented to be his particular friends, could not leave their important official duties to come to give evidence in that court, but who, had the case been tried in Scotland, would have been subpoenaed to appear against him. But, Mr. Richmond, so far from having any ground of complaint for bringing the charges against him which were contained in the articles in question, actually published a work himself in 1824, in which all the same charges were mentioned; and he had also published a second edition of the same work in 1825, and which not only mentioned, but proved almost every charge contained against him in *Tait's Magazine*. That work was called "A Narrative of the Condition of the Manufacturing Population of Scotland, and of the Proceedings of Government relative to the State Trials in that country for administering unlawful Oaths in 1817, with a clear account of the Espionage adopted at that period in Glasgow and its neighbourhood." One thing was clear, that Mr. Richmond, at the time he published the work in question, was importuning, and had been importuning Government for compensation for services he had done the Government in 1817; but feeling in his own mind the hell of suing in vain, so forcibly described by Spenser in the quotation, he (the plaintiff) had given from that poet, he determines to revenge himself on the Government, and then, in disregard of all those domestic and family considerations, to which he had referred as making him desirous that the charges relative to the transactions of 1817 should not be again raked up, he develops and publishes to the world the whole matters connected with those transactions. He (Mr. Sergeant Talfourd) would ask, then, was it not monstrous after this to turn round and pounce on those who had only repeated the

charges which he had published himself? He need not say that when a man published a work on his own conduct, that conduct was the fair subject of discussion and animadversion. If the book was condemnatory of his conduct, why complain of it when published by himself? And if exculpatory, then Mr. Tait gives the antidote along with the bane, by referring repeatedly in the course of the review to the work, and mentioning the name of the publisher. Mr. Sergeant Taitford then referred to the circumstances connected with the plaintiff's conduct in 1817, and to the situation in life in which he had previously been placed. In that year Mr. Finlay had, in the name of the Government, caused a number of persons to be arrested and conveyed to Edinburgh on a charge of high treason, which charge was grounded on the information communicated to him by the plaintiff. These men were all tried for this capital offence, and might, some of them, have been hanged, and the rest transported for life, but for the evidence of a man of the name of Campbell. This man had been previously practised on by Mr. Richmond. When he came to be examined, he was asked by the judge, according to the usual custom in Scotch courts, whether he had been told what he was to say by any one, or whether he had received any fee or reward for the evidence he was to give? To the inexpressible surprise of the whole court, the witness said he had received money for the evidence he was about to give. This, of course, upset the whole proceedings, and the prisoners were all acquitted. Mr. Richmond, while he says that he only consented to furnish the information to the officers of Government, which led to the apprehension and imprisonment of those men, on the condition that all of them should be allowed to escape, admits that he heard the counsel for the prosecution remarking in conversation together, while the trial was going on, that some of them, if convicted, would be capitally punished, and that the rest would be transported for life; and he will have cause to thank God while he lives that his plans did not succeed. Mr. Richmond had been previously a private soldier; not that he (Mr. Taitford) mentioned this as intending any reflection on him. On the contrary, had he raised himself from the humble circumstances of his early life by his own merits, in an honourable way, it would be the greater credit to him. He mentioned this fact merely to show the circumstances, in a pecuniary point of view, in which he had been placed previous to his being engaged in the transaction of 1817. After leaving the army, he worked as a hand-loom weaver, and being a better-informed man than most of those in his situation of life, he was appointed one of the delegates from Pollokshaws, in the Trades' Unions, which at that time existed in Glasgow, for raising the wages and improving the condition of that class of workmen in the strike which followed; though that strike could not be considered a matter of great moral

blame, Mr. Richmond was one of those who were to be tried for illegal combination, and, at the advice of the great Whig lawyers of Scotland, who undertook his defence gratuitously, having then no chance of acquittal, he left the country. He was then declared an outlaw. He returned when the storm had in some measure blown over, but concealed himself from the view of the public, until the necessity had in a great degree ceased to exist for making a public example of the leaders of unionists. It was at this time, and when in a state of the greatest destitution, that he met again with Mr. Finlay, and entered into negotiations with him for detecting the alleged conspiracy, though he says Mr. Finlay had formerly refused to assist him. He would not mention Mr. Richmond's destitution at this time, were it not to show that his protestations of not seeking a fee or reward from Government for his services, but spurning it when offered, could not be true. Mr. Finlay then asked him, according to his own account, at the first interview they had together in Mr. Finlay's house, whether he knew any thing of an extensive conspiracy that then existed against the Government in Glasgow. This was a strange question to ask a man in destitution, especially when it was considered it came from a political enemy. Mr. Richmond's answer—still going on his own published statements—was, that he knew of no such conspiracy; that he thought he must have known it if it did exist. Mr. Finlay rejoined that he had positive and undoubted information of the existence of a very extensive and frightful conspiracy direct from Government itself. Then, replied Mr. Richmond, if it does exist, it must be among the most ignorant and lowest class of the weavers; and added that he could easily ascertain whether or not it did actually exist. He also engaged, if he should find a conspiracy, to furnish Mr. Finlay with all information regarding it, as that would be the best way to preserve the infatuated persons themselves from suffering from their own folly. He said it was so, and that it was, as he supposed, among the lowest, most ignorant, and most destitute classes. He said he got his information from a man of the name of McLaughlan, and cautioned him against letting any one know that he (Mr. Richmond) had been conversing with him on the subject. All this occurred while the negotiation was going on with Mr. Finlay. He (Mr. Sergeant Taitford) did not know what the exact amount of money which Mr. Richmond received at the time for his services, and he could show from Mr. Richmond's own book, that it amounted to some hundreds of pounds. Mr. Finlay afterwards told him that he had the authority of Government to offer him a respectable situation if he would assist to keep the peace; but he (Mr. Richmond) according to his own statement, told Mr. Finlay that the only consideration which could operate with him was, engaging to save the men who might be taken into custody in consequence

of his information. He made an express stipulation with Mr. Finlay to that effect, and also, that he should not be called on to give evidence, or in any way appear against them; and further, that his friends Messrs. Jeffrey and Cockburn should be made acquainted with all that had passed. This being agreed to, he engaged to disperse the conspiracy. His plan was to get a person who was well acquainted with the arcana of the whole conspiracy, and then endeavour to convince him of the absurdity and danger of the contemplated opposition to Government. Mr. Richmond admits that he gave the man he singled out for this purpose a small sum of money to relieve his necessities. He (Mr. Sergeant Talfourd) would ask with Mr. Tait, where did the money come from for this purpose? He would maintain that there was not a single charge of which Mr. Richmond complained, that was not made out by this unfortunate admission. At this time Mr. Richmond told the persons engaged in the conspiracy that he had great influence with the reformers in England, and actually told them whom they should co-operate with in England in organizing the general resistance to Government, though he himself says he gave the names of such persons as he knew would not engage in any such conspiracy. Campbell, the man who baffled the crown lawyers in the prosecution by confessing he was paid for the evidence he was about to give, was the next man played upon by Mr. Richmond, and he owned he had received some small sums of money from him. Mr. Richmond admits that he played on the poor deluded men by making them believe that he was favourable to the conspiracy; for, as already observed, he complied with their request to furnish them with the names of those with whom they ought to correspond for the organization of the rebellion. Mr. Richmond says, as had already been stated, that he spurned the offer of remuneration for the services on the occasion in question, and yet he afterwards appeals for years to Government to reward his services and to indemnify him for the losses he sustained. He (Mr. Sergeant Talfourd) would ask what losses a man could sustain who was at the time in a state of destitution? Mr. Richmond complained of all these things being raked up against him at this distance of time. Why, then, he (Mr. Sergeant Talfourd) would ask, did he not meet and repel the charges, and vindicate his character, in 1817, when the matter made so much noise in the country? In his book he admits the same charges were then made in a Glasgow paper, and yet he did not attempt to vindicate his character from them. He could then have called his friends, Messrs. Jeffrey and Cockburn, as they would have been on the spot, to give him the assistance he wanted. But why had he not on the present occasion got a line to produce in his favour by these gentlemen? He admits that his life rather resembles the portions of a romance than the actual circumstances of

real life, and that it would have been almost impossible for him at the time, and in Scotland, to make the public believe in the integrity and disinterestedness of his motives. Mr. Sergeant Talfourd then proceeded to remark at some length on the alleged libels, contending there was nothing in them which a man in his situation had any right to complain of, or which would injure his character to any greater extent than it had been damaged before. Mr. Richmond was a Scotchman, the transactions took place in Scotland, those of the parties who were still alive were there, and why not bring the action there, where, if his conduct had been good, it must be known to be so? He did not mean to say that Mr. Richmond was a man of such unqualified bad character as some others who had been employed by Government to do similar service for it; he did not believe, and he would give Mr. Richmond the full benefit of the admission, that he thirsted for the blood of the men whose lives he had endangered; he believed he only, in the destitute circumstances in which he was then placed, yielded to the temptation of the reward; he believed, indeed, the book he had published gave proofs of it, that his better nature had since relented, and that he regretted that he had ever been induced to act as he had done; nay, he would even do him the justice to believe that, before consenting to get up the alleged conspiracy, he had exacted a solemn condition from Mr. Finlay that none of the men who might be taken into custody as the ringleaders of the conspiracy should be subjected to any punishment, or injured in any way whatever; in short, he saw many redeeming qualities in Mr. Richmond, and he believed his conduct had been praiseworthy and honourable for the last ten or twelve years; still he must say, for the reasons he had already stated, that he did not see he had any right to complain of his character having been injured by the publications in question, and consequently he had no right to ask damages. Mr. Sergeant Talfourd sat down after a very able and eloquent speech of about three hours' duration.

The learned judge then asked Mr. Sergeant Talfourd whether he thought they would be able to finish that evening.

Mr. Sergeant Talfourd replied in the negative; and the case was consequently adjourned till Monday.

This important case was resumed, when witnesses were called for the defence.

Mr. McKenzie, a weaver, deposed that he was living at Glasgow, and was acquainted with Richmond, who was living at Glasgow. Witness recollects that in the year 1816 there was a great meeting at Thersgrove; should think there were 40,000 persons present; this was in October; Richmond was present. In the month of December the plaintiff spoke to him, and proposed an organization of the weavers. He said the people of England

ought to raise an army, and that the Scotch would join them if they did: he was supplied with plenty of means. Witness refused to have anything to do with it. Plaintiff said a rising ought to take place; witness refused to join in the plan; is still living at Glasgow; knew a period of greater distress amongst the manufacturers, that was in the years 1809 and 1810.

This witness was cross-examined at great length, by the plaintiff. The principal points were, that he was astonished the plaintiff should ask him to get up a rising of the weavers, as his opinions were so different, he thought the plaintiff had made a slip.

Buchanan. I am an engineer at the Adelphi Foundry. I am thirty-three years of age; I was acquainted with Mr. Richmond in the year 1816. At the end of that year he and his family were nearly in a state of starvation. He was living in a room above me. He had a wife and two children to support. He in general passed his time in going to public-houses and making speeches. I recollect the great Thersgrove meeting. I was present. On the following day I saw him, when he said he was sorry he had not spoken on the hustings. On the 1. of December, 1816, he hinted to me that there was such a thing as a secret association existing in Glasgow, for the purpose of overthrowing the Government. He said that as soon as that association was formed, he should be backed by a number of the first gentlemen in the land who would find him the means. I had frequent conversations with him in December. In the month of January, I met Mr. Richmond with a young man of the name of Fergusson. Mr. Richmond had a paper in his hand, which was about six inches square. I heard him say to Fergusson, on the paper being removed, he knew my sentiments and there was no danger in me; the paper was read. It was the form of an oath; as far as I can recollect, the person was bound by that form of oath to resist the Government morally as well as physically, as far as in his power; there was also a bond of union to unite together to overturn the Government. The paper was handed to me, which I read and returned, and he put it into his right hand waistcoat pocket. Fergusson then swore, there was nothing would save the land but the working classes, and that he was supported by the best gentlemen in the land. I agreed to take the oath. Fergusson then proposed to take me that night to a place where I could take the oath, and he then proposed to call on me at my shop; this took place in Richmond's presence. At eight o'clock, he called and took me to a room in Tureen-street; it was a school-room. I there saw two other persons, there was M'Kinlie and M'Lachlan; Fergusson said: I had come to take the oath; they appeared to be pleased, and M'Kinlie administered the oath to me; Richmond's name was not mentioned. On the following day I saw Richmond, and he asked me had I heard what was proposed? I said I had; on which he replied, that as soon as a competent number had joined

us, they would begin. I frequently saw Mr. Richmond afterwards, and expressed my regret for what I had done. I said I was afraid there were some Windsors amongst us, alluding to the person who sold Colonel Despard; he said there was no fear, for he had plenty of means, and was supported by the best gentlemen in the land; he often mentioned to me the name of Mr. Owen, of Lanark. In consequence of what was said to me by a person, it induced me to put those questions to Mr. Richmond about Windsor. Two or three days afterwards a person called on me and said he was a spy. I replied I had seen Richmond, and he protested it was false; he then went up stairs, and shortly afterwards came down, bringing with him some ball cartridges, flints, and a turnscrew; he still protested his innocence. Said I might keep them, for he was supplied with other means, that nothing but the point of the bayonet would overturn the Government. I afterwards was at Claggates, where it was told that the officers had come in at the back way, when he exclaimed, "All is discovered, and I am lost"; several were apprehended. I afterwards saw on the walls of Glasgow, written in chalk, "Beware of Richmond the Spy"; it remained on the walls for several months. Richmond then left Glasgow.

(To be continued.)

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 26, 1831.

DUNN, T. P., Cain's-cross, near Stroud, Gloucestershire, wool-merchant.
 EMERSON, A., Lawrence Poutney-lane, Cannon-street, lead-merchant.
 EZEKIEL, B., Tiverton, Devonshire, draper.
 EMBERLIN, W., Deddington and Burford, Oxfordshire, paper-maker.
 GOODACRE, J., Silkstone, Yorkshire, linen-manufacturer.
 HEIGHINGTON, B., Darlington, Durham wine-merchant.
 RACE, J., Wells, next the Sea, Norfolk, grocer.
 ROBINSON, J., Whitehaven, bookseller.
 SHEPHERD, W., Saddleworth, Yorkshire, merchant.
 WRIGGLESWORTH, J., Liverpool, grocer.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION

WILSON, G., Strathaven, merchant.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 30.

INSOLVENTS.

HAYWARD, J., Tottenham-ct.-rd., butcher.
 MOORE, F., jun., Old Kent-road, Surrey,
 vinegar-merchant.
 SHADGETT, B., Loose, Kent, carpenter.

BANKRUPTS.

BOYCE, G., Tiverton, bookseller.
 CLARK, C., Stowey, Somersetshire, chemist.
 ELLIS, W., Portsea, Southampton, timber-
 merchant.
 GILBERT, J., sen., Woburn, Buckingham-
 shire, innkeeper.
 NEWINGTON, H. H., High-street, South-
 work, chinaman.
 PARKINS, J., King William-street, London-
 bridge, tailor.
 STEPHENSON, R. M., and C. J. Blunt,
 Great Ormond-street, Queen-square, civil-
 engineers.
 VOLLANS, J., sen., D. Vollans, and J. Vol-
 lans, jun., Leeds, woollen-cloth-manufac-
 turers.
 WINTERBOTTOM, R., Furlane-within-Sad-
 leworth, Yorkshire, woollen-manufac-
 turer.
 WINTERBOTTOM, W. C., and W. Dickson,
 Oldham, fustian-manufacturers.
 YATES, R., Manchester, innkeeper.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Dec. 29.—

The supplies of Wheat fresh up to this morn-
 ing's market, from the home counties, were
 very moderate; and the land carriage samples
 were also extremely limited. At the com-
 mencement of the market, the trade for
 Wheat as well as Barley, appeared to have
 assumed a firmer character; but towards the
 close, the market became heavy, and the
 business transacted was on a very limited
 scale. Fine white Wheat was, in instances,
 a shade dearer, and fine red realizing the
 prices of this day so'night, but other quali-
 ties difficult of disposal, and several samples,
 even of the short supply, left on hand. In-
 bonded Wheat nothing doing.

Fine Chevalier Barley was steady sale at the
 previous rates, but Norfolk and Suffolk malt-
 ing, as well as distilling qualities, were heavy
 sale. Grinding sorts might have been bought
 on rather lower terms.

Malt dull, but prices unaltered.

The arrival of Oats from Scotland was libe-
 ral, but only moderate from England and Ire-
 land. The trade ruled dull, at the terms of
 last week.

Beans heavy sale, and 1s. lower.

White and Grey Peas also were in limited
 request, and might have been purchased on
 lower terms.

Flour extremely heavy, and ship marks
 almost unsaleable, unless lower terms were
 submitted to.

Wheat, English, White, new....	42s. to 53s.
Old	48s. to 52s.
Red, new	32s. to 42s.
Old	40s. to 42s.
Lincolnshire, red	37s. to 42s.
White	43s. to 44s.
Yorkshire, red	36s. to 40s.
White	40s. to 42s.
Northumberl. & Berwick	38s. to 40s.
Fine white	40s. to 42s.
Dundee & choice Scotch	43s. to 44s.
Irish, red, good	35s. to 36s.
White	38s. to 42s.
Rye, new	30s. to 33s.
Old ..	34s. to 36s.
Barley, English, grinding	26s. to 28s.
Distilling	28s. to 30s.
Malting	32s. to 36s.
Chevalier ..	37s. to 39s.
Malt	44s. to 54s.
Fine new	56s. to 64s.
Beans, Tick, new	33s. to 35s.
Old	36s. to 38s.
Harrow, new	36s. to 38s.
Old	38s. to 40s.
Peas, White, English	38s. to 40s.
Foreign	36s. to 40s.
Grey or Hog	38s. to 40s.
Maples	40s. to 42s.
Oats, Polands	21s. to 24s.
Lincolnshire, short small	22s. to 23s.
Lincolnshire, feed	20s. to 21s.
Yorkshire, feed	20s. to 22s.
Black	22s. to 23s.
Northumberland and Ber- wick Potato, new	24s. to 25s.
Old	25s. to 27s.
Angus, new	23s. to 24s.
Old	—s. to —s.
Banff and Aberdeen, com- mon new	23s. to 24s.
Old	—s. to —s.
Potato	24s. to 26s.
Old	25s. to 27s.
Irish Potato, new	21s. to 23s.
Old	—s. to —s.
Feed, new light	17s. to 19s.
Black, new	20s. to 21s.
Foreign feed	23s. to 23s.
Danish & Pomeranian, old	20s. to 21s.

Petersburgh, Riga, &c...	22s. to 23s
Foreign, in bond, feed....	12s. to 14s.
Brew	16s. to 18s.

PROVISIONS.

Butter, Dorset	40s. to 42s. per cwt.
— Cambridge	40s. to —s.
— York	38s. to —s.
Cheese, Dble. Gloucester	48s. to 68s.
— Single ditto....	44s. to 48s.
— Cheshire	54s. to 74s.
— Derby	50s. to 60s.
Hams, Westmoreland..	50s. to 60s.
— Cumberland ...	50s. to 60s.

SMITHFIELD, December 29.

This day's supply of Beasts was, for that of a holiday market, rather great, but considerably beneath time of year average quality ; its supply of Sheep, Calves, and Porkers, moderately good. Trade was, with each kind of meat, very dull, at no quotable variation from Friday's prices.

About 1,500 of the beasts, consisting of about equal numbers of Shorthorns, Devons, Welsh runts, and Irish beasts, with about 200 Herefords, and about 150 Scots, were from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, and others of our northern districts ; about 300, chiefly Herefords, Devons and runts, with a few Scots and Irish Beasts, from our western and midland districts : about 200, chiefly Scots, with a few Devons and runts, from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire ; about 80, chiefly Sussex Beasts, with a few Devons, runts, Scots, and Irish Beasts, from Kent, Surrey, and Sussex, and most of the remainder, including about 50 Town's-end Cows, from the stall feeders, &c. in the neighbourhood of London.

A full moiety of the Sheep were new Leicesters, of the Southdown and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about two of the former to five of the latter, about an eighth Southdowns ; and the remainder of about equal numbers of old Leicesters and Lincolns, Kents, and Kentish half-breds, with a few pens of horned and polled Norfolks, horned Dorsets and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

TORY MISRULE !

Third Edition, now ready, price 3s. 6d. with the " Crisis," and complete characteristic List of the Anti-reform Ministry, an

APPENDIX TO " THE BLACK BOOK," comprising, 1. Principles and Practices of the Reform Ministry—2. Relative importance of the Agricultural and Commercial Classes—3. The Church and the Dissenters—4. Working of the Excise Laws—5. Poor-law Amendment Act, and Lord Brougham's Speech—6. Catastrophe of the House of Lords—7. Character and Composition of the Reform Parliament—8. Dissolution and Character of the Reform Ministry—9. The Duke and the Tories—10. General Election—11. Tables of Ecclesiastical and Election Statistics, &c. with Corrections of former Editions of the Black Book.

" A manual which ought to be in the hands of every Reformer at this crisis."—*Morning Chronicle*.

Also, in one large volume, with Portraits of the Reform Ministry, price 18s. or with the Appendix, bound in black cloth, 24s.

THE BLACK BOOK of Abuses in Church, State, Courts of Law, Corporations, and Public Companies.—No Parliamentary Candidate or Elector ought to be without this important volume at the existing crisis ; it being a complete picture of the system of Tory misrule and corruption, which it is now sought to perpetuate.

Published by Effingham Wilson, 88, Royal Exchange.

THE MONTHLY REPOSITORY : a LITERARY AND POLITICAL JOURNAL for JANUARY, price 1s. 6d., contains, 1. The True Spirit of Reform. 2. The Nutcracker. 3. On Quaker Women. 4. A Political Oratorio. 5. Vanity and the Hermit. 6. A Chapter on Chimneys. 7. Examination of William Shakspeare, touching Deer-stealing. 8. On Rational Education. 9. Notes on the Newspapers ; Church and King anti-property doctrines ; the principle of the Whig administration ; the Peel Manifesto.

Charles Fox, Paternoster-row.

MORISON'S PILLS.

Report from Mr. WILLIS, Agent for Wallingford, Berks.

TO MESSRS. MORISON AND MOAT.

GENTLEMEN,—On returning you the petition for the liberation of Mr. Webb (which has been signed by 160 individuals of this small district, willingly and cheerfully given, as I can attest on oath, if required), I beg leave to state an excellent case of the soundness and purity of your invaluable medicines.

A young woman, of the name of Fanny Cosens, was so diseased from her infancy, with "complication of disorders," as to render her a diminutive, wretched object. About two years since she was so ill that she could not walk two yards without great pain, and about this time she began taking "Morison's Pills," in large and powerful doses. A large substance, which was formed in her side, soon began to disappear, and passed through her bowels like putrid flesh, or liver, and at times, as large as a tea-cup. It is now quite gone. She has voided three different sorts of worms in great quantities: in short, by the help of the Pills alone, whole heaps of corruption have been cast out of the body and still continue to be discharged; but, thank heaven, she is now able to follow her domestic employment, and can walk ten miles without the least pain, or apparent fatigue. The faith and enthusiastic joy and gratitude of the poor girl is better conceived than described, by any one but herself, which she intends shortly to lay before the public.

I have many more important cases under my care of which you will be apprized in due time.

I am, gentlemen,

Your faithful servant and friend,

BETSY WILLIS,

Agent for Wallingford, Berks.

Sept. 15, 1831.

Cure of a severe Chest and Lung Complaint.

To Mr. Mason, General Agent for Staffordshire.

Sir,—For the benefit of the afflicted, I beg you to make public the case and cure of my wife, who has been under extreme suffering from a severe attack of Rheumatism, brought on by a cold, and settled on the chest and lungs, attended with a heavy cough and expectoration. Finding no relief from the usual means, she had recourse to the "Universal Vegetable Medicines," and she is happy to say, that, by a due attention to them, she is so very much recovered, that a perfect cure may be considered as already effected; for which she is thankful to God as the author of the blessing, and to Mr. Morison, as the agent of Providence, in the discovery of this inestimable remedy. I am respectfully, sir,

Your obedient servant,

WM. ELLIS.

Walsall, Staffordshire,
19 April, 1834.

93, FLEET-STREET,

Near the avenue to St. Bride's church.

SWAIN & Co., Clothiers, Tailors, and Drapers, gratefully acknowledge the almost unprecedented support with which they have been honoured by the public; and beg to say that nothing shall induce them in any way to relax in their exertions to retain that patronage with which they have been so kindly favoured.

As SWAIN & Co. manufacture their own woollen goods, they are able to supply gentlemen's clothing at a much lower price than they can be procured for at any other house in the trade.

The following is a List of their Prices for Cash:

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Superfine Coats, of Fashionable Colours, from patent finished Cloths	2	10	0	3	5	0
Ditto, Blue or Black	3	5	0	3	15	0
Extra Saxony Wool, Blue or Black	3	15	6	& upwards		
Superfine Frock, with Silk Facings	3	10	0	4	0	0
Ditto Trowsers	1	0	0	1	10	0
Summer Trowsers	0	14	0	1	1	0
Kerseymere Waistcoats	0	12	0	0	13	0
Marseilles Ditto	0	8	0	0	10	6
Valencia and Toilets	0	16	0	0	14	0
Silk Ditto	0	10	0	1	0	0
A Suit of Livery	4	4	0	4	10	0

Naval and Military Uniforms, Ladies' Habits and Pelisses, Children's Dresses, Shooting Jackets and Hunting Coats, Camlet and Plaid Cloaks, Witney Wrappers, and every other garment equally cheap.

Export orders punctually executed.

I recommend Messrs. Swain and Co. as very good and punctual tradesmen, whom I have long employed with great satisfaction.

WM. COBBETT.

MATHEW'S STORE CANDLE, 5½d. per pound. Good strong Yellow Soap, 4½d.; best pale, ditto, 5½d.; best mottled, 6d. Superfine Wax-wick Moulds, 7d. Finest Wax, 2s. Transparent Spermin, or Composition, 2s. Finest Sealing-wax, 4s. Superfine old, ditto. Windsor Soap, 1s. 4d. Rose, Almond, and Camphor, 1s. 6d. Palm and white Windsor, 1s. Curd, 8d. Genuine Spermin Oil, 6s. per Imperial gallon. Pale Seal, 3s. 6d. and 4s.—41, Long-acre, and 34, Upper Mary-bone-street, Portland-place.—Cash.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 87.—No. 2.] LONDON, SATURDAY, JANUARY 10TH, 1835. [Price 1s. 2d.



OLDHAM, 6. Jan., 1835.

THE election here, which will take place to-morrow, will show (if that were wanting) what a base and stupid set of devils the London news-editors are. "COBBETT, *it was thought*, could "stand *no chance*; though, some *expected*, that Fielden might *get in*." And that lump of dung, the "MORNING HERALD," as it is called, stating the *causes* so gravely, with its jackass ears pricked up, and its big, round, whiting-like eyes fixed upon the floor; that nasty, beastly thing, which seems to be uttering its odious sounds at the wrong end. The *name* of the half-drunken hack, who does what is called the *writing* of this paper, I cannot get at, without beating up all the stinking alleys of the WEN; but, the PROPRIETOR's name I can get at; and, as many of my constituents want to *kick* him, if opportunity should serve, when I get back to the WEN, I will drag him out by the ears, howl as hideously as he likes.

Oldham, 7. January, 1835.

The election over (half-past eleven o'clock), in an hour and three quarters in the whole! And, any thing so well, so sensibly, so every way nicely conducted, I never before saw. The returning officer, JAMES LEES, Esq., just as

polite and amiable-looking young man as can be imagined. Mr. FIELDEN was proposed by Mr. JOSHUA MILNE, and seconded by Mr. JOHN TRAVERS. I was proposed by Mr. ALEX. TAYLOR, and seconded by Mr. HAGUE.—Here was *sense*. We had *no placards*; we had *no address*; we *asked* no man for a vote; and did not ask the collective body. We had *nothing of expense of any sort*; even for our *own personal entertainment*. Here was no *nonsense*; no *flattery*; no *coaxing*; no *bombast*: nor was there any nonsense about "*stopping* THE *supplies*." We told our constituents that it was their duty to feel grateful to the King for what he had done; and that it would be our duty to take care to avoid every thing tending to thwart his servants, if they appeared to be disposed to act in conformity to the good of his people; and, that nothing, we were resolved, should induce us to give our countenance to any factious proceeding, *having* for its object to *lessen* the constitutional weight and authority of the King or of the Lords. In all which we had the hearty concurrence of our constituents.

MANCHESTER ELECTION.

Evening, 7. Jan.

The NOMINATION has taken place here to-day. The assemblage immense! The decision, upon the show of hands, "for Sir CHARLES WOLSELEY and Mr. BRAIDLEY." Sir Charles had *fifty to one*; Mr. BRAIDLEY a great majority over Thomson and Philips.

MANCHESTER ADDRESS.

On the 3. of January, 1834, a meeting of, perhaps, from 5 to 7,000 men, took place in this town to present an address to me. Of this address, which I shall presently insert, I am prouder than of any thing that has happened to me in my whole life, the honour conferred on me by the PEOPLE OF OLDHAM always excepted. I am very grateful for the honour rendered me in Scotland, in Ireland, and in other parts of England; and, it is not the *fame* and the *wealth* of Manchester which make this address so highly valuable in my eyes; but, the circumstance of its being the greatest hive of *working people* in the whole world. It is the great planet of industry, skill, and punctuality, surrounded by numerous satellites of the same character; and all supereminent in good sense and public spirit; especially in those who do the work. I might, with perfect ease, have now been chosen for Manchester. But, no! It was OLDHAM, that, in fact, took me up from the plough, and placed me on a level with those, who had, for thirty years, continued to *keep me down*, and, if possible destroy me; it was OLDHAM that did this; to OLDHAM I owe a debt of gratitude, the exertions of the remainder of my life will be far too little adequately to repay.

ADDRESS.

Sir,—We, the people of Manchester, joyfully seize this opportunity of tendering you the expression of our feeling of congratulation and exultation, on your return from your triumphant pro-

gress in Ireland. Very long, sir, have we beheld in you, the mighty and almost only defender of English liberty, the champion of the working man, whether at the plough or the loom, and the unflinching exposor of all abuses long ago. Sir, you stripped the complex and intricate subject of paper-money of the flimsy sophistries which knavery had spread over it, you made it clear and intelligible to every man of common sense, and taught the whole people of England that till that hydra of fraud, usury, and corruption was destroyed, liberty was but an empty name, and reformed Parliaments, republics, and free institutions, were but cunningly devised frauds to reduce the industrious and the honest (the working millions) to the most horrible state of slavery under the iron fangs of an unfeeling monied aristocracy. We know too, sir, that you had instilled into the mind of the whole people a just appreciation of the value for the poor man's charter, "Elizabeth's Poor-law." We had closely watched the glorious stand that you made in your place in Parliament to preserve it against the damnable attempts of "Scotch economists," hired lying commissioners, and greedy landlords, to overthrow it. Unable to prevent the act from *nominally* passing, with joy we beheld you strangle the serpent when born, before it had entwined its hideous folds around the cradle of the ploughman's child, and the sick bed of the aged and helpless son and daughter of toil. You, sir, taught us all, aye, and thundered conviction even to the grasping and coward souls of the landlords, that the labourers

on the land have a better title to a maintenance from the land, than the landlord has to his rent. You proved to us, sir, clearly as that the glorious orb of day shines on the ploughman's cot as brightly as on the tyrant's palace, that if the poor man's charter be torn, if his right to food, raiment, and shelter from the land, be withheld, then the landlord's title deeds are a mere waste paper, the land is his no more. This undeniable truth, sir, has already made the heritors' flinty hearts to quail, and the ploughmen's and weavers' to jump for joy; they are determined to preserve the legal rights, and to live on the land upon which their fathers lived and died; but, sir, why should we, consume your time in the enumeration of your deeds, when we can sum all up in that glorious cry, that you have raised from John O'Groat's house to the Land's End, that cry which has told corruption in a voice of thunder, "Accursed thing, thy days are numbered!" that cry which is the death signal of the monster paper-money, and the harbinger of happiness and of plenty to the industrious labourer and artizan. All, sir, that we need ask or struggle for is contained in the emphatic words of the chopsticks, "WE WILL NOT LIVE ON POTATOES."

Knowing the length of time the herculean task of enlightening this great nation, and exposing the follies and blunders committed for centuries by those who had wielded her destinies, had taken you, we confess, sir, it was with mingled feelings of doubt and hope, that we heard of your intention to go amongst our horribly oppressed

brethren of Ireland, for the purposes of judging of their actual condition for yourself, of instructing them as to the real causes of their incredible miseries, and of teaching them the only mode by which they could surmount them.

But, sir, when we heard one triumphal shout of welcome hail you as the great advocate of Irish rights, as the man who had manfully, generously, and successfully combated the prejudices with which hypocrisy and tyranny had for centuries carefully imbued in our minds even from the cradle against the Irish religion, the religion of our own brave, free, and wise fathers, which prejudices you had torn from the minds of a whole people and scattered to the winds; when we perceived them "offer you the tribute of their deep and lasting gratitude for your History of the Protestant Reformation, for the benevolent sympathy which you alone of the public men of England had manifested for their wrongs, and for the unstinted justice with which you had demanded the whole of their rights": when we heard this language, sir, and were made aware that these were the feelings of our generous and open-hearted fellow subjects, whose virtue we had never doubted, but who, we had been falsely led to believe, were ignorant of their and our rights, then we were sure that the mighty object would be accomplished, and that Ireland would in conjunction with the repeal of the Union, demand and obtain Elizabeth's Poor-law.

This, sir, we are sure will effectually remedy the miseries of Ireland, and the energetic endeavours of one Englishman

are destined to compensate her for the enormous wrongs done her by successive English Governments for centuries. What a proud reflection it will be for you, sir, when you see, for we trust you will live to see the people of Ireland eating the food of Ireland, instead of sending it to absentee landlords and sinecure parsons in London, Paris, Rome, and Naples.

Yes, sir, we venture to predict that your sound constitution and temperate habits will enable you one day to return to Ireland, and receive the blessings of a well-clad and well-fed people, whom you were the means of rescuing from rags and garbage. We trust you will one day see there, prosperous farmers instead of wretched serfs, and happy contented labourers feeding on the fat sides of those hogs which are now the robbers of their children's meals, and the companions of their beds. In fine, we are sanguine enough to believe that your instructions will induce Irishmen to demand and enforce a system of poor-laws which will enable the people of Ireland to live, and live well on the produce of that rich and luxurious land, on which they are now compelled by their tyrannical taskmasters to work and to starve.

For ourselves, sir, disappointed as we are at the doings of our reformed Parliament, in which so little but mischief has been done, we thank you for the heavy blows you have struck at each of the hydra heads of "the thing." The stamp laws exist, but you have dealt them their deathblow; the poor-law has been abrogated, but you have ensured its revival unencumbered by

Sturges Bourne's improvements; Peel's bill remains in force, but you have rendered its very mischief productive of eventual good. The national debt still drives thousands from competence to misery, but thanks to William Cobbett and Andrew Jackson, no choice is now left to the Government, but immediate equitable adjustment, or speedy annihilation of stock, funds, banks, Jews, and all idlers who at present live on the fruits of our industry.

We thank you, sir, for your instructions to our youth, for your defence of the oppressed, and for your unwearied, and for a long time apparently unavailing efforts in the cause of the working people of England, and in advance we thank you for those glorious fruits of the good seed you have sown, which we now confidently anticipate that we are about to gather.

May the Giver of all good things prolong your useful life, till you receive the only reward that is worthy of you, and that can fully compensate for all the toils, sufferings, imprisonments, reproaches and slanders that you have endured, we mean the glorious reward of seeing the people of England, Scotland and Ireland, mainly through your exertions, brought back to comfort, affluence, and happiness, their oppressors trodden under foot, excessive taxes, sinecure churches, national debts, and paper-money, become matters of history, to be looked back upon with horror like the plague and the pestilence.

May you live, sir, to enjoy this triumph of virtue, wisdom, and perseverance, over the union of a greater mass of perfidy, folly, and slavish indolence, than

ever before were united with power, and set over the destinies of a great nation in the history of the world.

To William Cobbett, M.P.

I answered this address *in speech*, the state *in which we live here*, at present, not affording a great number of minutes, in the twenty-four hours, for either *writing* or *thinking*!

TO THE JUST AND SENSIBLE PEOPLE OF MANCHESTER.

SEEING Mr. POULETT THOMSON placarded as the stanch advocate of CHEAP BREAD, and having a great hatred of delusion of this sort, I think it right thus publicly to assert, that Mr. THOMSON, in the debate on the CORN BILL, repeatedly declared that he DID NOT EXPECT that the repeal of that bill would have the effect of MAKING BREAD MORE CHEAP than it would be without such repeal.

Being very jealous of my reputation as a PROPHET, I beg leave to remind you, that as soon as Mr. THOMSON was elected, in 1832, I PROPHESIED that patriot and orator SHUTTLEWORTH would be *feeding upon the taxes within two years from that day*; and I hear that the patriot has outstripped the prophecy! Another patriot, too, of the name of DYER, has, I know, had a permission from the Whig Ministry to export machinery, and, I believe, to Russia, to be used in manufactories there; and it may be worth your while to ascertain whether this machinery be not sent to the house of "*Bonner and Thomson*," of Petersburg.

And it is a low, selfish, place-hunting, self-hunting, no-nation crew like this, is it, who are to juggle a man in to be a member for this great and famous town of sensible people! You *thanked* the King for having driven the base and cruel Whigs from his councils and presence; and will you now suffer to stand before you, as a candidate, one of that justly detested and rapacious band, whose last act was a scheme for *robbing the working people of their wages*, and for reducing them to a "*coarser sort of food*"?

The crew who now hang on Mr. THOMSON expect, I understand, to see him *again with the power* to give them food and clothing out of the fruit of your industry. These expectations are, I thank God, vain as the dreams of madmen. Never will the King again degrade himself by sitting in council with that *coarser-food* and *spy-employing* band, who did more insolent, cruel, and savage things towards the people, in four years, than the Tories ever did in four times the time, not excepting the savage years of 1817 and 1819.

Always remember NOTTINGHAM; always remember BRISTOL; always remember the *Dorsetshire labourers*; the more than *three hundred men transported at one time* from Hampshire, Wiltshire, and Berkshire; the seven hundred fatherless children, the two hundred and twenty husbandless wives, the hundreds of broken-hearted parents; always remember these; and when any TURNCOAT, whose mean soul is sighing to be able to imitate SHUTTLEWORTH; when you see any such reptile, crawling at the heels of the Whigs,

and endeavouring to sweep their infamous deeds out of our memories, bid the mercenary reptile lay down HIS BRUSH a bit; and look back to old "vigorous" Grey's caravans, drawn up in Winchester Castle Yard, surrounded with soldiers; bid him see the chained labourers drawn forth amidst the cries and tears of crowds of aged mothers and fathers, and wives with babies in their arms, children clinging round their fathers' knees, sisters hanging round the necks of brothers; let him see the caravans drive off; let him hear the screams of this assemblage; and then tell him: "Such are the works of the merciless Whigs, one of whom was Mr. POULTEY THOMSON; and if there be an Englishman, to do anything tending to give them the power of doing the like again, he deserves every curse that God has denounced against those 'who grind the faces of the poor, and whose feet are swift to shed innocent blood.'"

"What!" you may say, "would you, then, advise us to vote for A TORY?" Gentlemen Electors, I presume to give you no advice at all; but it is not presumptuous in me to say, what I myself would do in such a case; and that is this, that, rather than vote for Mr. THOMSON; that, rather than, by giving that vote, give my sanction to all the savage deeds of the Whigs, I would have my right arm chopped from my body; and, that, seeing that Mr. PHILLIPS is clearly in the same boat with Mr. THOMSON, I should deem myself a base and stupid wretch, to vote against Mr. BRAIDLEY, merely because of his name of TORY, when he manfully expresses his dislike of the cruel Poor-

law Bill, of his support of which bill, Mr. THOMSON has the insolence to brag as of a glorious achievement.

WM. COBBET.

*Mosely Arms, Manchester,
5. January, 1835.*

MR. WAKLEY

Has, *by this time*, discovered, that I was upon the *right scent* from the first! What! hope that *Whigs* would act an *honest part*! hope to get on by *uniting with them*! He forgot their character: sometimes enemies, sometimes friends, sometimes neutrals, sometimes one thing and sometimes another, like other factions; but ALWAYS PERFIDIOUS. Always greedy, cowardly, and cruel, also; but, their great and never-wanting quality is PERFDY. The ferocious wretches imagine, that they shall be able to jostle out their rivals, and to rob and kill them with impunity; and their mouths are now watering, like that of a hungry dog while he is watching you at your dinner. It is likely enough that their rivals, by disregarding the people, may get shoved out; but, never again will these monsters of Whigs get in. They may *pull down* the fabric, but never *occupy* it again.

MR. J. M. COBBETT.

CHICHESTER, DEC. 31.—Mr. John M. Cobbett, having been invited to come forward as a candidate for this place, arrived here yesterday, and attended a large meeting of the electors at the Swan Hotel. At that meeting it was resolved unanimously that he should stand for the city; and the fol-

lowing is a copy of his address to the electors, which appeared this day :

TO THE ELECTORS OF THE CITY OF
CHICHESTER.

Gentlemen,—Having been invited to appear as a candidate at the coming election of members to serve you in Parliament, I could not hesitate to respond to the call ; and, having already met you once personally, and stated to you briefly my opinions and political principles, I take the first opportunity of putting them before you in print. And this I think it my duty to do, seeing that those of you whom I have had the honour to meet have not put to me any formal tests of those opinions and principles.

Gentlemen, I will deal frankly by you. If I do not answer your expectations, the disappointment shall not result from duplicity of mine. I will state to you, in distinct propositions, what are the principal measures that I will vote for if you should return me to Parliament, and, in doing this, I am ready to contend for the justice, the legality, and expediency of every one of them. Before, however, I state my propositions, let me observe, that I am a *Radical Reformer*, and that I understand that phrase to mean a man who is ready to *eradicate every abuse* whether in the affairs of the state or in the affairs of the church ; but that, no vote of mine shall ever go to infringe one particle of the English constitution ; that I am no spoiler of men's property or rights, and that I feel indignant when I hear myself termed a "*Destructive*." I know that that odious term was in-

vented and is promulgated by self-interested hypocrisy ; and that none of us can be justly charged with that desire for destruction and spoliation which the epithet implies.

Gentlemen, the following are, in a small compass, the propositions to which I have alluded above :

1. A repeal of the "Poor-law Amendment Bill." 2. A repeal of the tax on malt. 3. A shortening of Parliaments to three years. 4. Voting by ballot. 5. A better-regulated suffrage. 6. An equalization of the present unjust taxes on stamps, probates, and legacies. 7. A repeal of the tax on newspapers. 8. An abolition of our unconstitutional standing army in time of peace. 9. A revision of the pension-list, and an abolition of all pensions which have not been earned by public services. 10. Church reform ; and by this I mean a reform of abuses in the church, and not a destruction of it. 11. Relief of the grievances of Dissenters.

These things, gentlemen, I am prepared to contend for, and, if you should give me the opportunity, to vote for ; and, in them all, the main object of my efforts would be the peace and prosperity of every class of the inhabitants of this country, but more especially to better the lot of the patient and industrious producers of the bread which we daily break, the clothes we wear, and the roofs under which we dwell.

The little time that I have at my own disposal may prevent my waiting on you in person, but I hope that this circumstance will not be tortured into a want of respect for you. A canvass, in the usual sense of the term, I would

never adopt; because I have always deemed it impertinent to pledge men to their votes at elections. It is a breach of their privilege. They cannot know, till they see and hear the candidates at the nomination, who is the man most suitable to represent them; and until that day, they cannot even know what candidates are before them. The matter is yours, rather than mine; and, as to pledges, though I think that you have a right to criticise, and even to pledge, *me*, I do not think that I have any right to pledge *you*.

I am, &c,
JOHN M. COBBETT.

TO THE
EDITOR OF THE TRUE SUN.

Manchester, 4. Jan. 1835.

SIR,—I was in error, when I said in my letter to Mr. EDWARD L. BULWER, that *you had frequently praised his work*, and especially, when it might be understood, that I meant that you praised his extolling of the *savage Poor-law Bill*, which extolling it now appears, was put into an edition of the work that you had never seen: and I do assure you, that it gives me great pleasure to find that I was in error, in this respect; and that I most cheerfully do you justice.

As to the "*genius*" of Mr. BULWER. I do not profess to understand what that word, now-a-days, means. But, if it mean, the possession of useful knowledge; if it mean a mind stored with useful thoughts relative to human affairs; thoughts, which, if acted on, tend to make a people virtuous, benevolent, and happy, and a country at once free and great; if "*genius*" mean a mind stored with such thoughts, and possessing the capacity of communicating its thoughts to other minds, and causing them there to take root; if this be the meaning of the word "*genius*";

then, not one particle of "*genius*" can I discover in the writings of Mr. EDWARD L. BULWER, whose desultory and heterogeneous essays can serve no other earthly purpose than those of making ignorance stare, idleness fall asleep, and encourage emptiness and conceit in the indulgence of contempt for every civil or political institution that is more than six months old, or that is not, like the Bourbon-police, imported from some country that our wise forefathers taught their sons to despise.

I never so much as saw even the *outside* of any of Mr. Bulwer's books, before the day when I wrote my last letter to you; and if what I have now said be displeasing to Mr. BULWER, let it be recollected, that it has been *provoked* by his calumnies on that part of our countrymen, whom, being unable to defend themselves, it is your and my bounden duty to defend to the utmost of our power, in accordance with the precept, given by me, to my son, in my ENGLISH GRAMMAR. "Honour talent, my dear son, wherever you find it unassociated with vice; honour it most, however, when accompanied with the greatest degree of exertion for the public good; but, above all things, honour it when it steps forward to protect defenceless innocence against the assaults of powerful guilt."

With sincere thanks to you for your exertions at this time, and particularly for your exertions in the cause of Mr. HARVEY,

I remain,
Your faithful,
and most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

TO
MR. HUME.

West Lodge, 8. Dec., 1834.

SIR,

I have read your address to the electors of Middlesex; and I think it right thus publicly to address you on the subject. I have not time to notice every part of your letter; but I gather from it

that, however the thing may be disguised by the confusion of ideas, you call upon your constituents to join you in CENSURING the King, for placing in the hands of *one man*, temporarily, more high offices in the state than one.

Now, then, in 1806, the Whigs brought in, and passed, an act to enable *one man* to be First Lord of the Treasury, and *auditor of the Treasury accounts*; a thing in the *face of the law* of the land, as well as of reason and public utility; and that, too, not for a short time, but, as it might have been, for the life of that man. If you could swallow that camel, surely you can make shift to get down this gnat.

You will say, and truly, I believe, that you were not in Parliament in 1806; but you were in 1821 and 1822. Everyone that knows any thing of the nature of our Government, knows that the Secretary of State for the Home Department is the great responsible officer. The Treasury, the Admiralty, are commissions; but the Secretary of State is the responsible person for all that the King does. Now, then, sir, in 1821, all the three Secretaries were in Ireland with the King; and Lord LIVERPOOL, then First Lord of the Treasury, was left in charge of the three Secretary of State-ships. In 1822, Lord CASTLEREAGH, who was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, was for the time, while the King was gone to Scotland, *Secretary of State for all the three departments*; and remember, that *the state* in which he was at the time was afterwards proved before a jury in Kent!

Yet, sir, not one word did you ever say about these things, though you were in Parliament then, as well as you are now. Now, however, you will suffer no such doings: now you tell us, that if the King can do this for a week, he can do it for a month, he can do it for a year, he can do it for ever; and you would frighten us half to death with the names of *Dictator*, *more-than-prime Minister*, and all sorts of hideous appellations.

It has been asked, why the King was in such haste? Why, what was he to do, if he meant to continue to be King?

He found, from Lord MELBOURNE, that the whole band meant to stick in, Chancellor and all. He had seen the great seal dragged along from JOHN O'GROAT'S house to Shanklin in the Isle of Wight; he had seen the "keeper of his conscience" telling his boozing companions that he would write to him to tell him how they had drunk his health; he had seen that there were but a few steps farther to go, before the people might believe that he was in a pot-house playing at cribbage for his crown; he had seen, or, at least, *you and I had*, with our own eyes, something as bad as this; for we had seen the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, while the House was sitting on the clauses of a bill, dancing backward and forward to obtain the *assent*, or *dissent* (as to amendments proposed by us); dancing backward and forward to STURGES BOURNE, SENIOR, COULSTON, and penny-a-line CHADWICK, whom he had perched up under the gallery, in the House itself! And there were we, "his Majesty's faithful Commons," deciding according to the "YEA" or "NAY" of SENIOR, COULSTON, penny-a-line CHADWICK, and STURGES BOURNE! Let the people clearly understand this. I say, then, that while the House of Commons was in committee, discussing the *clauses* of the POOR-LAW BILL, these hired fellows were sitting *in the house*, upon the same benches where members sit to vote; and that, when amendments, additions, or alterations, were proposed by members to be made in the clauses; and when Lord ALTHORP found that many members desired the alteration proposed, Lord ALTHORP rose from his place, took the bill in his hand, went, before our faces, and sat down with these fellows, and consulted them while we were waiting in silence for his coming back; that he came back; sometimes *yielding* to what appeared to be the wish of the House; sometimes *refusing to yield*, always having a majority to vote with him! There were two hundred and fifty of us to witness this scandalous scene; to see some of the "reform members" looking round towards the spot where the MENTORS

were sitting, and *paying them compliments*; while, however, they heard me describe them as a bunch of *red-herrings* stuck up in "*Lunnon*," and as the authors of a book of base lies.

Why, sir, I would rather be a dog than a King who should be compelled to keep a Ministry like this! The King did not, probably, hear of this scandalous thing; but he had heard and seen quite enough without this, to make him feel that he was fast becoming what kings of England had never yet been. "*Lower orders*"! Why, my constituents are all what insolent, up-start laziness calls "*lower orders*." It is a mass of industry and of constant labour, such as is to be found in no other country in the world. It is a working people, the height of whose ambition is to live well out of their own labour, and to enjoy their own undoubted rights. But, sir, I would pledge my existence, that there is not one man amongst them who is not ready to resent the thought of being content to be governed by a King compelled to submit to such indignities, and to be governed by laws made by a House of Commons, having this bunch of red-herrings stuck up at one end of the House, to tell it how to vote.

The truth is, that the whole thing was sinking down so fast, that, if the King had one faithful friend upon the face of the earth, that friend must have advised him to do what he did. God knows, I am proud enough of the honour done me by the people of Oldham: I am bound by every tie of gratitude to them; I am bound by my most anxious desire to better the lot of the working people, as well of Great Britain as of Ireland; I have a great desire to assist in preventing the terrific dangers which menace us; but when I saw these transactions in the House of Commons, I deliberated very seriously on the question, whether it would not be *my duty to retire from my seat, leaving behind me my protest, by motion made in the House, against being subjected to such indescribable degradation myself; and, more especially, against bringing down, in my person, degradation upon my constituents, to maintain whose rights and*

whose honour it was my first duty. If I felt thus, what must the King have felt! Or, are we to proceed upon the maxim; that, because he can do no wrong he is to have no feeling?

I now come to some of the heads of complaint against the King; for you will observe, the complaints are *against the King*, disguise the thing how you may. And, I shall, to prevent a division of my matter into several articles, advert to your speeches at recent meetings in London, and also to the speeches of your companions at those meetings. One complaint is, that the King has chosen a *military* man; and great mouthfuls are made of this. One of your companions observing, that "*Cromwell had turned out a Parliament*," leaving the inference to be drawn by his hearers. If a *turning-out* is what you are afraid of, my really *HONOURABLE COLLEAGUE* expressed *his hope*, amidst the acclamations of twenty thousand industrious men at MANCHESTER, that *the King would turn out this Parliament*; and I beg you to recollect that there are *a million* of the King's most valuable subjects within a circuit of forty miles round the spot where that speech was delivered; aye, and those, too, the *best informed*, as well as the most industrious and most valuable part of his subjects. To be sure, CROMWELL was *a soldier*; and he actually did bundle the House out by the hands of soldiers pushing them at their backs; but an act of greater *justice* never was done in this world; for it was a set of men who were *traitors, rebels, murderers*, and the most savage *robbers of the people* that had ever existed before that day; it being that set of matchless villains, who invented the *excise* in England; and it is truly curious, that that set of villains *first laid the duty upon the BEER*, which duty continued, frequently changing its amount, but always continuing, *until it was taken off by the Duke of WELLINGTON!* So that, in this respect, CROMWELL's quality of soldier was not very *mischievous*. However, CROMWELL was, upon the whole, a very bad fellow, though a wise statesman. But, was not WASHINGTON

a soldier? Was not JACKSON a soldier? Both of them generals. MUNRO was a soldier. All of them engaged in many battles. All of them chosen by the free voice; chosen *twice over*, by a most sensible people; a people so tenacious of their liberties and rights, amongst whom the *suffrage is universal*, and the voice as free as air. So that Colonel EVANS might have spared himself the trouble of giving pretty broad hints of the unfitness of soldiers to be Ministers: he might have recollected these instances, furnished us by America; and it is worth his while to consider, and worth your while, and the rest of your companions at WESTMINSTER, FINSBURY, and elsewhere, to settle the point, whether it be not a fitting for the King to choose a soldier to assist him in executing the laws, as it is for the people of Westminster to choose him to assist him in making the laws; very well worth the while of you all to remember, that about *twenty red coats* crowded into the House about two o'clock in the morning *from a bull at Lord GREY's*, I believe, to vote for the Whigs against you and me, and some others; very profitable for you to remember, that the first address which the reformed Parliament carried to the King, was moved by a young lord, sitting at the back of Lord ALTHORP, decked out in uniform, with double epaulets, gorget, and sash, and a long sword by his side; very well worth remembering, that I found fault with this, but that you held your tongue; very well worth while for you to consider, whether it be very decent to carp at the King's choosing a *soldier*, whose rank and whose estate no King and no Ministry and no Parliament can touch, while you sit cheek-by-jowl with about seventy or eighty military and naval officers, who are making laws in company with you, and whose rank, and even whose bread, can be taken from them at any moment that the Minister of the day shall please.

I would here dismiss this subject of complaint; but there was something uttered at the FINSBURY meeting; that meeting of *two hundred thousand peo-*

ple, assembled in *one single room* at White-Conduit House. There was something uttered there, which, because it was uttered by Mr. WAKLEY, I will notice. I have a great respect for Mr. WAKLEY. He is a very clever man, and very able to do good service to his country; but I have a greater respect for sense, and especially for truth, than I have for Mr. WAKLEY; and though it gives me great pain to animadvert with any degree of severity on his conduct, I must say, in the first place, that it did him little credit to condescend to give countenance to this partial, packed, and every way apparently senseless assemblage. Having taken the first step, however, he seems to have pursued the usual course of frailty, and to have concluded, at last, with this ridiculous specimen of rodomontade and bombast. "We use *not arms*, we resort not to physical force; we understand our duty too well, and are not to be driven by a wily antagonist from an impregnable position. I say, we *desire not* these things; we *hope they will not be forced upon us*. (Cheers). But it is said that the *use of the armaments* has been threatened; it is *whispered* that the Duke would not hesitate to plant *cannon* in our streets. I hope such things will not be; but if *they must*, why *they must* be, and woe on them that bring it about; for let *but one musket* be fired in the quiet thoroughfares of this peaceful kingdom, and in its pealing echo will be heard *the funeral knell of every Tory in England*. (Great cheering)."

"It is said." Now *who* says that the arsenals are to be used against the people? "*It is whispered*." By *whom*, Mr. WAKLEY, is it whispered that cannon is to be planted in the streets? Ah, Mr. WAKLEY! This is not the road to *lasting fame*; this is not the way to *merit the confidence of the people*; and without *really meriting it*, no man will have it long. Look at *BROUGHAM*! Hear his shouts for "*CHEER-BREAD*" in Yorkshire; and behold him *now*! See in him the fate of one who builds his fame upon the practising of delusion! Arsenals, cannons, muskets! Do you

know, that there are not, in Great Britain, *as many soldiers as there are parishes!* Do you know, that there is not one single soldier to every parish in England and Wales, and Scotland? If you do know it, this is as scandalous a piece of delusion as was ever attempted to be practised upon a people: if you do not know it (which I believe to be the case), you ought to have been silent upon the subject.

Now, Mr. HUME, I come to one of the great standing objections to the conduct of the King in making this choice. The jobbers of the city take the lead in making this objection; and I see it has been echoed at all the miserable meetings of silly creatures that the bands of commissioners have been able to muster up. The objection is, that we all know *what the Duke did before*: and, that we must conclude, of course, that he will do *the same again*. My constituents and I say, "God send he may, only a *little more of it!*" So widely do we differ in opinion from you. *The Duke repealed the Test and Corporation Acts*; the Duke gave *Catholic Emancipation, complete and entire*; while the Whigs, when they were in power, brought in a bill to give about *one-half* of what the Duke gave, and *withdrew the bill*, upon a threat of being turned out, if they persevered in it. The Duke abolished completely and entirely the **EXCISE ON BEER**; and thus released the drink of the working people from a tax which had been laid on it by the accursed Whigs, a hundred and eighty-six years before; and had been kept on it from that day to the day when the Duke swept it away; and these present Whigs have been doing every thing that they can do *to lessen the benefit of that measure*. This is what the Duke *did before*; and, if he be likely to do the same sort of things now, what ground is there here for carping at the choice which has been made by the King?

But the Duke "*will not carry out the Reform Bill*." This metaphor must certainly have originated amongst coal-heavers, or porters of some description or other. It is one of those

phrases that may be explained to mean any thing, or nothing: it is of true Whig character. We Protestants have been in the habit of accusing the Jesuits of having a double-faced creed; but the Whigs have always had *one*. However, taking the words to mean, that the Duke will not act upon the principles of *reformation of abuses*, and coupling this meaning with the lamentation over the turning out of his predecessors, we correctly conclude, that you take the measures of those predecessors as *specimens* of the work of "*carrying out the Reform Bill*." Here we come to something that one can understand; and, to give it the form of a proposition, the whole tribe of your brother orators and you say, in substance this: That the King is to blame for having chosen a Minister who, as you assert, will not continue to carry out the Reform Bill by the *same sort of measures* by which his predecessors have been *carrying it out*. And in this respect, I trust in God that you are right; for, how have they been *carrying it out*? By the Irish Coercion Bill; by rescinding a vote for half-repeal of the malt-tax; by flinging away twenty millions on the West Indies; by employing PORPAY, into whose hands in his character of spy, and for spying, we traced the public money from the hands of the last prime Whig-Minister, that "*amiable person*," whose fall is so much lamented by you; by refusing all inquiry into the pension-list; by *talking* about corporation and church reforms, and by expressing their determination to make no substantial reform; by getting twenty thousand pounds as a little beginning for *national schools*, and then getting a committee to report that such an establishment would be *improper*; by passing a law to tax parishes to raise money to send labourers abroad, while a committee of their own reports to the House, that the land is falling out of cultivation for the want of a sufficiency of labour being bestowed upon it; by taxing the country at large, and my laborious constituents amongst the rest, to maintain a police force in London; by employing bands of com-

missioners, and by clandestinely palming upon the House of Commons a mass of infamous lies and savage recommendations, coming forth under the name of those commissioners; by passing what they call a Poor-law Amendment Bill, which has excited feelings, and is producing acts, not to be described by me through a channel like this. If this be "*carrying out the Reform Bill*," the Duke of WELLINGTON will, I trust in God, not only not attempt to carry it an inch farther, but will express to us, as soon as possible, his determination to carry it back again to the point whence it started.

But, sir, there was something *specific* in the speech of your brother orator, Mr. DUNCOMBE, of which I think it necessary to take particular notice. This gentleman, at the FINSBURY meeting, stated some of the measures which were to constitute a part of the carrying out of the Reform Bill: and then told the people that, if they wished *not* to have that carrying out performed; they must resolutely combine against the Duke. Having declared that the Duke of WELLINGTON ought to be *impeached*, and said, that he *would say the same thing in Parliament*, for which I shall wait with patience; after having positively asserted, that the rest *should not* be puppets and the Duke pull the wires; after having said, "*this shall not be*," and having been cheered to the skies for the promise, Mr. DUNCOMBE proceeded thus: "*If the restrictive and vexatious clauses of the Reform Bill are to be repealed* (cheers), *if the pension list is to be purified*, *if flogging in the army is to be done away with*," (loud cheering), *if impressment in the navy is no longer to degrade us as a nation*, (continued cheers), *if the duration of Parliaments is to be shortened* (bravo), *if the vote by ballot is to be conceded*, (cheers), if these things are to be, and you deserve them not if you will not struggle for them; but, if they are to be, then I call upon you, in one voice, and as one man, to declare with me eternal warfare, uncompromising hostility with the band of leaguers,

"*the Tory freebooters of England*."
 ("Great cheering.")

Now, every one of these things have not only not been attempted to be done; but having been proposed and moved for, have been *rejected by the Whig Ministry* and their thundering reform majority. FIRST, Colonel EVANS himself moved for a repeal of the restrictive and taxing vexatious clauses of the Reform Bill, which have already disfranchised a *seventh part of the electors*. This was opposed by the Whig Ministers, and rejected by their majority! SECOND, Mr. HANVY moved for an inquiry into the services of those who are upon the pension list: that was rejected by the same Ministry and the same majority. THIRD, Major FANCOURT moved for doing away with flogging in the army; that was rejected by the same Ministry and the same majority. FOURTH, Mr. BUCKINGHAM moved for the abolition of impressment in the navy; that was rejected by the same Ministry and the same majority. FIFTH, Mr. TENNYSON moved to shorten the duration of Parliaments, and he made the motion in each of the two sessions; that was rejected by the same Ministry and the same majority. SIXTH, Mr. GROTE moved for adopting the regulation of the ballot at elections; that was rejected by the same Ministry and the same majority.

Now these facts are perfectly notorious, and yet Mr. DUNCOMBE would persuade us, or rather, did persuade his cheering audience, at White Conduit House, that, if we are to get these things, we are to get them from the same Ministers; and, therefore, we are to force them back upon the King!

I could, but I will not, make some further observations on the conduct of Mr. DUNCOMBE on this occasion. Mr. DUNCOMBE is a young man; but he ought to have known the things which I have now stated: At any rate, however, I have stated enough to show, that either he intended to delude, or was deluded himself; and that is quite enough to do with regard to him. At this FINSBURY meeting there was something took place which shows the character of the meeting itself. Mr. WELLS

proposed a resolution, in substance as follows, which was seconded by Mr. ROGERS. "That we see no ground of alarm in the dismissal of the late *ungrateful* Ministry, and that we will give our support to ANY Ministry who will be ready to concede the full rights of the working people, and to adopt measures to better their condition."

This resolution was *rejected*, though so full of good sense, and being in it the very thing which ought to have been adopted at every meeting in London. This was the very view that the people of Lancashire took of the matter, and which every man of sense must take of the matter. And now, Mr. HUME, what ground is there for your *alarm*? How is any Minister to go on *without money*? How is he to have money unless the House of Commons vote it? How will that House dare to vote it into the hands of a bad Minister, unless they despise the voice of their constituents? And, if they can despise the voice of their constituents, what has this famous Reform Bill done for us? and why are you so anxious for the *carrying of it out*? Sir, how you sink *yourself*! and how you would sink me, and all other Members of the House of Commons, if we were to follow your example? Why we are chosen by the people, *not to interfere with the King* in the exercise of his duty; but to discharge our *own duty* faithfully; and if we do that, the King's choice, even of bad servants, can do our constituents no harm. Why, then, do you fret yourself about it? We are not chosen to be advisers of the King; and I am very much deceived, if your constituents will not tell you that at the next election, and ask you, whether it would not have been as well, if you *had opposed the Poor-law Bill*, instead of upholding it, by boasting of the *good effects* of the *absence of poor-laws in Scotland*, when the fact was, that there *were* poor-laws in Scotland, and that there *are* poor-laws in Scotland, and that they are *infamously violated*, to the great suffering of the people. I will shortly address a letter to *your constituents* upon this

subject; and they will then see, if they do not see already, that it would have been much better, if you had applied yourself to matters like these, instead of becoming a *Minister-maker*. In the course of your speech at Westminster, you said several things, which, if you be truly reported, it would have been better if you had left unsaid. There is this passage: "In his own parish, yesterday, they had proclaimed in a voice of *thunder*, down with the Tories." Away with all absurd distinctions between Whig and Tory. Let them be no longer humbugged by these epithets, but look to real practical objects." Mr. HUME, you are represented as having been extremely anxious about the BOOKS at the fire at Westminster. Ah! good God! the BOOKS! Then, again, the newspapers tell us, that you have brought home valuable *scientific collections* from BELGIUM: other papers tell us of the munificent literary presents that you are making to the *Académie des lettres* at Paris. Amongst these, doubtless, are collections of your *speeches*. Mr. HUME, if you send them a copy of this Westminster speech, pray, remember, that the words "*Whig*" and "*Tory*" are not "*epithets*."

In other parts of this famous speech you state some *facts*: one is, that it was the Tories that went to war with France to prevent reform. It was the Whigs, Mr. HUME, who *forced* PITT into that war. In another part of your speech, you say this; that, "at the ASHFORD dinner the Conservatives boldly asserted "that his Majesty was determined to support every part of the "constitution, as it *now existed*." Now, in the first place, the Reform Bill makes part of the *present existing constitution*. That declaration, therefore, ought, if true, to have pleased you. And now there come two *falsehoods*; the one of omission, and the other of commission. You omit to say that the meeting at ASHFORD declared their readiness to aid in the adoption of *all necessary reforms in church and state*. The falsehood of commission is, that it is false to say that the Duke of WELLINGTON, *uttered these words*; and it is false to say that

the Duke of WELLINGTON was at the meeting. At least, it is false, if the report of the meeting as published in all the newspapers was true. I have inserted the whole of your speech in my *Register*, at the end of this letter, that you may not accuse me of garbling; and I have taken the report from the *Morning Chronicle*, which is most favourable to you. Colonel EVANS called you "*the most useful member of the legislature.*" If this be so, your present conduct must be a subject of great sorrow with every one who wishes well to the country, for I am very much deceived, if your present constituents, at any rate, send you to that legislature again.

There remain THREE very interesting topics for me to discuss with you: FIRST; the harmonious resolution of you all NOT TO ACCEPT OF ANYTHING THAT THE DUKE MAY OFFER, however good the thing may be for the people; not even of a repeal of the MALT-TAX! SECOND; that the Duke, *having opposed the Reform Bill*, cannot now uphold it without infamy to his character! THIRD; the right and the expediency of members of Parliament, and even of the people themselves, to interfere at all, and especially in this dictatorial manner, with the exercise of the undoubted prerogative of the King, which has been given him for our security; and which, if it be not exercised with perfect freedom, makes him a slave, and totally useless to us.

Before, however, I come to these topics, let me notice another part of your Westminster proceeding; namely a resolution about Lord DURHAM, and, I am sorry to say, moved by Mr. WAKLEY. "That the warmest thanks of this meeting are pre-eminently due, and are hereby most cordially voted, to the Earl of Durham, for his late manly, and virtuous advocacy of those popular rights—Triennial Parliaments, Household Suffrage, and Vote by Ballot—the only means of securing to the people good and cheap Government."

Sorry I am to see this from Mr.

WAKLEY; and more sorry still to see the speech which follows it. This nonsense about Lord DURHAM is really sufficient to make one sick. Does Mr. WAKLEY look upon this proposition of Lord DURHAM as any thing calculated to satisfy those radical reformers, of which he says, he is "an old one"? However, I hate the party appellation, and all party appellations; but, *radical reformer* has meant hitherto, one who is for annual Parliaments and universal suffrage; and not a word about *triennial*, or about *houses*. The arguments in favour of annual Parliaments have never yet been answered, except by Major CARTWRIGHT himself, who allowed that the great frequency of elections might diminish the interest that they would excite; and, therefore, he proposed something to supply the place of this want of interest at elections. However, being the ancient custom of the kingdom, he settled, at last, in preferring annual Parliaments; and I am for annual Parliaments, too; because I do not see the objection which Major CARTWRIGHT had; and because I believe, that they would not at all tend to the overthrow of any order in the state. With regard to the ballot, it affects no right, and touches no principle: in some cases it would be favourable to the people at large; in other cases it would be unfavourable; and the opinion at MANCHESTER is, that it would be unfavourable there. But, with regard to *the extension of suffrage*; that is a capital point; that is a substantive matter: that involves a principle, on which liberty, civil as well as political, principally rests. In the first place, Lord DURHAM clogs his household suffrage with the Lord JOHN RUSSELL trammels of taxes and rates. So that this proposition is a mere delusion, a mere thing thrown out to cause silly people to believe, that a DURHAM Whig is a better sort of Whig, as *Durham mustard* is a better sort of mustard, though not an ounce of mustard seed is now grown in that county; and though that which is sold for it is a mixture of flour, ochre, and other horrible pungent drugs, mixed up

together in what they call the "*mustard manufactories*"; and which, if you take a good lot into your stomach, will lie burning there like a fire coal for two days. None of this household Durham mustard for me. I am for the stuff that springs out of the ground of natural justice, and that will bear the test of truth and of reason; and I say, that it is *expedient* as well as *just*, that every man, arrived at mature age, being of sane mind, and unstained by indelible crime, is as much entitled to a vote as any lord, baronet, or squire, in the land. To *prove this*, demands the space of a dissertation. I have written this dissertation, in a little book, which will be very shortly published, and which I here, beforehand, call upon you or Mr. WAKLEY to answer. With the *justice* is all that we have really to do in this case; but I would not undertake to advocate the adoption of any great measure like this, if I could not prove to my own satisfaction, at least, the *expediency*, as well as the *justice* of it. Taking it for granted, that we all wish that peace, harmony, safety to life, safety to all sort of property, should prevail in the kingdom; that the greatness of the kingdom should be upheld; that the crown, and the ranks dependent upon it, should be upheld; taking it for granted, that these things form the object of us all; then I say, that, to ensure this object, my sincere opinion is, and in the most solemn manner I declare it to be my conviction, that it is *expedient* to admit of universal suffrages at elections for members to serve in Parliament.

And now, Mr. Hume, I come to the *three* topics above mentioned, taking first, the harmonious resolution of all you Whig patriots, *not to accept* of any thing that the Duke may offer, however good the thing may be for the people; and even of a repeal of the malt-tax! Come, come, now! What! and does Mr. WAKLEY *pout* at this, too? I can remember that I used sometimes literally to fall out with my own bread and cheese. When my mother has offered me a bit of bread and cheese, I have *sulked*, and would not take it; and I remember well that I never did it with-

out being ashamed of myself afterwards. However, Mr. HUME, it is not for you and me to indulge in sulks in this case. It is not *to us* that the Duke will offer any thing; or, at least, *for us*, for whom he cares but very little, I dare say: it is *to*, and *for*, *our constituents*, that he will make the offer, if he make it all, as I hope in God he will: it is *through* us, as representatives of the people; and, if it be good for the people; if we reject the offer knowing it to be good; all that I can say is, that we shall both deserve to be hanged by the neck till we are dead, and to have our bodies disposed of by hired overseers, under the provisions of the bill of your friend Mr. WARBURTON, who, with yourself, form the GEMINI of the political zodiac. Nevertheless, this is the language of you all, and the commissioners' paper, the *Morning Chronicle*, is continually "*CAUTIONING*" the people against any expressed intentions of the Duke to do them any good. Why, if we were at war with him, this ~~old~~ newspaper could not be more eager to guard us against a destructive ambuscade. "Ah! take care! Don't take cheap malt from him; for you do not know what may be the consequence! There will be mischief at the bottom." One of your associates at Westminster, a Sir somebody KNOWLES, followed your associate, Mr. TUCK, who generously and modestly declared, that, "he would *only* say, that "he should consider it an honour to *serve his country in any capacity*, however humble. (*Loud cheers and bravo*)." Mr. TUCK, who certainly ought to have the preposition "*up*" added to his name, made this profession, it would seem, for the purpose of illustrating what ought to be the conduct of the King, who ought," Mr. TUCK said, "*to act in the same manner*"; and that "they must give him a lesson," and tell him that, "if surrounded by flatterers, he forget his duty to his people; *his per-*son, to be sure, was *swayed*, and *must remain so*! But that they could *per-*petrate and constitutionally tell him what they thought of his conduct." Another associate of yours, Mr. SIMP-

son, observed, "that the King could *"do no wrong (oh! can't he);* but his Ministers could (*cheering*)."
 Mr. SIMPSON, after relating what CROMWELL did to the Parliament, exclaimed, "*Let the King beware!*"
 Mr. DUNCOMBE, at FINSBURY, speaking of the impossibility of Parliament going on without Ministers in all their places, and some of them in the House of Commons, and proceeding in the argumentative style, said, "The law says, that *on the demise of the Crown*, which God forbid (*pooh, pooh, and loud laughter*), Parliament shall *"be assembled."* Then Mr. DUNCOMBE goes on explaining the impossibility there would be of the Commons *going on*, there being *no channel* by which to get at the King. Why, does not Mr. DUNCOMBE know, then, that the law and the records of Parliament, do not know any thing at all about Ministers? Does not he know, that they are *mere members of Parliament*? Does he not ~~know~~ that they cannot grant the laying of one book or paper before the House; that there must be a *motion of address to the King* that he will be pleased to cause the paper to be laid before the House? So that there is no need of Ministers being there, any more than in the House of Congress in America, where they never are. However, it is not the *nonsense*! it is the rude and silly "*room, room,*" that is most worthy of attention here, and that is truly characteristic of the Whigs; who, if they could, would now tear the country to pieces; who would act the part of the false mother, whose falseness *SPYMON* discovered by her willingness to *cut the child asunder!* True CATALINES! Detected, exposed, baffled, choked off from their prey, they exclaim with that celebrated villain, "If I am defeated, I will, at any rate, leave Rome unfit to live in!" "There is nothing new under the sun," for, though there is no man amongst the Whigs of valour and talent like those of CROMWELL, their *art and disposition are the same*: they are pole-mice: he was a tiger; and, as natural history, that pole-mice are only a smaller sort of

tigers, so these despicable Whigs are a smaller sort of CATALINES.

In pursuance of the dictates of their common nature, they are at work, tooth and claw, to *caution* the people against *receiving any thing from the Duke*; they seem as if they would gladly see the people starve rather than be relieved by measures coming from him. Their newspapers deal in *general terms* as to this great point. They seem to be *afraid* to name any particular thing that the Duke might take it in his head to do. One of your associates, however (to whom I now return), blundered out one of the things that the Duke *might do*. He said, "his *principal* motive in *"coming forward to second the resolution was, to guard their minds* against the delusive promises held forth to the *"landed, and, he believed, the agricultural, interests*. He had heard *"among his country friends, that they had the highest hopes that the malt-tax would be repealed; that a penny a pot would be taken from the poor man's pot of porter"; and he asked, "what advantage would the people of England derive from a reduction of a penny a pot in the price of porter?"*

Now I leave it to this your worthy associate to distinguish between the *"landed interest,"* and the *"agricultural interest";* but I will answer, very distinctly, his question touching the *advantage* to be derived by the people of England by a repeal of the malt-tax. He says, that it would only save a *penny a pot* on the beer. Suppose the beer, or ale, to be sixpence a pot; repeal the malt-tax, and it would be three half-pence. If it be stuff that now costs threepence a pot, it would be three farthings. But, taking him upon his own showing, that it would save the working man a penny a pot, and suppose, that of the twelve millions and a half of people in England and Wales, there is *one million* of them who, upon an average, drink a pot a day each. Does Mr. KNOWLES know, that this leaves in the pockets of the working people *one million, four hundred and eighty-two thousand, five hundred and sixty-six sovereigns a year; and that is*

*one pound ten shillings and fivepence a year a-piece, in every year for a million of people? This is supposing that there would be none but brewers' beer still; this is supposing, as I have proved over again, that the advantage here stated by him, is only about a sixth part of what it would be as to money: yet, according to this man's own statement; here are thirty shillings and fivepence a year to be added to the earnings of a million of working men. Your constituents, and as my friend, Mr. HUME, clearly understood the whole of this matter: they know well what a blessing it would be to them all to get rid of this malt-tax. I believe it will be repealed; if it be repealed, and the horrible Poor-law Bill be repealed, and quickly, too, no man will dare to call himself "a Whig" from that day forward to the end of the world. What, sir, "accept of no offer"! "make no compromise"! We may well say *pooh! pooh!* here. Vote against the repeal of the malt-tax, then, and march off after your countryman, BROUGHAM! You might then have plenty of leisure to consult your friends "abroad," and write once a month to tell us how the *hommes de lettres* are going on, and whether the words *Whig* and *Tory* be *epithets* or not.*

Well; but what horrible nonsense is all this! What, sir! do you mean to say that you would *vote against* doing the very things that your friend Mr. DUNCOMBE asserts that the Tories will not do? Do you mean to say, that you will *vote against* a repeal of the tax-clause in the Reform Bill; that you will *vote against* a repeal of the monstrous Poor-law Bill; that you will *vote against* a repeal of the Dead-body Bill; *against* shortening the duration of Parliaments; *against* an extension of the suffrage? "*Pooh! pooh!*" There will be a *demise of your crown*, at any rate, if you even *talk* of such a thing. Never will you again rot up; at least, you will never do it again in *that same place*.

The SECOND topic is, the assertion, that the Duke, having *OPPOSED* the Reform Bill, cannot now uphold it without *INFAMY* to his character,

In the first place, I and my constituents have very little to do with his *character*. What we have to do with are, his *acts*. However, this proposition of yours is a very singular one; that, because a man opposed a great alteration in the law, he is "*infamous*" if he exercise power under that alteration, after it is made. Now, sir, you and your associates really would seem not to have as much memory as dumb creatures. Any horse or cow will show you proofs of remembering things for two or three years, at any rate. Do you remember, that Fox, GREY, and all the set of Whigs, called the income, or property-tax, a "*high-wayman's tax*," when it was imposed by PITT; and do you remember, that when they came into power themselves, they raised that tax from 6s to ten per cent.? Do you remember (yes, you do) the passing of SIX ACTS, and amongst them the *Chancery-publication Act*? Do you remember how they all opposed this act, and you amongst the rest? Do you not remember, that they called it *unconstitutional, tyrannical, and abominable*? that they divided the House upon the question several times? And do you remember the savage cutting which BROUGHAM and the rest of them gave you *yourself*, for attempting to cause a repeal of that act? BROUGHAM owed a great part of his false reputation to his opposition to that act, and your ears yet tingle with the real personal abuse that he poured out upon you, because you merely *talked* about a repeal of that act, under which act they have had, first and last, about *seven hundred persons in prison*; a thing which the Duke never attempted; suffering it to lie as a dead letter all the time that he was in power!

But, have you already forgotten what has passed in this reformed Parliament, relative to a *repeal of the Union with Ireland*? Is there an *epithet* (a *real epithet*), descriptive of the most abominable, the most *barbarous*, tyranny and cruelty, which was not applied to the act of Union by GRAY, by DUNCOMBE, by the whole band of Whigs? And have we not seen these two men, one Prime Minister, the other

Lord Chancellor of Ireland, under that act of Union; have we not heard them say, that they would resist a repeal of that Union "to the death"; and have we not seen them passing a red-coat-court-of-justice bill to keep in check those who proposed a repeal of that Union?

Well, then, if the Duke be to be "*infamous*," if he uphold the Reform Bill, where are we to find words to describe the infamy of GREY and PLUNKETT and their associates? We ascribe to them no infamy at all for any *legal* and *constitutional* endeavours to uphold that Union; and where is the man to be found so foolish and so unjust as to impute even any *inconsistency* in the Duke, if he now uphold this Reform Bill, especially when he now knows, that it sprang, not out of the will of the dirty Whigs, but out of the desire of the people? Besides all which, what have you and I to do with the *character of the Duke*? Our constituents have not appointed us to be the conservators of the characters of Ministers, but to be the conservators of their *rights* and of their *money*; and, if we will but take care of these, they will excuse us for declining to be moral censors with regard to the servants of the King.

I now come, in conclusion of this long letter, to the THIRD TOPIC, which I have mentioned above; that is to say, the right and the expediency of members of Parliament, and even of the people themselves, to interfere at all, and, especially, in this dictatorial manner, with the exercise of the undoubted prerogative of the King, which has been given for our security; and which, if it be not exercised with perfect freedom, makes him a slave and totally useless to us. I think less about *the King* here than about my constituents, as it is *my duty* to do. And, what would be the situation of the people, if the *members of Parliament were to choose the servants of the King*? And, if they have no right to choose them, they have no right to interfere at all in the matter. I and my colleague objected to signing the

paper expressing confidence in Lord ALTHORP, and calling upon him to *keep his place*. That was an act of great indecency; it was a gross insult to the King, and was a first step towards the assumption of all power by that one House; and I, in speaking of the Poor-law Bill to my constituents, have asked them, what would have been their fate, if all the powers of the Government had been in the hands of those who brought in, and pushed on, the Poor-law Bill, and who had penny-a-line CHADWICK and the rest of that crew, stuck up in a corner of the House to dictate its proceedings! The answer of my constituents was such as every sensible man will anticipate; namely, indignation as strong as they could express at the degrading thought. They know well that their representatives will take care, as far as they are able, that the King's servants shall do them no harm; they know that, to use the language of FORTESCUE, "the King is made for the people, and not 'the people for the King'; they know, that he holds his prerogatives from the people, and for the people; and that, while they are resolved to maintain their own privileges, it is a part of their duty to themselves and to their children, to maintain the prerogatives that they have given to him. I put the matter to my constituents thus: "If 'the King were to send word to you 'not to choose me and my colleague, 'what would you say?' " Say that "he was a tyrant to be sure!" Then, said I, what are we to think of those who are telling the King, that he shall not have the men that he chooses; and that he shall have those back again, whose measures we so justly detest?

But, you and your dictatorial associates go a step farther than this. You not only scold the King for discharging one set of servants and choosing another, but you tell him, that *you have got a man*; that you have found out a fit man for him, in Lord DUNHAM! Why, sir, it is a shame for a member of Parliament even to be present at a meeting where such things are going on. What I have to state in conclusion

is truly curious. The PRESIDENT OF AMERICA adopted the opinion, that the system of paper-money, which he found going on, had an inevitable tendency "*to make the rich more rich, and the poor more poor*"; that it was gradually undermining the liberties of the country; that it was creating a villanous *aristocracy of money*, at the expense of the industrious farmers, tradesmen, and working people of the country. He found, to his great sorrow, that there was a majority in the two Houses of Congress for upholding and perpetuating this system; and he had the deep mortification to receive a bill from the two Houses to uphold and perpetuate it. But, the wise constitution had armed him *with prerogatives*, one of which enabled him to put his *veto*; that is to say, his REJECTION, upon this bill. He had the honesty and the courage to do this. And here we have a proof of the benefit of *frequent elections*. There was a new election at hand, which is just now over. *Universal suffrage* had to determine upon the conduct of the chief magistrate: *it has determined*; and that free, sensible, and just people have *stood by their chief magistrate*, and his *prerogative*. They have sent him back a Congress, who will support him by three to two, if not two to one; and they have thus preserved themselves and their children from the intrigues and the daring encroachments of a faction, who would, like you and your associates, have made the President a tool in their hands, and have stripped the people of every means of protection.

Such has been the conduct of the free people of America, and such their success. It is very curious, that "*Dicator*," "*Usurper*," and all the other names applied to the Duke of WELLINGTON, have been applied to the President. The faction have abused his "*councillors*," in the most outrageous manner. And, what is more curious than all the rest, this villanous faction have assumed the name of "*WHIGS*"; and very properly; for the faction which has existed under this name, in England, have always, when they have been able

struck the King down with one hand, and robbed and oppressed the people with the other, at one and the same time. This attempt they have made now: they have been defeated; and I do hope, they are now down themselves, never to raise their hated heads again. Let us, in the discharge of our duty, take care of the rights and the money of our constituents; and let us leave to the King to choose his servants, knowing so well as we do, that, if we perform our duty faithfully; if we be really his "*faithful Commons*," he, and we, and our constituents, will all be safe together.

Remembering, and desiring not to forget, many laudable efforts of yours, in behalf of the people, it is not without great pain, that I have written this letter; but it was my duty to my constituents to do it; and, before all other things, I must prefer the performance of that duty.

I am, sir,
Your most obedient
And most humble servant,
WM. COBBETT,

MANCHESTER ELECTION.

THE addresses of the four Candidates are worth preserving, as specimens of WHIG, TORY, and RADICAL political professions.

MR. MARK PHILIPS.

To the Electors of the Borough of Manchester.

Fellow Townsmen,—The construction of the new Administration, by the appointment of Sir Robert Peel as First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, and that of the Duke of Wellington as Secretary for Foreign Affairs, can be regarded only as an attempt to stop the progress of reform, and to return, as far as the altered state of the representation of the country will admit, to that system of policy which was indignantly denounced by the voice of the nation prior to the passing of the Reform Bill.

The first act of this new Administration, it is anticipated, will be to recommend his Majesty to dissolve the present Parliament. It was not my intention to have intruded myself upon your notice until the actual announcement of that dissolution; but having been urged by a numerous body of friends who gave me their confidence and support at the last election, to come forward again should a general election take place, I will at once declare my intention, in such an event, of offering myself a second time as a candidate for your suffrages.

In seeking again the distinguished and highly responsible trust of representing your important interests in Parliament, I ask you only to judge with impartiality my past conduct; all that I desire is, to abide the issue of that judgment, conscious that I have, during my short Parliamentary career, endeavoured faithfully to discharge my duty towards you.

I have no pretensions to the qualifications of a public debater, and have not therefore been a frequent speaker in the House of Commons; but I have been ever anxious for your interests; and if I cannot refer you to brilliant speeches, I have the conscious pride of believing that I can at least refer you to honest votes.

These will unequivocally declare how desirous I have been on all occasions to secure for you and for the country those ends, of which I considered the Reform Bill as the means. They will show that I have anxiously sought to amend the representative system by shortening the duration of Parliaments, by the introduction of the ballot, and by removing the unnecessary and oppressive machinery of the Reform Bill itself, which requires the payment of rates and taxes as part of the qualification of the vote. That I have been vigilant as to the public expenditure; that I have endeavoured to expose and to remedy the abuses of many boroughs, where bribery and corruption have been notoriously practised in the return of representatives; that I have sought peace and tranquillity for Ireland, by healing ra-

ther than by coercive measures; that I have contended for the redress of the grievances under which Dissenters labour; and that as an independent member of the House of Commons, apart from faction or from party, I have constantly, and I trust consistently, supported the removal of abuses both in Church and state, on the broad ground of public advantage.

Another struggle is at hand; another general action must be fought in the cause, and under the banners of reform. If you have confidence in me at such a crisis, I am ready to receive an appointment at your hands, to take arms against the enemy, and to stand by those principles which must yet prevail. I remain, fellow-townsmen, your faithful and obedient servant,

MARK PHILIPS.

Manchester, 12. Dec., 1831.

MR. P. THOMSON

To the Electors of the Borough of Manchester.

Gentlemen,—The rumours of an approaching dissolution of Parliament induce me to address you.

Should it be your pleasure, in the event of your being called upon to exercise your elective franchise, again to invest me with the distinguished office of your representative in Parliament, I shall accept the trust with pride and with gratitude.

The principles which guide my conduct are well known to you. It was from your approval of them that you conferred upon me, unsolicited, the honour of representing you. They remain unaltered. I am not conscious of having failed to give to them the fullest effect of which the circumstances in which I was placed, and placed with your knowledge and full concurrence, admitted. I told you candidly, upon accepting the trust which you reposed in me, that, as a member of the Government, I might sometimes be compelled to compromise opinions which I entertained in common with yourselves, for the sake of that union without which any combination for common objects is

impossible. Such occasions may have occurred; but if one amongst you think that more might have been done by his representative, I will freely tell him that I think he underrates the difficulties under which reforms are brought about; and I can fearlessly appeal to my own conscience for always having acted that part which I thought most likely to advance those our common principles.

The acts of the Administration to which I had the honour to belong when you selected me, are recorded in some of the most beneficial measures which ever emanated from the legislature. That Administration received at the end of last session a reinforcement from the liberal party: and the work of reform would, I can confidently assert, under the guidance of Lord Melbourne, have proceeded steadily and fearlessly. It has pleased his Majesty, in the exercise of his undoubted prerogative, suddenly to dismiss that Administration, and to call to his councils the leader of the Tory party—of those who have uniformly opposed all the reforms upon which they with whom I have had the honour of being connected, have founded a claim to the good-will and confidence of their fellow countrymen—those whose unsuccessful struggle against the Reform Act,—against the abolition of slavery,—against the opening of our trade with China,—against the partial reform of the Irish Church,—we have to rejoice at;—whose too successful and disastrous opposition to the further reform of that monstrous abuse—to the better and cheaper administration of justice,—and to the removal of the grievances of those who dissent from the Church of England, we have to lament.

Should you be called upon to exercise your elective franchise, it will be for you, and for the other electors of the United Kingdom, constitutionally to decide, by the choice of those in whom you will confide, whether the power of government shall be placed in hands like these,—whether the task of ameliorating the institutions of the country, and correcting abuses which have

sprung from a long course of corrupt and vicious legislation, shall be entrusted to the friends or to the enemies of reform;—whether the work of reformation is to be stopped at its commencement, or whether the Reform Act shall bear its full fruits.

The struggle must come. If in the exercise of your right of choice you are disposed again to confide your power to my hands, though others might wield it more ably, none will do so more zealously. To give to the Reform Act its full consequences; to extend to the utmost to all classes the blessings of civil and religious freedom; to correct the abuses of the church establishment; to purify the representative system, and secure the independent exercise of their franchise to those who possess it; to remove the shackles from our industry; to economise the expenses of the state, and alleviate the burdens of the people, will be hereafter, as it has hitherto been, my most anxious endeavour.

Several practical measures press for the immediate decision of Parliament; the great works of corporation and church reform; remedies for the just complaints of the Dissenters by the abolition of church-rates, by the removal of civil disabilities on account of religious opinions, by the introduction of a perfect system of civil registration, are expected without delay by the great body of our countrymen. To these, and to any other practical measures calculated to advance the great principles which I have avowed, I shall lend a ready and willing assistance.

As soon as circumstances will justify my doing so, I shall appear amongst you; anxious to render an account of my stewardship, and to offer any explanations of my past conduct, or of my opinions, which any elector may desire. In the meantime, gentlemen, I have the honour to remain, your faithful and obliged servant,

G. POULETT THOMSON.

London, 3. December, 1834.

MR. B. BRAIDLEY

To the Electors of the borough of Manchester.

Gentlemen,—As there is now a great probability of an early dissolution of the present House of Commons, I take the opportunity of formally addressing you in confirmation of the announcement which you have already received from the committee of requisitionists, that I have consented to be placed before you as a candidate for the representation of this important borough in the next Parliament.

To the gentlemen who addressed me, I stated in reply that I would make neither pledges nor promises as to the course of political conduct that I should follow in the settlement of questions which might hereafter call for public consideration. I have no objection, however, to state to you what my views are upon some subjects which now attract the attention of the electors; and as I have lately heard of opinions having been ascribed to me which I do not hold, I will at once proceed to do so with a view to prevent further misrepresentation.

1st. I have been accused of being an opponent of free trade. I know not the ground upon which this statement could have been justly made. That I am an opponent of particular measures conceding advantages to foreign nations for which they refuse to give us a suitable equivalent, is true; but that I am, in the slightest degree, opposed to the liberal extension of our commercial relations, or that I would object to the reception of any commodity from a foreign country when placed in a British market on at least equal terms with the produce of British labour, or that I would refuse to make a concession for a reasonable time by way of experiment to see whether we could not induce others to follow in our steps, I utterly deny. I fear, however, that some persons when speaking of free trade, lose sight of the serious addition which a heavy taxation makes to the cost of our own productions; and that in looking at the comparatively cheap prices at which some foreign

commodities may be obtained, they do not consider the abject manner of living of a foreign workman as compared with the comforts which every lover of his country would wish our own workmen to enjoy. If it be wished that foreign competition should have the effect of so far lowering the wages of British labourers as to reduce them to the necessity of living as poorly as foreign labourers do, let it be fairly avowed. I, for one, cannot approve of such a sentiment.

2. I understand that some persons find fault with my views on the currency of the country; and it has been said that I am an advocate for a paper currency. I do not exactly know what the objectors mean by a paper currency. I know of nothing peculiar to myself in opinion upon the subject. I think it is right that in small payments, gold should be the legal tender. I think it is proper that the Bank of England should pay its own notes in gold, if demanded. I am of opinion that, inasmuch as there is not a fortieth part of the gold to be found in the world which would represent the wealth of Britain alone; large payments in commercial transactions may be made with safety in paper as well as in gold; and I think it is right that some one bank, bearing the stamp of national approbation, should be the privileged issuer of the paper so to be given and received in legal discharge of debts between man and man. So long as the Bank of England uses this privilege prudently, gives its facilities impartially, without being awayed by petty jealousies towards other banks, whose well-based circulation the public chooses to encourage, and judiciously considers the general good, it shall have my support. Whether it has always done these things is another question.

3d But it is said that I am no church reformer. I am certainly no church destroyer. Christianity being the basis on which the laws of our country are founded, it would be strange indeed if no provision were made for the instruction of the people in those fundamental laws—the laws of God—on which all our national laws profess to be built. But

I am not insensible to the abuses which have existed in the shape of sinecures and pluralities, nor to the evils of the tithe system. I cannot shut my eyes to the fact, that there is much trouble and vexation in the present mode of collecting church-rates; nor can I see the good (but rather the harm) of compelling persons to use, in marriage, a form or ceremony which they disapprove of; and it is precisely because I love the church and wish it to stand well with the public, that I am prepared to give due consideration to any plan professing to remedy these and other existing evils.

4. As the repeal of the malt-tax seems to be an object with some electors, I will just say that my views of taxation are these; it should be as light as possible in the aggregate; it should be levied at the smallest cost for collection; and it should fall less heavily on the man in moderate circumstances than on the rich. If, consistently with these views, any modification should be proposed either by a small property tax, or by some other plan, to get rid of a burden bearing so hardly on the prosperity of the agriculturist and on the comforts of the working classes as the malt-tax, I will bestow upon such proposal every attention I can with a view to its abolition.

5. Some of the clauses of the Poor-law Amendment Bill (the bastardy clauses for instance) seem to me to require revision. And knowing, as I do practically, the operation of the system of poor-law administration in Manchester, an operation which, on the whole, has given satisfaction to the payer and to the receiver; I am not prepared to acquiesce in such changes as the new system would introduce amongst us here.

I have before intimated that I should think it wrong to fetter myself with pledges or promises, and I would rather decline the vote of the man who requires them, than hold myself to any course, which a more enlarged experience both of legislation itself and of the practicability of applying opinions to circumstances might teach me to be

worse than useless. The Reform Bill has now become the law of the land. It shall have my sincere efforts to make it efficient; and if my fellow-townsmen have sufficient confidence in me to commit the high trusts of a representative to my care, I will endeavour to fulfil them so as, first to satisfy my own mind, and next, to entitle myself to their approbation. I have the honour to subscribe myself, with great respect, gentlemen, your most obliged and obedient servant,

BENJAMIN BRAIDLEY.

Manchester, Dec. 22, 1834.

SIR CHARLES WOLSELEY.

To the Electors of Manchester.

Gentlemen,—If a town is to be estimated by the quantity and value of its industry and skill; by the extent of its commercial transactions and by the diligence and integrity of those who carry on those transactions; by its creative powers, and by the wealth, strength, and security to the country, arising from the exertion of those powers; by the orderly and sensible conduct, the public spirit, and the virtuous character of its people; then is Manchester not only the first town of England, but the first town of the whole world.

I will not be guilty of the affectation of seeming to forget the exertions which I have endeavoured to make for the restoration of the ancient liberties and happiness of England; nor will I seem to suppose, that you have altogether forgotten either those exertions or the pecuniary injuries and personal indignities and insults, which the hand of tyranny heaped upon me as my reward. I thank God that I have been preserved in the undiminished possessions descending to me from my ancestors for seven hundred years, the spot being the same and the name unchanged. But, gentlemen, in the words of Sir Francis Burdett, addressed to the people of England on the occasion of the Manchester massacre, I held my estate in trust for the good of those of my countrymen

who have not been so fortunate as myself; that is to say, the possession of it makes it my duty to stand forward, if need be, to assert the rights of, and to endeavour to cause justice to be done to, the people, and especially to that part of the people, whose industry creates that strength, which gives my estate protection.

It is under the influence of this sentiment, that I accept of the offer which a certain portion of your body have done me the honour to make to me. My past life I might, perhaps, hope would be a sufficient guarantee for my conduct as one of your representatives; but, gentlemen, the present state of public affairs suggests to me the propriety of making a specific declaration as to certain important points, namely, parliamentary reform, the malt-tax, the Poor-law Amendment Bill, the Factory Bill, and the rights of the Dissenters.

With regard to the first, I shall never deviate from maintaining the right of the people to universal suffrage, to annual parliaments, and to taking the vote by ballot, wherever they shall choose to do it. I hold, with all our laws, that labour is not only property in itself, but the sole original foundation of all property; that there can be no freedom where there is no right to vote in those who live by honest labour; and that common sense, the experience of the world, and the ancient law of the land, all demand that Parliament should be elected annually.

With regard to the malt-tax. Instead of three shillings a bushel for malt, the people are now compelled to pay eight; and that the working part of the people pay, upon an average, more than two hundred per cent. tax upon their drink (raised by themselves out of our own land), while the rich pay only thirty per cent. on their drink imported from foreign lands.

With regard to the Poor-law Amendment Bill, expressly intended to compel the working people of England to live upon a coarser sort of food, by taking from them that right of relief, which is as much theirs as my estate and the clothes upon my back are mine, it is

a thing so inhuman, and so hateful to the mind and so foreign to the feelings of an Englishman, that I should be ashamed to live if I did not hold it in abhorrence; especially when I must know, that its direct tendency is, to bring the working people down to the state of the working people of Ireland, and to put their wages into the pockets of the landholders and the great manufacturers; hoping, however, that comparatively few of either of these classes perceive the real tendency of this measure.

With regard to the HOURS OF LABOUR in the manufactories; I took, in the discussion of that measure, so great an interest, that I conveyed to the honourable Member for Oldham, who laboured so assiduously in the cause, an expression of my wish to have an opportunity of personally showing my respect for him in my own house, as a mark of my conviction of the great merit due to his laudable endeavours.

Lastly, gentlemen, with regard to the Dissenters. I have always held, that the tithes, the parsonage-houses, the glebes, the dues, the universities, and all their estates, and all the church lands, whether held by bishops or deans and chapters, were as much the property of the Dissenters as of the established church; knowing that the latter had no exclusive prescriptive right to them; knowing that they had no other right than that which they derived from acts of the Parliament; and knowing that one Parliament can legally do nothing which another Parliament cannot legally undo.

Upon these grounds, gentlemen, if I be chosen a Member of Parliament, nothing within my power shall be left undone to cause the Parliament to be further reformed upon the principles that I have stated; to cause the Malt-tax to be totally repealed; to cause the Poor-law Amendment Bill to be swept from the statute-book; to cause the hours of labour in the factories to be shortened; and to cause to be repealed, every statute giving to the established church any right to any part of the church property, or even to the edifice

of the church and the churchyards, greater than the right which, to the same things, shall belong to the Dissenters; or, in one short sentence, to cause there to be a complete separation of church from state.

Gentlemen, after the description which, in the beginning of this address, I have given of the town of Manchester, it would be superfluous for me to say, that the honour of being one of its representatives is a far greater honour than any to which I can pretend to have a claim. But as a considerable portion of you seem to think otherwise, I yield respectfully to your better judgment; and, as you are of opinion that my being a candidate at the ensuing election will afford you an occasion of openly proclaiming and maintaining, those principles, for which I have always contended, it only remains for me to assure you, that you will find resolution that will flinch from the performance of no duty; industry that will be wearied by no toil; and gratitude that will never cease but with life, in

Your faithful,
Most obedient, and most

Humble Servant,
CHARLES WOLSELEY.

Wolsley Hall, 24. Dec., 1834.

COURT OF EXCHEQUER.

(London Sittings at *Nisi Prius*, before Mr. Baron Park, and a London Jury).

RICHMOND v. MARSHALL AND ANOTHER.

(Concluded from p. 58.)

Cross-examined by the Plaintiff. I am living at Glasgow. I have seen you a hundred times before last Saturday. I first saw you in the year 1812. I saw you at various other places. You obtained your living by selling the webs of the weavers. I never saw you nor your family out of distress. Your wife was a poor, broken-hearted woman. The only mode I had of knowing your affairs was seeing your children half naked and crying for bread. You went away, but I do not know where you went; it was after your leaving the weaving shop; you said it was high time for the people to overthrow the d—d villainous Government. I recollect the trials in 1817; I was not taken into custody; I was very happy on thinking I was not taken into custody; on my oath I saw the oath and the paper; I was not invited to come out of the house; but you had

it in your hand. I think it was about ten o'clock in the morning. I am certain from this you first had the paper. On it being shown, Fergusson said, I will take you to the place to be sworn, at the school-room. The oath was administered in the form of a Scotch oath. It was done by holding up the right hand: I never took any person to take the oath, for I regretted to have taken the oath. I knew many of your associates. Mr. Scott was one. He took part in politics, but not the way you did. The discussions used to take place of an evening, when the weavers congregated about the doors after work was done. I earn now 13s. a week. I am not acquainted with Mr. Mackenzie. In the beginning of this year, in March or April, Mr. Mackenzie called on me to ask what I knew about the transactions of 1816; I told him what I have now told you, I was not examined before the Commission. When Mr. Mackenzie came to me he said that I should be taken to London, and that my wages and expenses should be paid. When I was coming away there were three others with me, and P. McKenzie, who came up with us, gave 2l. He also paid our carriage fare. It was inconvenient to leave my work, and I did not like the long journey at all. (Laughter). I never said to any person of the name of Baird that what I said of Richmond, introducing the oath, was false. I do not know any man or woman of that name. I do not know that a man of that name was hanged at Stirling in 1820. I do not know Mr. Drybairn, who was formerly a schoolmaster. Neither to him, or to any body did I say what I had said of you was false. Mr. Mackenzie took a short note of what I told him. When I came to town, I waited on Mr. Tait at his lodgings; I had been addressed to him, not like a parcel, and certainly not like a "green bag parcel." (Great laughter). I now lodge at No. 7, Salisbury-square, Bell-court, where you may call on me if you like. (A laugh).

Mr. Justice J. PARK. Come, come, sir, answer the questions properly.

By the COURT. I was not aware of any thing of the kind, but Richmond assured me that there was something in operation.

By Mr. PLATT. He told me that there were many respectable persons concerned in the business. He mentioned the names of Francis Jeffrey and Mr. Cockburn. He mentioned other names, but I forget them. He said it was my duty to join in those efficient measures, and that he would introduce me. I replied that I would think of it. I saw him afterwards in Baird-street, in company with Mr. Brown and another gentleman. They were on the south side of the street, and I on the north. Richmond crossed over to me, leaving the others, and asked if I had made up my mind? I replied I had not. He said I was a damned fool; that the measure was in active operation; and that it was my duty to take an active part in it. He said that the numbers amounted to 100,000, amongst them several respectable men; and, that money and everything neces-

sary was forthcoming. He pressed me to call upon him the next day; and, laying his hand on my shoulder, he said, "Set your mind to think seriously of it." I said "Very well, Sawney, I will." (A laugh). I never did call on him. I remember the arrest of Mr. Finlay. I cannot say of my own knowledge that Richmond was in distressed circumstances up to that time; but I used to hear it said that he was so. I had not seen him from the trial of the weavers for combination in 1813, until I met him in Trongate, in 1816. I remember that in 1817, the walls of Glasgow were chalked with the words, "Richmond the Spy."

Cross-examined by Richmond. I do live in Glasgow; I can earn from 6s. to 7s. a week; I only remember your saying to me besides what I have told now, was that you had an engagement with Mr. Owen. I met you afterwards, by accident, in 1820, several persons were with you; the only conversation I remember was that you wrung your hands and said, "What can administer to a mind diseased?" (A laugh). And you said you were going to publish a book. I remember the state of the country in 1816. The country was tranquil, but there was very great distress. I do not know exactly what you mean by excitement. There was a great many public meetings, and people were of various opinions as to the cause of the distress. In the conversation with you in December, it was understood between us that you attended the meetings for parliamentary reform, when you said that these were all damned nonsense. I was friendly to annual Parliaments and universal suffrage. As a delegate to the weavers' committee, I proposed resolutions to petition Parliament on the subject of reform. As far as I can judge for myself, I think I was moderate. I do not know what you mean by asking whether, on looking back now, I needed a stimulus to urge me on. I was at the Thrush Grove meeting, but only as a spectator. I took no part in it. I belonged to the unions which followed in 1819; I joined the radical processions with banners, and I acted on all occasions as a zealous partisan to the best of my power; but I never did countenance, nor ever would countenance, a secret combination. The combination which you wanted me to join in 1816 was secret, and the object was to overturn the Government. That was not expressed, but it was well understood; you said nothing exactly of the kind; I did not require to be urged on to do what was right by you, but if it was to do what was wrong, I would require to be urged on by you, or some other demon. (A great sensation in the court). I was afterwards put in prison by mistake; your appearance before the trials was like that of other weavers; when you were on the weavers' committee you got something more. I always thought it must be an advantage to you, or you would not have kept on to it. When you mentioned the names of Jeffrey and Cockburn, I did not understand you to refer to their friend-

ship for you; I understood you to name them because you knew they had great influence with the weavers. That was exactly what I understood. I did not know that they had brought you through the outlawry. I suppose they did, for you got through it somehow. I did not ask you any questions about how you were getting on when I met you, because you were distrusted by the weavers, as a man who had betrayed them in 1812. You were supposed to be great with Captain Finlay, who was against the people. You supported his election. I do not know what advantage you derived from betraying the weavers. You were tried with them, and were included in the outlawry. I heard that you said you suffered very much from the outlawry. I read your book, but I do not remember the account you give in that book about the transactions of 1812. I have sometimes written for the newspapers. I wrote a letter to the *Glasgow Chronicle* about you when your book was published. I did not write all I knew about you, for the paper would not hold it. (A laugh). The proprietor or editor did not apply to me until after I had sent the letter, when a reporter from the office called on me. The letter now shown me in the Glasgow paper is the one I wrote.

Richmond was here putting a question to the witness, when the court interposed, saying, "You cannot complain that this witness gives you any reason to complain that you cannot get direct answers out of him." (A laugh). After some conversation, it was agreed that the letter in the *Chronicle* should be read, and that the plaintiff might then ask what was the reason that witness had not stated in that letter the conversations which took place at Tongate. The letter complained of the inadequacy of Richmond's account of himself in his narrative, and asserted that there had existed no secret society in Glasgow, but the one of which Richmond was at the head. It stated also that a conversation took place between the writer and a man named Beard, exactly similar to that which the witness swears took place with the plaintiff, no allusion being made to the latter conversation in the letter, which concluded by expressing the writer's belief that Richmond acted as a spy in forming the secret combination.

Cross-examination resumed. My reason for not mentioning in the letter what you said to me was that there was not room to state every thing, and I selected what I thought was strongest. I thought at the time of writing that the fact which I stated about Beard would be stronger than your saying there were one hundred thousand men combined. From all the inquiries which I made, I am convinced that there were not more than a dozen or two of persons in the secret society you were concerned with. I was first applied to by Mackenzie to know what evidence I could give in this action. He told me I should be required to give evidence, but he did not

tell me what I was to say. He had no need to do so, (A laugh.)

Re-examined. I think Beard was living when I wrote the letter to the *Glasgow Chronicle*. I have heard that he died since. I had great influence with the weavers in my district, and if I had joined the conspiracy with Richmond, many others might have followed my example.

Mr. Millard, the printer, of Bridge-street, proved the publication of Richmond's narrative.

Mr. Prentice, Editor of the *Glasgow Chronicle*, examined by Mr. Sergeant Talfourd.—Before 1816 he knew Richmond, and towards the close of that year he came to consult witness about his accepting a situation at New Lanark as an assistant teacher. Some time in 1817 witness, on his way to the *Chronicle* office, observed the walls placarded with the words, "Beware of Richmond the Spy," and soon afterwards he saw Richmond on the other side of the street. Richmond endeavoured to pass him, unobserved, but witness crossed over and pointed to the placard, and told him to go at once, and make an affidavit that the placard was false, that the contradiction upon oath might be published. Witness said that if this was not done, every man would kick and spit upon him. The affidavit was never made, and witness never saw Richmond since until Saturday. Richmond never brought an action against witness for any of the letters published respecting him in the *Chronicle*. He sent a lawyer's letter threatening an action, but witness heard no more about it.

Cross-examined. First became acquainted with plaintiff as the writer of an article on the distresses of the weavers in 1816. That article excited the universal indignation of the weavers, for it said that they stole woft to the value of 500,000*l.* a year for food. This they denounced as a vile calumny. Witness knew nothing of plaintiff's affairs but what he told him himself. Witness gave him a letter of credit for 20*l.*'s worth of goods to manufacture, as a matter of mere humanity, on his representation of his distressed situation. Witness never sent Mr. M'Dougal the reporter, or any other person, to gather reports respecting the plaintiff. Witness remembers that the plaintiff told him that he was going into business under the patronage of Captain Finlay. Does not remember that plaintiff told him that Mr. Jeffrey and Mr. Cockburn were assisting him. (A long examination here took place respecting the contents of certain letters published in the *Chronicle*, but nothing of any moment resulting from it).

Mr. Withersperon examined by Mr. Platt. Was a member of the Glasgow weavers committee, for the attaining of parliamentary reform, in 1816. The proceedings were all open. Remembers that Campbell, M'Lagblan, and M'Kinley, who were members, became intimate with Richmond; and from that intimacy he observed a change in the conduct of those three. They became desirous of secret

meetings for the purpose of resorting to more efficient measures. Witness opposed all attempts to get secret meetings. Petitions agreed to at a public meeting were dispersed throughout the town for signature, and on the evening appointed for the meeting of the committee to collect the petitions, and to forward them to London, at the house of Mr. Strang; witness went to Strang's house, and was introduced into a small room near the door, where Richmond was sitting with Messrs. Leighton, Campbell, and M'Kinley. That was not the room in which the committee was to meet. Richmond asked witness what he expected to gain by petitioning? Witness said that not much immediately, but by perseverance, he hoped they would succeed. Richmond said "that was all damned nonsense, nothing would do but physical force; that revolution was inevitable; he knew it, for he was in communication with the highest, the wisest, and best in the land, and they were only waiting for an organization of the working classes, when there would be no want of money or skill to conduct every thing." The witness expressed his dissent from those statements, and forbidding Richmond ever to speak to him upon such a topic again, he left the room. At this time witness was a weaver, a journeyman. On another occasion Richmond said to witness, that if he was bound to remain a weaver all his life he could cut his throat. The day after the trial of M'Kinley (7. July, 1817), witness met Richmond on the shore at Leith. Strang and another were with witness, who said to Richmond, "I expected to have seen you yesterday at the trial." Richmond then asked, "How did that affair go off yesterday?" Witness, seeing that the other was sneering in his usual way, made no remark. Richmond then said, with a sneer, "If they had taken my advice the result would have been otherwise." Witness then said, "You had not the courage to go into court, like your friends Oliver and Castles, who went there, in their robes of blood." He added, "This must be a good paying job, for when you were at Halton, your little ones were covered with rags and filth, but now they are dressed like gentlefolks, in new clothes and green shoes. (Great laughter). Richmond, who had his two children with him, walked off "very hot," and said that he did not care a — for witness. That closed his acquaintance with the plaintiff.

Richmond here said that he would not ask this witness a question.

Mr. Sergeant TALFOURD then rose to put in as evidence certain portions of the book (Richmond's narrative) of which the publication had been proved.

The plaintiff objected to that course, and contended that the whole narrative should be read in connection.

The COURT. What, the whole book? (Laughter). That is unnecessary. They can read their extracts, and you can then

cause any other passages to be read in connexion.

Several extracts were then read at the suggestion of either party.

Mr. Owen was then called, and examined by Mr. Sergeant Talfourd. He said: I had no knowledge of the nature of Mr. Richmond's connexion with Mr. Finlay; for if I had had any notion that he was so employed, he would be the last person in the world I should think of taking into my service. I was then engaged in an important plan for improving the condition of the working classes, and he was recommended to me as a person who had the interests of the working classes very much at heart, and I therefore wished to have his assistance; but I had no knowledge that he was a spy.

Richmond said that when he made to Mr. Owen the communication alluded to in one of the notes in his book, nothing had been done between him and Finlay. He then asked Mr. Owen, did he not remember his (R.'s) stating to him that there was an organization going forward throughout the country, and what Finlay proposed to do?

Mr. Owen said, Richmond, of this I am quite sure, that at the time you refer to, my mind was so made up to one principle, to do all in my power to promote the welfare of the working classes; that I would not lend myself to entrap any portion of them.

Richmond. I am sure of that; nor would I either. (Laughter and hisses).

Mr. Justice PARK. The jury will decide upon that.

The plaintiff then went into long explanations of circumstances to remind Mr. Owen that the communication had been made to him, as stated in the note; but Mr. Owen still denied.

Richmond. Why, Mr. Owen, you saw that part of my book before it was published, for I sent you the proofs, and you approved of them.

Mr. Owen. I read what you state about your engagement with me, and that is all perfectly correct. But this note was not in the portion which I saw, for I never would say that it was correct.

Richmond was then proceeding to make explanations in reply to Mr. Owen, and to call the attention of the jury to those remarks, when

Mr. Justice J. PARK reminded him that it was not yet the time to address the jury, the examination of witnesses not having been concluded.

Richmond said that he was at a loss how to proceed. He was taken by surprise by the evidence which had been brought against him, and he was then unprepared to rebut it. But if he could not rebut it he never would hold up his head in society.

Mr. Justice J. PARK thought that as the plaintiff was not prepared now with evidence to rebut the very strong evidence which had been brought against him, there was only this

alternative—he must either let the case go to the jury as it was, or submit to a *nonsuit*.

Richmond having consulted with his attorney, said that it appeared to be his wisest course to submit to a *NONSUIT*.

Mr. Justice J. PARK. I think that is the wisest course.

The plaintiff was then called in court, in the usual form, and as he did not answer a *nonsuit* was entered.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, JANUARY 2, 1831.

INSOLVENTS.

BROWN, E. and J. and T. Davy, Collumpton, Devonshire, woollen-manufacturers.

MOSTYN, S. J., Feuchuich-street, whisky-merchant.

RAYMOND, W., Streatham-place, Brixton-hill, shipowner.

WIGAN, J., Pine-apple pl., Kilburn-priory, Edgware-road, music-dealer.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

CHAPMAN, J., Feltwell, Norfolk, shop-keeper.

BANKRUPTS.

ASHBY, S., Upper Thames-street, flour-dealer.

BLIGHT, P., Phillack, Cornwall, grocer.

HILDESHEIMER, P. D. L., otherwise P. Levi, New-road, Woolwich, grocer.

RICHARDSON, H. J. A. G., Upper Norton-street, Portland-place, commission-agent.

SOLOMON, I., and B. Aaron, Bristol, woollen-drapers.

WINDROSS, J., Bishopsgate-street-without, linen-draper.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION

RANKIN, R., jun., Greenock, writer.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 6.

INSOLVENTS.

LONDON, G. P., Wardour-street, Soho.

READ, T., New Brentford.

BANKRUPTS.

FLEKSHEIM, L., Birmingham, merchant.

GREEN, F., Clifford-street, Bond-street, auctioneer.

GREENWOOD, W., Sutton-upon-Trent, coal-dealer.

OWEN, H., Liverpool, miller.

RIX, H., Harp-lane, Tower-street, cork-merchant.

SPEIGHT, S., Brick-lane, Spitalfields, chemist.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Jan. 5.—The supplies of Wheat from Essex, Kent, and Suffolk, to this morning's market have been on a very moderate scale; and though there appeared a better feeling in the trade, and it was not generally thought Wheat had attained its minimum range of price, yet the excitement which the elections are causing prevented the market from being well attended. Fine Wheat, both white and red, realised fully the currency of last week, and an extra sample may have realised 1s. per quarter more money; but we do not alter the general currency; secondary and inferior parcels hung on hand at previous rates.

Fine samples of Chevalier Barley continue scarce, and are 1s. per quarter dearer; grinding samples were also fully as dear, and secondary sorts, however, of malting as well as distilling, were dull sale, but unaltered in price.

The malt trade was firmer, and prices evincing a tendency to advance; fine Chevalier quality was worth 66s., and extra super-fine valued as high as 68s.

Though the supply of Oats from Ireland was extensive, yet from our own coast and Scotland, the arrival was limited. The trade ruled steady, and purchasers were obliged to submit to an advance of 6d. to 1s. per quarter on the rates of this day se'nnight. Free Riga quality have obtained 23s.

Beans met with only a limited inquiry, and were 1s. cheaper.

White Peas, owing to the foreign samples pressing on the market, again receded 1s. per quarter. Maple and Grey also suffered the same depreciation.

Flour extremely dull, and sales are being pressed at very low terms.

In bonded Wheat no variation, but the former quotations were steadily maintained.

Wheat, English, White, new....	42s. to 53s.
Old	48s. to 52s.
Red, new.....	36s. to 42s.
Old	40s. to 42s.
Lincolnshire, red	37s. to 42s.
White	43s. to 44s.
Yorkshire, red	36s. to 40s.
White	40s. to 42s.
Northumberl. & Berwick	34s. to 40s.
Fine white	40s. to 42s.
Dundee & choice Scotch	43s. to 44s.
Irish, red, good	35s. to 36s.
White	36s. to 42s.
Rye, new	30s. to 33s.
Old ..	34s. to 36s.
Barley, English, grinding.....	26s. to 28s.
Distilling.....	28s. to 30s.
Malting	32s. to 36s.
Chevalier ..	38s. to 41s.
Malt	44s. to 54s.
Fine new.....	56s. to 64s.
Beas, Tick, new	33s. to 35s.
Old	36s. to 38s.
Harrow, new.....	36s. to 38s.

Peas, Old	38s. to 40s.
White, English	38s. to 40s.
Foreign	36s. to 40s.
Grey or Hog	38s. to 40s.
Maples	40s. to 42s.
Oats, Polands	23s. to 24s.
Lincolnshire, short small	23s. to 24s.
Lincolnshire, feed	21s. to 22s.
Yorkshire, feed.....	21s. to 23s.
Black.....	23s. to 24s.
Northumberland and Berwick Potato, new.....	24s. to 25s.
Old.....	25s. to 27s.
Angus, new	24s. to 25s.
Old	—s. to —s.
Banff and Aberdeen, common new	24s. to 25s.
Old.....	—s. to —s.
Potato	25s. to 27s.
Old.....	25s. to 27s.
Irish Potato, new.....	21s. to 23s.
Old.....	—s. to —s.
Feed, new light	19s. to 21s.
Black, new	20s. to 22s.
Foreign feed.....	22s. to 23s.
Danish & Pomeranian, old	20s. to 21s.
Petersburgh, Riga, &c... ..	22s. to 23s.
Foreign, in bond, feed....	12s. to 14s.
Brew	16s. to 18s.

PROVISIONS.

Butter, Dorset	40s. to 42s. per cwt.
Cambridge	40s. to —s.
York	38s. to —s.
Cheese, Dble. Gloucester	48s. to 66s.
Single ditto....	44s. to 48s.
Cheshire.....	54s. to 74s.
Derby	50s. to 60s.
Hams, Westmoreland..	50s. to 60s.
Cumberland ...	50s. to 60s.

SMITHFIELD, January 5.

In this day's market, which exhibited throughout a good supply, trade was, with each kind of meat, very dull. With the very primest small beef at, in some few instances, an advance of from 2d. to 4d. per stone; with other kinds of Beef, as also Mutton, Veal, and Pork, at Friday's quotations.

About 1,400 of the Beasts, nearly or quite, a moiety of which were Shorthorns; the remainder in about equal numbers of Herefords, Scots, Devons, Welsh runts, and Irish beasts, were from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, and others of our northern districts; about 400, about a moiety of which were Scots, the remainder in about equal numbers of Shorthorns and Devons, with a few Norfolk homebreds and Welsh runts, from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 500, in about equal numbers of Herefords, Devons, and Welsh runts, with a few Shorthorns and Irish beasts, from our western and midland districts; about 100,

mostly Sussex steers and Osen, with a few Devons, runts, and Irish Heasts, from Kent, Surrey, and Sussex; and most of the remainder, including about 100 Town's-end Cows, from the stall-feeders, &c., in the neighbourhood of London.

About three-fifths of the Sheep were new Leicester, and about equal numbers of the South-down and white-faced crosses; about a fifth Southdowns; and the remainder in about equal numbers of old Leicesters, old Lincolns, Kents, and Kentish half breeds, with a few pens of horned and polled Norfolks, horned Dorsets and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

COBBETT-LIBRARY.

Fourth Edition.

COBBETT'S Spelling-Book

(Price 2s)

Containing, besides all the usual matter of such a book, a clear and concise

INTRODUCTION TO ENGLISH GRAMMAR.

This I have written by way of

A Stepping-Stone to my own Grammar;

such a thing having been frequently suggested to me by Teachers as necessary.

1. ENGLISH GRAMMAR.—Of this work one hundred thousand copies have now been published. This is a duodecimo volume, and the price is 3s. bound in boards.

2. TULL'S HORSE-HOEING HUSBANDRY; or, a Treatise on the Principles of Tillage and Vegetation. With an Introduction, by WM. COBBETT. 8vo. Price 15s.

3. THE EMIGRANT'S GUIDE. Just now Published, under this Title, a little Volume, containing Ten Letters, addressed to English Tax-payers. A new edition, with a Postscript, containing an account of the Prices of Houses and Land, recently obtained from America by Mr. Cobbett. Price 2s. 6d. in bds

4. THE WOODLANDS; or, a Treatise on the preparing of the ground for planting; on the planting, on the cultivating, on the pruning, and on the cutting down, of Forest Trees and Underwoods. Price 14s. bound in boards.

5. YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA.—The Price of this book, in good print and on fine paper, is 5s.

6. FRENCH GRAMMAR; or, Plain Instructions for the Learning of French. Price, bound in boards, 5s.

7. COTTAGE ECONOMY.—I wrote this Work professedly for the use of the labouring and middling classes of the English nation. I made myself acquainted with the best and simplest modes of making beer and bread, and these I made it as plain as, I believe, words could make it. Also of the keeping of Cows, Pigs, Bees, and Poultry, matters which I understood as well as any body could, and in all their details. It includes my writing, also on the Straw Plait. A Duodecimo Volume. Price 2s. 6d.

8. MARTENS'S LAW OF NATIONS.—This is the Book which was the foundation of all the knowledge that I have ever possessed relative to public law. The Price is 17s., and the manner of its execution is I think, such as to make it fit for the Library of any Gentleman.

9. MR. JAMES PAUL COBBETT'S RIDE OF EIGHT HUNDRED MILES IN FRANCE. Second Edition. Price 2s. 6d.

10. A TREATISE ON COBBETT'S CORN; containing Instructions for Propagating and Cultivating the Plant, and for Harvesting and Preserving the Crop; and also an account of the several uses to which the Produce is applied. Price 5s.

11. LETTERS FROM FRANCE; containing Observations made in that Country during a Residence of Two Months in the South, and Three Months at Paris. By JOHN M. COBBETT. Price 4s. in boards.

12. SERMONS.—There are twelve of these, in one volume, on the following subjects: 1. Hypocrisy and Cruelty; 2. Drunkenness; 3. Bribery; 4. Oppression; 5. Unjust Judges; 6. The Sluggard; 7. The Murderer; 8. The Gamester; 9. Public Robbery; 10. The Unnatural Mother; 11. The Sin of Forbidding Marriage; 12. On the Duties of Parsons, and on the Institution and Object of Tithes. Price 3s. 6d. bound in boards.

A Thirteenth Sermon, entitled "GOOD FRIDAY; or, The Murder of Jesus Christ by the Jews." Price 6d.

13. PROTESTANT "REFORMATION" in England and Ireland, showing how that event has impoverished and degraded the main body of the people in those countries. Two volumes, bound in boards. The Price of the first volume is 4s. 6d. The Price of the second volume 3s. 6d.

Price 12s.

A GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF ENGLAND AND WALES;

CONTAINING

The names, in Alphabetical Order, of all the Counties, with their several Subdivisions, into Hundreds, Lathes, Rapes, Wapentakes, Wards, or Divisions; and an Account of the Distribution of the Counties into Circuits, Dioceses, and Parliamentary Divisions.

ALSO,

The names (under that of each County respectively), in Alphabetical Order, of all the Cities, Boroughs, Market Towns, Villages, Hamlets, and Tithings, with the Distance of each from London, or from the nearest Market Town, and with the Population, and other interesting particulars relating to each; besides which there are

MAPS;

First, one of the whole country, showing the local situation of the Counties relatively to each other; and, then, each County is also preceded by a Map, showing, in the same manner, the local situation of the Cities, Boroughs, and Market Towns.

FOUR TABLES

Are added; first, a Statistical Table of all the Counties, and then three Tables, showing the new Divisions and Distributions enacted by the Reform-Law of 4th June, 1832.

THE CURSE OF**PAPER MONEY AND BANKING,**

Or, a short History of Banking in the United States of America, with an account of its ruinous effects on Landowners, Farmers, Traders, and on all the industrious classes of the community.

By W. M. GOUCE, of Philadelphia, in 1833.

To which is prefixed an Introduction by WM. COBBETT, M.P. for Oldham. Price 4s. 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street, and all Book-sellers.

FRANCE.—Extract from the French 'Moniteur'.—"The 'PATE PECTORALE de REGNAULD aîné' is sold under the sanction of Government, as the most efficacious remedy in the cure of Colds, Catarrhs, the Hooping-Cough, Asthma, Hoarseness, and Pulmonary Complaints. Among the Practitioners who daily recommend the use of this palatable preparation may be mentioned M. Recamier, Physician to the Hotel-Dieu, and M. Pariset, Perpetual Secretary to the Royal Academy of Medicine."—This Paste may be had in London, in boxes, at 1s. and 2s. each, of C. Barbe, General Agent, 60, Regent's Quadrant; Budge and Co., Covent-garden; Chaudier and Co., 76, Oxford-street; Mr. Cowell, 22, Terrace, Piccadilly; Hannay and Co., 63, Oxford-street; Miss Hearn, 15, Queen-street, Cheapside; Mrs. Marle, 52, Athmarle-street; Mr. Prout, 229, Strand; and Mr. Sanger, 150, Oxford-street.

MORISON'S PILLS.

Cure of Severe Cold, Debility of Body, Loss of Appetite, Gathering on the Head, and large Spots on the Body.

To Mr. M. Dougal, Hygienic Agent for Falkirk.

SIR,—This is to certify that in December last I caught a severe cold, by reason of which I was kept off work from debility of body and loss of appetite, and an uncommon large gathering upon my head, and large spots on sundry parts of my body. The gathering forced its way out of one of my ears, the attractive salve which I applied not having the desired effect. As the root of the matter was below the level of the ear, it stopped running, and again commenced gathering. I was then in a most deplorable plight with agony, having no rest day or night. My daughter, having heard of my misery, came from Broxburgh to see me. She applied to one of my neighbours, and he came and saw me, and recommended Morison's Pills as the only sure remedy. Previous to this, I had used sundry purgatives, but all to no good effect; salts, kindled as it were, a fire in my breast; but, according to my neighbour's desire, I sent for the Pills, and as I was ordered, took ten night and morning, alternately. My neighbour having seen that I had only purchased a 2s. 3d. package, stated that it could not be expected that such a small quantity would effect such a corrupted body; but he was informed, that when the medicine was done, more would be obtained. I continued taking the medicine, when the gathering again broke at the ear. About this time my spouse stated that there was about a Scotch pint of corrupt matter discharged from the auditory passage! The gathering closed again, and afterwards broke afresh, when the medicine performed the desired effect, by driving the matter through the flesh. Having made use of 13s. 3d. worth of the above medicine, I now thank God that I enjoy health of body and a sound mind. Were I not to make my case known, it might be well said that I was destitute of love to man; hoping, therefore, that you will give publicity to these facts, that others may learn to lay down their prejudice against such an invaluable medicine.

I remain, your obedient humble servant,

Laureiston, JOHN CADWELL.
near Falkirk, 6 May, 1834.

PASTILS of VICHY.—The above Pastils marked with the word Vichy, are sold only in boxes stamped with the seal of the warm spring of Vichy, and the signature of the Grantees. These Pastils stimulate the appetite, facilitate digestion, and remove all pains in the stomach. They are no less noted for the cure of the Gravel and Stone. They may be had in London of C. Barbe, General Agent, 60, Regent's Quadrant; Hannay, 63, Oxford-street; Holwell, 30, Blackman-street, Borough; Johnson, 68, Cornhill; Prout, 229, Strand; Sanger, 150, Oxford-street; in boxes and half boxes at 2s. 6d. and 1s. 6d. each.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court, and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.



THE
ELECTIONS IN LANCASHIRE.

TO THE
EDITOR OF THE TRUE SUN.

Wolseley, 11. Jan. 1835.

SIR,—You will see by the date of this letter, that I am got back from the clouds of smoke, and from the hives of men. If I could have brought along with me into this vale of Stafford; to the borders of the beautiful TRENT, and to the woods and fine meadows and fields; if I could have brought along with me only a small portion of the quick sense, the public spirit, the disinterestedness, the generosity, of the county of Lancaster; then, indeed, the change would have been most delightful; but, alas, those qualities are not to be found at every turn, on this side of the hills, or of the boundary line which divides Cheshire from Lancashire.

There have been some election-blunders committed even in this county of Lancaster, which is the pride of England, and ought to be the pride of the world. I do not know that there was much amiss at Liverpool; though I approve of the election of no man who did not vote against the Poor-law Bill, or pledge himself to vote for the repeal of it. At PRESTON Mr. FLEETWOOD, though greatly at the head of the poll, promised that he would vote for a repeal of that horrible bill. At BOLTON, to my infinite satisfaction, Colonel TORRENS was rejected with scorn for his support

of that bill, and for having actually become a commissioner to carry into effect one of its provisions. On the same ground, and for not having voted for a repeal of the malt-tax, Mr. FENTON, after a most desperate struggle with the most notorious Tory of the whole country, was rejected at ROCHDALE. At BLACKBURN there is every appearance of the *Doctrinaire* Dr. BOWRING being flung back upon "his own resources." At BURY Mr. WALKER had nobody to oppose him. At WIGAN Mr. RICHARD POTTER, a Poor-law-Bill-man, a malt-tax-continuance-man, and the great advocate of Mr. POULETT THOMSON, has had a very narrow escape, though at the last election he had an immense majority. At ASHTON Mr. CHARLES HINDLEY supplanted Colonel WILLIAMS. At WARRINGTON Mr. BLACKBURN was opposed by Mr. HINDLEY, who is now the member for ASHTON. Mr. BLACKBURN told the people, that he was a *Tory*; but that he detested the Poor-law Bill; and Mr. BLACKBURN was elected. At CLITHERO there has been, I believe, no opposition to Mr. FORD. At SALFORD Mr. BROTHERTON was opposed by a Tory, who did not come into the field till two days, or thereabouts, before the polling began, and who placed all his reliance upon any thing like a contest upon Mr. BROTHERTON having voted for the Poor-law Bill, on which account, and on account of having opposed my motion for a repeal of the malt-tax, Mr. BROTHERTON had given any thing like serious offence; for every one regarded him as an upright man, and a very diligent member of Parliament; as, indeed, he is. It was said, that I recommended people to vote against him. This I did not do; and every particular friend of mine that had a vote in SALFORD voted for him; and Mr. CROSS went with me from his own house in Sir CHARLES WOLSELEY'S carriage to give his vote for Mr. BROTHERTON; but I cannot say that I was sorry for the worrying that he got; and at

his being compelled to give a solemn pledge that he would vote for a repeal of the Poor-law Bill. I believe he signed a paper to this effect before a considerable body of electors would consent to re-choose him. This pledge the electors had a perfect right to exact, and it was perfectly proper in their representative to give it. At **OLDHAM** I and my colleague had only to go and be elected; to stay two days with our sensible and every way excellent constituents; to dine with them; to give them plenty of opportunities of stating their opinions to us; to state our opinions to them; and to consult with them, and finally settle with them, with regard to the means, the times, and the manner, in which they should so act as to give us their support in the discharge of our duty. There never has been such a thing as an opposition to either of us, seriously and deliberately thought of by any body. There was a vast assemblage of people at the election; and never in this world, was there any thing more delightful to behold than the harmony, the mutual congratulations, and the pleasure, which universally prevailed. If every town and county in the kingdom were animated with the spirit such as is prevalent at **OLDHAM**, and were blessed with the same good sense that there seems to possess every mind, great as are the difficulties which surround us; great as are the dangers which menace this ancient Government; all would be put to rights during this next session of Parliament. The people of **OLDHAM** recollected that **SIR CHARLES WOLSELEY** was in their town at the time of the memorable **OLDHAM** inquest; they remembered his previous solicitude, and his acts, too, with regard to the sufferers, upon that occasion; and, on the Friday, in consequence of a deputation from them; to him and me, at **MANCHESTER**, we went to dine with them; and I then took my leave of them for this time.

Lastly, **MANCHESTER**. The difficulty at **MANCHESTER** was, to select a proper person to make a stand on the part of the Radicals. The moment the change of Ministry was heard of, the other par-

ties were in the field: and it costs, perhaps, nearly two thousand pounds in printing, canvassing, committees, and other things, without a thought of either bribery or treating. At **MANCHESTER** they heard of the turning out of Ministers on the 15. of November. The three candidates, the Tory and the two Whigs, set to work immediately; and all thought of making even a demonstration on the part of the Radicals was given up until the 22. of December, or thereabout. On the 24. of December they sent a deputation to **SIR CHARLES WOLSELEY**, who instantly resolved on going to **MANCHESTER** to assert their principles in an appeal to the people of that great and important town. This he did. It was expected by nobody, and particularly by himself, that he could by possibility be elected; but still it was of vast importance that our principles should be asserted in the face of so large a community, and a decision, at any rate, taken by a show of hands. The nomination took place on Wednesday, the 7. of this month. The result of the poll was as follows:—

Thomson	3,372
Philips	3,188
Braidley	2,533
Wolseley	604

At the nomination the hands of the whole of the industrious assemblage (not less than 25,000, in the square of **ST. ANN**) were raised for **SIR CHARLES WOLSELEY**. About two-thirds of the same hands were held up for **MR. BRAIDLEY**; about two or three hundred for **MR. PHILIPS**; and fifteen for **MR. POULETT THOMSON**!

Thus spoke the voice of the people of Lancashire, whose heaviest accusation against **THOMSON** was, that he had voted for the Poor-law Bill, and whose greatest ground of favour towards **MR. BRAIDLEY** was, that he disapproved of that horrible bill. Let it be observed that the other parties had had forty days to canvass and contrive in, before **SIR CHARLES WOLSELEY**'s name was so much as mentioned; and that there were only eleven days between the issuing of **SIR CHARLES**'s address and the day of nomination. If **SIR CHARLES**

had started at the time that the others did, there is not the smallest doubt that he would have had a majority at the poll; and that he will, if God give him life, be a member for Manchester whenever another election shall take place. Every one that knows him will be sure that people of all ranks are delighted with his at once resolute conduct, and affable deportment. If they were pleased with him, he had no less reason to be pleased with them, whose conduct towards him was marked by that generosity, and that deep sense of gratitude which are the great characteristics of the people of this famous county, of which MANCHESTER is at once the centre of its surprising industry, and its unparalleled public spirit.

The thing which I am most desirous to impress upon your mind, Sir, is, the circumstance, that hostility to the Poor-law Bill was made the criterion of merit with the candidates in Lancashire, which is the more generous on the part of the people of that county, because in that county the bill is of no more consequence than a bundle of waste paper, and the people all know it. They despise it, and laugh at it, as far as concerns themselves. But they have the sense to know, and the hearts to feel, its cruel tendency towards their brethren in the agricultural counties. And theirs is a sort of justice and compassion that is not confined to WORDS; and, Sir, to conclude, if I were to write fifty volumes in praise of the people of this county, they would all be superfluous after this one fact; namely, *that the WORKING MEN, at OLDHAM, and in the neighbourhood, raised TWO HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FIVE, OR TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY, POUNDS STERLING, out of their hard earnings; to be sent to the wives and children of the Six DORSETSHIRE LABOURERS, to the numerous petitions to obtain mercy for whom, the Whig Ministers returned an UNHESITATING ANSWER, OF HAUGHTY AND INSOLENT REJECTION!*

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient

And most humble servant,

WM. COBBETT.

POOR-LAW BILL AND ELECTIONS.

BESIDES the hostility to this bill in Lancashire, which was universal, at STAFFORD, where "purity of election" is not so very perfect, and where Sir CHARLES WOLSELEY would have had nineteen twentieths of the votes, had there not been made use of against him, arguments of so *solid and weighty* a description, that no sentiment, no conscience, can, except in rare instances, overcome them; at STAFFORD; even at STAFFORD, the candidates all pledged themselves to a repeal of the horrible Poor-law Bill; the aforesaid solid and weighty arguments not being sufficient without this pledge. There happened, with regard to Mr. CHETWYND, one of the returned members, something of a particular nature relative to it. On the 29. of December, Mr. CHETWYND published the following hand-bill.

"To the Burgesses and Electors of the
"Borough of Stafford.

"Gentlemen,—Mr. Cobbett having
"publicly stated that I advocated and
"voted for the POOR-LAW BILL, and
"having challenged me to meet him to
"admit or deny it, I am extremely
"sorry that, through the popular excitement of the moment, I was prevented (in the Shire Hall this evening) being heard; I am therefore left
"the only remedy OF AT ONCE and FOR
"ALL, of stating by hand-bill that I did
"not vote for the bill, but on the contrary I am an ENEMY to it, and I will
"pledge myself to vote for its repeal.

"I am,

"Brother Burgesses,

"Your faithful friend,

"W. F. CHETWYND.

"Monday Evening, 29. Dec., 1831."

The facts are these. I harangued the electors in the evening of this day, in the Shire Hall; and, I said, upon being asked the question, that coming out of the lobby, after one of the divisions on the bill, I saw Mr. CHETWYND sitting amongst the majority, whom we had left in the House. I did not know

Mr. CHETWYND personally, till I saw him at STAFFORD that very evening; that is to say, I did not know him by name. He is one of those persons who, like the "captain," in "Dr. DONNE,"

"Has still the strange ambition to look worse."

That is to say, who render hideous and disgusting their persons (otherwise agreeable enough) by suffering the hair to grow on their faces, after the manner of the mercenary slaves; of the base bayonet-men of Prussia, Austria, and the savage murderers of the Poles; a thing odious in every Englishman; most hatefully unbecoming in gentlemen; and a thing giving indubitable proof of such personal vanity and empty-skulledness, as to compel men of sense to decide upon the view, that it is a shame for them to be seated in Parliament. During the American rebellion, Hessians, and all manner of beastly Germans, were hired by the Government of England, and sent over to frighten the beardless Yankees with their tremendous whiskers. Never were wretches so beaten as they were by the men without whiskers. Their great talent was plundering. The farm-houses were the scenes of their exploits, in which they were generally accompanied by their *frows*, who were perfect she-devils at this work. But they soon got tackled. The men and boys, being either in the fields at a distance from home, or, more frequently, fighting the British, the work of defending the homestead, and particularly the farm-house, fell to the farmers' wives and daughters; who, delicate, gentle, and humane, as they were, were soon an overmatch for the whiskered devils and their frows. They drove them from their houses, in spite of their arms and their brutality; and, very credible persons related to me, in Long Island, that a couple of Hessians, with their frows, having a horse with panniers, and three small children in the panniers, being driven from a farm-house, which I know very well, between FLUSHING and JERICHO, went off, leaving the children upon the ground, on a heap of straw! Mothers and all, thinking nothing of

the children in comparison with the plunder, having filled the panniers with hams, from the smokehouse, before the neighbouring women got in to join in the combat. The children, two boys and a girl, were taken by three farmers and brought up. There is nothing, therefore, so very terrific in these hairy faces to men who have souls in their bodies. Mr. CHETWYND choosing to disguise himself in this sort of way, and there being so many like him in the last noisy and cock-crowing and braying Parliament, I might be in error as to this point; and, as I cannot suppose him thus deliberately to put forth a falsehood, it is fair for the reader to conclude that he is right, and that I was wrong; but it will remain for him to explain how it happened, that, in about twenty divisions on this bill, he being an "enemy to it," should never have voted against it. However, if he act upon the pledge which he has now given under his hand, his past negligent conduct may be overlooked. All the candidates at STAFFORD pledged themselves to vote for the repeal of this bill, though all of them, *except Sir CHARLES WOLSELEY*, made use of very different and very weighty arguments.

From STAFFORD let us go to WOLVERHAMPTON, where we find Mr. NICHOLSON addressing the following letter to the editor of the *True Sun* :—

"Sir,—The *Morning Chronicle* of Saturday last contains, in a letter signed 'Fair Play,' under the head 'Wolverhampton,' the following words :—'Mr. Nicholson appears at 'Wolverhampton under the auspices 'and as a nominee of Mr. Joseph 'Hume.'

"The above paragraph
"editor must have known it to be so
"when he caused it to be inserted.

I came to Wolverhampton without
"any recommendation from any man
"or party, I am neither spending one
"shilling or begging for a single vote.
"Mr. Villiers, the placeman, has
"sent to Wolverhampton by Joseph
"Parkes, the Brummagem Adjutant-
"General to the Whigs, when they
"were forced into office—this Parkes

"has been rewarded by the Whigs with several places.

"Villiers, though a placeman and a Tory candidate at Hull in 1826, has now got certificates in favour of his character as a true Whig, from the following genuine Whigs, viz., Mr. Grote, *godfather to the Poor Laws Bill*, and banker to that job the *Australian Transportation Bill*, Mr. Poulet Thomson, Mr. Romilly, Mr. Shutt, &c. &c. &c.

"The Whigs are in a desperate state here, and have recourse to all sorts of tyranny, to compel the electors to vote for the Whigs.

"Within these three days, the agents of a brace of 'new Whig dukes' have received orders to march out and canvass, which is extremely unpleasant at this season, being a hard frost.

"The *Chronicle* has been libelling me from the moment the electors placed me in the field—has refused to insert a line in my defence, even when sent to the editor to be paid for as an advertisement.

"Mr. Villiers, the unfledged Whig, is, as in duty bound to his masters, abusing the Tories in high style, every day.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
JOHN NICHOLSON.

"*Wolverhampton, Jan. 4, 1835.*"

This letter of Mr. NICHOLSON brings me to speak of the conduct of the metropolitan boroughs, which were all in an uproar about the Poor-law Bill; and who have, with the exception of Sir SAMUEL WHALLEY, of Mr. WAKLEY, who was not in the House before, and of the two members for WESTMINSTER, rechosen men, all of whom either voted for the horrible Poor-law Bill, or who did not vote against it, in any one instance. CLAY and GROTE not only were great talkers for the bill, but are two of the Australian Commissioners, to favour whose emigration-project that bill was in part intended. HAWES was also a great talker for the bill. The parish of MARY-BONNE, which ought to have set an example to all the rest of

the new boroughs, seems wholly to have forgotten all that it had been saying and doing before upon the subject of this horrible bill. Happily, however, the proceedings of the jobbers of the city of London, and of all the satellites around them, is serving the kingdom at large as a warning of what it has to shun, instead of an example to follow; and *pis-aller* PARKERS, and the bands of hireling commissioners, will find, that the lists of returned members that they are making out and promulgating are as deceptive as they themselves are; and that is saying a monstrous deal. Perhaps there is not in the whole world a state of corruption so perfect as that in the city of London. I should not be at all surprised if five thousand out of the six thousand who voted for the Poor-law Bill were actually in *public pay* of one sort or another. Let the reader consider that, perhaps, a sixth part of all the best meat, bread, cheese, butter, and other valuable products, whether for eating, drinking, or wearing, are carried up to that place and there generally consumed. I am just now speaking of the two cities and the places called metropolitan boroughs. This drawing up has taken place through the beastly folly of the landowners, who have not only been favouring this centralization of traffic and of residence, by their system of funding, which has placed seventy-three thousand fundholders within what are called the Bills of Mortality; that is to say, seven times seventy-three thousand, or thereabouts, each fundholder having a family, some great and some small. Besides this, the same stupid landowners have passed acts as it were for the express purpose of augmenting the evil, and particularly in the case of the Penitentiary at MILBANK, and of the erection of the wholly unnecessary new palace at Piccadilly. They are going on still with other buildings in the same sort of way; but for the present I will confine myself to the Penitentiary. This was a scheme of the crack-skulled JERRY BENTHAM, who proposed it to Mr. PITT, as the effectual means of putting an end to crime and immorality. PITT adopted the scheme,

and BENTHAM was to be head reclamer of prostitutes and thieves; but PITT soon found him too mad for him to have anything to do with, and got rid of him; but not without giving JERRY a *good lump of the people's money*, to enable him to philosophize and legislate at his ease for the rest of his life; and JERRY, finding fame coming in rather slowly, *set up the Westminster Review*, in which he was always called "THE GREAT BENTHAM;" and the copyright of which he left as a legacy to "THE GREAT BOWRING."

To return to the Penitentiary, ought not those who voted a million of the people's money to build that place to be compelled to refund it? It was so much money a great deal worse than thrown into the sea; because it was laid out as it were for the purpose of adding immensely to the population of the Wen; instead of being expended, if that had been necessary, on a building, erected on DARTMOOR, on SALISBURY-PLAIN, or SHERWOOD-FOREST.

But, is this all? No; nor a hundredth part of the mischiefs done in this way. The pulling down and widening of streets; the wasteful and foolish building of bridges, has been just so much of robbery committed upon the country at large; for the people ought to be informed, that these mad projects are carried on at the expense of *the whole nation*; and that, perhaps, more is contributed towards them by the people of Lancashire than by the people of Middlesex. The thing is managed in the way of *loans*. The Government *lends money* to the street-jobbers, and bridge-jobbers, and market-jobbers. I should think that it has lent the City of London two millions of money or more within these ten years! Surprising government! Too poor to be able to relinquish the smallest of the taxes; and yet able to lend millions to the jobbers of this city; and, if the butchers had not defeated the scheme, it was about to lend a quarter of a million to enable common-councilman GALLOWAY to slaughter oxen by steam!

Mr. WILLIAMS went into the Common Council, amongst company that he ab-

horred, for the sole purpose of getting at the bottom of some of their pecuniary transactions. He made discoveries prodigious. The reader would scarcely believe his eyes, if I were to put the facts upon paper here. All persons of any sense of justice in the city of London applauded Mr. WILLIAMS, and felt gratitude towards him; but, this very Mr. WILLIAMS, who has now, to the indescribable joy of all who know him, and particularly to that of me, been returned for COVENTRY, without knowing personally one single person in that city, until he arrived in it, and having prospects so feeble in the opinion of the corrupt part of that city, that all the innkeepers apologized to him and bowed him out of their houses; had this very Mr. WILLIAMS, who is now a Member of Parliament by the mere weight of his own character and talents, been a candidate in the City of London, he would have been rejected, in order to make room for any one of the four poor cunning creatures that have been elected. However, he will now have an opportunity of screwing the horrible city-jobbers up to the point where they must give an account of their transactions; and if they do give an account of them, this nation will behold such a scene of jobbing and of speculation as it never before beheld. To us, in the city, who are oppressed by this band of jobbers, Mr. WILLIAMS's election is like the pardon to a captive. We know our man this time; and I do most heartily congratulate my neighbours of St. DUNSTON's and St. BRIDE's, and my fellow-citizens in London in general, on this most auspicious event. I, before this, had great regard for the resident freemen of COVENTRY, who supported me with zeal and disinterestedness as great as any that I have ever seen in my life, and who were defeated at that time only by the corruption of the base and abominable *London* voters, who brought down with them all the vices of that sevenfold hell. I now beg, in the strongest terms that I can be understood to use, and with most perfect sincerity, to offer my gratitude to the resident freemen of COVENTRY for

their having returned Mr. WIL-
LIAMS.

It is a very pleasing circumstance, too, that Mr. WAKLEY is returned; and that the electors of FINSBURY have, in spite of all the atrocious and damnable contrivances of the Whigs, returned this gentleman to Parliament in preference to HOBHOUSE or SPANKIE. The conduct of the Whigs has been base everywhere; but nowhere so base as at FINSBURY. Mr. WAKLEY committed two errors, from want of being able to find in his own heart a sufficiency of cunning to make him a match for the Whigs. Very desirous to be a member of Parliament; and very laudably so desirous; not, I hope, the less desirous because he well knew that it was a thing so anxiously desired *by me* † who, when he was candidate for *coroner*, remonstrated with him on the subject, and besought him to do nothing that could prevent his becoming a member of Parliament. Very laudably desirous to have a seat in the House of Commons, Mr. WAKLEY seems to have thought that he might promote his object by joining botheration JOSEPH HUME at the WESTMINSTER meeting, and his profound colleague, Mr. DUNCOMBE, at the White Conduit House, in protesting against "*Tories*," and in crying aloud for the "burying in oblivion all *minor* differences"! *Minor*! Gracious God! What! Poor-law Bill, malt-tax, spies, the twenty millions, the intended "*rural police*"! "*Minor differences*"! But, having agreed to bury all minor differences; having done more against the Tories in those two cities, than all the rest were able to do, all put together; having by his talents thrown a veil over the stupid nonsense ascribed by the newspapers to Mr. DUNCOMBE; Mr. DUNCOMBE takes the earliest opportunity of announcing, that as a candidate, he has nothing to do with Mr. WAKLEY; and out the Whigs bring a HOBHOUSE to oppose him, and have the audacity to call upon him to resign his pretensions to this HOBHOUSE, who had been rocked in the cradle, and fed with pap; the rocking produced and the pap applied by money derived from

the taxes. The electors of FINSBURY, to their very great honour, saw the drift of the nefarious scheme, and defeated it.

One other error I am sorry to perceive that Mr. WAKLEY committed; that is to say, if the newspapers speak truth; namely, that he shook hands with this tax-fed fellow after the election was over. In such a scene, and under such circumstances, it requires more caution than falls to the lot of a generous man like Mr. WAKLEY. But a tiger should have had my hands in his jaws before that HOBHOUSE should have touched it; and, though personal rancour is unbecoming in any man in such a case, as to public matters there is but one course to steer, and that is, hostility, unqualified, inflexible, and avowed, towards those whom you know by experience to be the deadly enemies of the principles which you profess, and intend to maintain. However, Mr. WAKLEY is a Member of the House of Commons. He, and all my friends in London, know how anxiously I wished to see him there in the last Parliament; and I congratulate all my readers, and the whole country, upon his being there now.

I cannot conclude this article about Poor-law Bill and elections, without expressing my pleasure at perceiving that Mr. PETER has been turned out to grass by the electors of Bodmin, the beauty of whose town, the sprightliness of whose men, and the beauty of whose women (the last of whom have never been quite out of my head, long together, since the year 1808), certainly deserved a member *somewhat other* than Mr. PETER, whose bitterness in support of the most barbarous parts of the Poor-law Bill I never shall forget. Mr. PETER appears to me to be, in his nature, a *true Whig*! and I beg the people of Bodmin, who were so kind to me, at the time I have referred to, to accept my best thanks for that kindness, and particularly for sending Mr. PETER to grass.

MONSTROUS ABUSES IN THE NAVY.

I PERCEIVE that Mr. EDWARD EDWARDS has taken the opportunity, offered him by a change of the Ministry, to inform them of the facts which he alleged in a petition presented by me, during the last session of Parliament. It was just at the close, indeed, or I should have moved for a committee to inquire into the subject. It is an abuse of the most monstrous character, and of most important extent. It is impossible that this Government should be respected by the people; should be, without actual force employed against them, obeyed by the people, unless this abuse be regularly and rigidly inquired into, and effectually redressed.

POLICE WORK.

I SEE that there is strange work taking place with regard to a police-fellow, accused of arson at ROTHERMITHE! It seems that there has been some interference by somebody, to prevent this fellow being treated like a common incendiary. I just notice this matter here, in order to show my readers that I have not overlooked it. It seems to be an uncommonly mysterious affair; and it must be well explained to the people. We are no longer in the age of the OLDHAM INQUEST! How careful ought this Ministry to be, not to give colour to any complaint on this score!

MANCHESTER RADICALS.

THE *True Sun* of the 12. instant informs its readers that there is a split in the body of Radicals at MANCHESTER; and that they have been disgracing themselves by giving votes to the Tory at the late election. With regard to the first of these facts, it is as impudently false as were the London stories about a "split" amongst the electors of OLDHAM, and about a canvassing of the borough by new candidates. In

short, a malignant lie; there is no "split" amongst the radicals of MANCHESTER, who are unanimously resolved to carry Sir CHARLES WOLSELEY at the next election; and, for that purpose, to begin making preparations immediately.

With regard to the second fact, it is very true, as far as the fact goes; but instead of being a disgrace to the Radicals, it is greatly to their honour. I, for my part, wished to see Mr. BRAIDLEY returned with Sir CHARLES WOLSELEY; and that would, to a certainty, have been the case, if Sir CHARLES had been thought of soon enough. What! it is a disgrace, is it, to the Radicals of MANCHESTER, to wish to see defeated a crew of place-hunting vagabonds, who canvass and work for POULETT THOMSON, as JOHN SHUTTLEWORTH did, for the sake of getting at the taxes! It is a disgrace, is it, to wish to keep down a faction, under whose auspices three hundred poor labourers were transported in a batch? It is a disgrace, is it, to show their hatred of those who rescinded the vote upon the malt-tax, and who brought in, pushed on, and carried through, the Poor-law Bill? If you estimate the opinions of the people of MANCHESTER, by that which took place at the nomination; the people of that town execrate the Whigs; and, therefore, the Radicals are in unison with the people at large.

MIDDLESEX ELECTION.

AN account of the nomination only has reached me; and the election will be over a week before I can publish any thing concerning it again. It is impossible that I can form even a guess as to the result; but, if Mr. HUME could have secured a seat for some borough in Scotland, it might, perhaps, have been as well. With regard to my wishes on the subject, they are by no means very decided; for, though Mr. HUME did some good in very bad times, he has contributed towards doing enormous mischief in times when good might have been done to a great extent. His conduct with regard to the Poor-law

Bill, and with regard to the Dead Body Bill, is never to be forgiven *by me*; and in this feeling I have the perfect concurrence of the whole of the county of Lancaster, at the least; and Mr. HUME may be assured that, unless he retrace his steps, as to these matters, instead of being the great man which he is aiming to be, he will, at the next election, at the latest, find himself to be a very little man.

STOPPING THE SUPPLIES.

CAN it be true (as related by the *Standard*), that Sir JOHN CAMPBELL has declared, at EDINBURGH, that it is the intention of the Whigs to "*stop the supplies*"? I hope it is not true; not because I entertain an apprehension of the consequences, which the *Standard* appears to entertain; but because I have a great personal respect for Sir JOHN CAMPBELL, and should, therefore, be sorry to learn that he had said any thing, the uttering of which would prove him to be a *fool*! What, independent of the insolence of the proposition towards the King, does Sir JOHN CAMPBELL expect the supplies to be stopped by a faction, a *very great majority of whom* must go without dinners and clean shirts, if the supplies be stopped only for one moment? What! men fall out with their bread-and-butter and their washerwomen! Oh, no! This is the madness of desperation, This is like the fanatic, who cried out, "Good Christian people, do, for the love of God, cut your own throats, in order to satisfy my predictions, that you would perish!"

No: this is not the way that the Whigs will go to work. They never yet went straight forward at any thing. That rule of the geometricians, that straight lines are shortest, never was acted upon by them. They will go some crooked way to work; but if the Ministers pursue the straight path, and only take, at ONCE, a step or two that I could point out to them, if I would, the very name of *Whig* would be, in the course of ten days after Parliament

meets, upon a level with that of JUDAS ISCARIOT; and, oh! if the wretched creatures really do think, that the great mass of the PEOPLE will tolerate any step, which shall look like an intention to *insult, or to thwart the King*, how deceived the wretched devils are! Deceived by the rabble-rout noises of the jobbers in London, and by their choosing a set of insipid things (with the exception of Mr. WAKLEY, Mr. HARVEY, and the members for Westminster) that would not have been tolerated for a moment to stand before the people in any other part of the kingdom. No, no; we are for giving Sir ROBERT PEEL that "*fair trial*" that he asks for; and this the Whigs will find, to their sorrow, is the feeling of the whole kingdom.

I SHALL, next week, begin a series of letters, to be six in number, to Sir ROBERT PEEL, in which letters I will endeavour to state all the difficulties which it appears to me he has to overcome, and show the means by which they may be overcome. I, for my part, most sincerely wish him to overcome them; and, whether I be right, or wrong, it is my duty (I possessing the means) to lay my opinions before him, and before the public, relative to matters which every one must agree are of the greatest possible importance to our country.

TO

SIR ROBERT PEEL.

Wolseley, 14. January, 1835.

SIR,—I have directed my publisher at BOLT-COURT to send you, as neatly bound as he can get it done in so short a time, a copy of my little work called a "*Legacy to Labourers*." I directed him to print an edition of five thousand copies. He told me about a week ago, that two thousand copies had been bespoken; so that it will happen in this case, as in the case of "*Paper against Gold*," that the working people will be full of knowledge as to these important matters; while those who make the

laws will be as ignorant as horses upon the subject, and will go blundering along accordingly. I do not believe, that one member out of ten of either House of Parliament will ever read this little book; that the far greater part of them will deem the sixteen-pence a heavy charge, while they give twice as much for six mouthfuls of turtle, or six glasses of champagne. I hope, however, that you will read it, and I send it to you in that hope. But, sir, let who will not read it, the working people will read it: it will prepare their minds to act justly, as well as resolutely, in the times that now appear to be near at hand; and if their superiors in point of wealth do not read it, so much the worse for them.

As a very suitable employment between this and the meeting of Parliament, I propose, during the next six weeks successively, to publish six letters addressed to you, under the following title:—

**COBBETT'S
LEGACY TO PEEL;**
OR,

An Inquiry with respect to what the Right Honourable Baronet will now do with the House of Commons, with Ireland, with the English Church and the Dissenters, with the swarms of Pensioners, &c., with the Crown Lands and the Army, with the Currency and the Debt.

IN SIX LETTERS.

BY WILLIAM COBBETT, M.P. FOR OLDHAM.

“NOW is the appointed time: NOW is the day of salvation.”

JUDGE TAUNTON.

I BELIEVE, that if the devil were to die, the London newspapers would express their *regret* at the event. I wonder whether the Whig papers would announce “*with regret*” the death of the Duke of WELLINGTON or Sir ROBERT PEEL! I should not wonder if they were to do it; such is the force of habitual and almost mechanical hypocrisy! For my part, I have been an observer of this Whig-appointed Judge; and I read with great pleasure, that he was dead; and that his judgments were at an

end. Others might like his judgments. Every one to his taste. I detested them, and I am glad that he is dead. The newspapers say, that SPANKIE is to succeed him. If the Ministers be wise * * * * However, it is nonsense to talk of that; it is very little consequence what they now do in this way.

Just published, price 1s. 4d. bound in leather,

• COBBETT'S
LEGACY TO LABOURERS;
OR,

What is the Right which the Lords, Baronets, and 'Squires, have to possess the Lands, or to make the Laws?

In Six Letters addressed to the Working People of the whole Kingdom.

WITH A DEDICATION TO

SIR ROBERT PEEL.

BY WILLIAM COBBETT, M.P. FOR OLDHAM.

CONTENTS.

Dedication to Sir ROBERT PEEL; stating the reasons for writing the book, and also the reasons for dedicating it to him.

Letter I. How came some men to have a greater right to parcels of land than any other men have to the same land?

Letter II. What right have English landlords to the lands? How came they in possession of them? Of what nature is their title?

Letter III. Is their right to the land *absolute*? Is the land their *own*; or, are they *holders* under a superior?

Letter IV. Have they *dominion* in their lands? Or do they lawfully possess only the *use* of them?

Letter V. Can they do *what they like* with their lands?

Can they *use* them in any way that shall clearly tend to the injury of other men, or to that of the King, or Commonwealth?

Can they *use* them so as to drive the natives from them?

Can they *use* them so as to cause the natives to perish of hunger, or of cold?

Letter VI. What right have the Lords, Baronets, 'Squires, and rich men, to *vote at elections* any more, than working men have?

Dr. BOWRING, to my infinite satisfaction, will not be in Parliament, to be bottle-holder to Mr. POULETT THOMSON; and, to my equal satisfaction, Mr. SLANEY will not be there to bother us with his schemes for checking population, and preventing premature marriages.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

IN inserting this important document, I have only room and time to request my readers to go through every part of it with great attention, and particularly the parts of it relating to currency and coinage.

TWENTY-THIRD CONGRESS—SECOND SESSION.

Monday, 1 December, 1834.

THIS day commenced, at the Capitol, in the city of Washington, the second Session of the twenty-third Congress.

MESSAGE.

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate
and House of Representatives,

IN performing my duty at the opening of your present session it gives me pleasure to congratulate you again upon the prosperous condition of our beloved country. Divine Providence has favoured us with general health, with rich rewards in the fields of agriculture and in every branch of labour; and with peace to cultivate and extend the various resources which employ the virtue and enterprise of our citizens. Let us trust that in surveying a scene so flattering to our free institutions our joint deliberations to preserve them may be crowned with success.

Our foreign relations continue, with but few exceptions, to maintain the favourable aspect which they bore in my last annual message, and promise to extend those advantages which the principles that regulate our intercourse with other nations are so well calculated to secure.

The question of the north-eastern

boundary is still pending with Great Britain, and the proposition made in accordance with the resolution of the Senate, for the establishment of a line according to the treaty of 1783, has not been accepted by that Government. Believing that every disposition is felt on both sides to adjust this perplexing question to the satisfaction of all the parties interested in it, the hope is yet indulged that it may be effected on the basis of that proposition.

With the Governments of Austria, Russia, Prussia, Holland, Sweden, and Denmark, the best understanding exists. Commerce withal is fostered and protected by reciprocal good will, under the sanction of liberal, conventional, or legal provisions.

In the midst of her internal difficulties the Queen of Spain has ratified the convention for the payment of the claims of our citizens arising since 1819. It is in the course of execution on her part, and a copy of it is now laid before you for such legislation as may be found necessary to enable those interested to derive the benefits of it.

Yielding to the force of circumstances, and to the wise counsels of time and experience, that power has finally resolved no longer to occupy the unnatural position in which she stood to the new Governments established in this hemisphere. I have the great satisfaction of stating to you that in preparing the way for the restoration of harmony between those who have sprung from the same ancestors, who are allied by common interests, profess the same religion, and speak the same language, the United States have been actively instrumental. Our efforts to effect this good work will be persevered in while they are deemed useful to the parties, and our entire disinterestedness continues to be felt and understood. The act of Congress to countervail the discriminating duties levied, to the prejudice of our navigation, in Cuba and Porto Rico, has been transmitted to the Minister of the United States, at Madrid, to be communicated to the Government of the Queen. No intelligence of its receipt has yet reached the Department of State. If the pre-

present condition of the country permits the Government to make a careful and enlarged examination of the true interests of these important portions of its dominions, no doubt is entertained that their future intercourse with the United States will be placed upon a more just and liberal basis.

The Florida archives have not yet been selected and delivered. Recent orders have been sent to the agent of the United States at Havannah, to return with all that he can obtain, so that they may be in Washington before the session of the Supreme Court, to be used in the legal questions there pending to which the Government is a party.

Internal tranquillity is happily restored to Portugal. The distracted state of the country rendered unavoidable the postponement of a final payment of the just claims of our citizens. Our diplomatic relations will be soon resumed, and the long-subsisting friendship with that power affords the strongest guarantee that the balance due will receive prompt attention.

The first instalment due under the convention of indemnity with the King of the Two Sicilies has been duly received, and an offer been made to extinguish the whole by a prompt payment; an offer I did not consider myself authorised to accept, as the indemnification provided is the exclusive property of individual citizens of the United States. The original adjustment of our claims, and the anxiety displayed to fulfil at once the stipulations made for the payment of them, are highly honourable to the Government of the Two Sicilies. When it is recollected that they were the result of the injustice of an intrusive power, temporarily dominant in its territory, a repugnance to acknowledge and to pay which would have been neither unnatural nor unexpected, the circumstances cannot fail to exalt its character for justice and good faith in the eyes of all nations.

The treaty of amity and commerce between the United States and Belgium, brought to your notice in my last annual message, as sanctioned by the Senate, but the ratifications of which had not

been exchanged, owing to a delay in its reception at Brussels, and a subsequent absence of the Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs, has been, after mature deliberation, finally disavowed by that Government, as inconsistent with the powers and instructions given to the Minister who negotiated it. This disavowal was entirely unexpected, as the liberal principles embodied in the convention, and which form the groundwork of the objections to it, were perfectly satisfactory to the Belgian representative, and were supposed to be not only within the powers granted, but especially conformable to the instructions given to him. An offer, not yet accepted, has been made by Belgium to renew the negotiations for a treaty less liberal in its provisions on questions of general maritime law.

Our newly-established relations with the Sublime Porte promise to be useful to our commerce, and satisfactory in every respect to this Government. Our intercourse with the Barbary powers continues without important change, except that the present political state of Algiers has induced me to terminate the residence there of a salaried consul, and to substitute an ordinary consulate, to remain so long as the place continues in the possession of France. Our first treaty with one of these powers, the Emperor of Morocco, was formed in 1786, and was limited to fifty years. That period has almost expired. I shall take measures to renew it with the greater satisfaction as its stipulations are just and liberal, and have been, with mutual fidelity and reciprocal advantage, scrupulously fulfilled.

Intestine dissensions have too frequently occurred to mar the prosperity, interrupt the commerce, and distract the Governments of most of the nations of this hemisphere which have separated themselves from Spain. When a firm and permanent understanding with the mother country shall have produced a formal acknowledgment of their independence, and the idea of danger from that quarter can be no longer entertained, the friends of freedom expect that those countries, so favoured by na-

ture, will be distinguished for their love of justice and their devotion to those peaceful arts, the assiduous cultivation of which confers honour upon nations and gives value to human life. In the mean time I confidently hope that the apprehensions entertained that some of the people of these luxuriant regions may be tempted, in a moment of unworthy distrust of their own capacity for the enjoyment of liberty, to commit the too common error of purchasing present repose by bestowing on some favourite leaders the fatal gift of irresponsible power, will not be realized. With all these Governments, and with that of Brazil, no unexpected changes in our relations have occurred during the present year. Frequent causes of just complaint have arisen upon the part of the citizens of the United States, sometimes from the irregular action of the constituted subordinate authorities of the maritime regions, and sometimes from the leaders or partizans of those in arms against the established Government. In all cases representations have been or will be made, and, as soon as their political affairs are in a settled position, it is expected that our friendly remonstrances will be followed by adequate redress.

The Government of Mexico made known, in December last, the appointment of commissioners and a surveyor, on its part, to run, in conjunction with ours, the boundary line between its territories and the United States, and excused the delay for the reasons anticipated, the prevalence of civil war. The commissioners and surveyors not having met within the time stipulated by the treaty, a new arrangement became necessary, and our Chargé d'Affaires was instructed, in January last, to negotiate, in Mexico, an additional article to the pre-existing treaty. This instruction was acknowledged, and no difficulty was apprehended in the accomplishment of that object. By information just received, that additional article to the treaty will be obtained, and transmitted to this country, as soon as it can receive the ratification of the Mexican Congress.

The re-union of the three States of New Grenada, Venezuela, and Equador, forming the Republic of Colombia, seems every day to become more improbable. The commissioners of the two first are understood to be now negotiating a just division of the obligations contracted by them when united under one government. The civil war in Equador, it is believed, has prevented even the appointment of a commissioner on its part.

I propose, at an early day, to submit in the proper form the appointment of a diplomatic agent to Venezuela, the importance of the commerce of that country to the United States, and the large claims of our citizens upon the Government, arising before and since the division of Colombia, rendering it, in my judgment, improper to delay this step.

Our representatives to Central America, Peru, and Brazil, are either at, or on their way to, their respective posts.

From the Argentine Republic, from which a minister was expected to this Government, nothing further has been heard. Occasion has been taken, on the departure of a new consul to Buenos Ayres, to remind that Government that its long-delayed minister, whose appointment had been made known to us, had not arrived.

It becomes my unpleasant duty to inform you that this pacific and highly gratifying picture of our foreign relations does not include those with France at this time. It is not possible that any government and people could be more sincerely desirous of conciliating a just and friendly intercourse with a friendly nation than are those of the United States with their ancient ally and friend. This disposition is founded as well on the most grateful and honourable recollections associated with our struggle for independence, as upon a well-grounded conviction that it is consonant with the true policy of both. The people of the United States could not, therefore, see without the deepest regret even a temporary interruption of the friendly relations between the two countries, a regret which would, I am sure, be greatly

aggravated if there should turn out to be any reasonable ground for attributing such a result to any act of omission or commission on our part. I derive, therefore, the highest satisfaction from being able to assure you that the whole course of this Government has been characterised by a spirit so conciliatory and forbearing as to make it impossible that our justice and moderation should be questioned, whatever may be the consequences of a longer perseverance on the part of the French Government in her omission to satisfy the conceded claims of our citizens.

The history of the accumulated and unprovoked aggressions upon our commerce committed by authority of the existing Governments of France, between the years 1800 and 1817, has been rendered too painfully familiar to Americans to make its repetition either necessary or desirable. It will be sufficient here to remark that there has, for many years, been scarcely a single administration of the French Government by whom the justice and legality of the claims of our citizens to indemnity were not, to a very great extent, admitted; and yet near a quarter of a century has been wasted in ineffectual negotiations to secure it.

Deeply sensible of the injurious effects resulting from this state of things upon the interest and character of both nations, I regarded it as among my first duties to cause one more effort to be made to satisfy France that a just and liberal settlement of our claims was as well due to her own honour as to their incontestible validity. The negotiation for this purpose was commenced with the late Government of France, and was prosecuted with such success as to leave no reasonable ground to doubt that a settlement of a character quite as liberal as that which was subsequently made would have been effected, had not the revolution, by which the negotiation was cut off, taken place. The discussions were resumed with the present Government, and the result showed that we were not wrong in supposing that an event by which the two Governments were made to approach each

other so much nearer in their political principles, and by which the motives for the most liberal and friendly intercourse were so greatly multiplied, could exercise no other than a salutary influence upon the negotiation. After the most deliberate and thorough examination of the whole subject, a treaty between the two Governments was concluded and signed at Paris on the 4. of July, 1831, by which it was stipulated that "the French Government, in order to liberate itself from all the reclamations preferred against it by the citizens of the United States, for unlawful seizures, captures, sequestrations, confiscations, or destruction of their vessels, cargoes, or other property, engages to pay a sum of twenty-five millions of francs to the United States, who shall distribute it amongst those entitled, in the manner and according to the rules it shall determine"; and it was also stipulated on the part of the French Government that this twenty-five millions of francs should "be paid at Paris, in six annual instalments of four millions one hundred and sixty-six thousand six hundred and sixty-six francs and sixty-six centimes each, into the hands of such person or persons as shall be authorised by the Government of the United States to receive it". The first instalment to be paid "at the expiration of one year next following the exchange of the ratification of this convention, and the others at successive intervals of a year, one after another, till the whole shall be paid. To the amount of each of the said instalments shall be added interest at four per centum thereupon, as upon the other instalments then remaining unpaid, the said interest to be computed from the day of the exchange of the present convention".

It was also stipulated on the part of the United States, for the purpose of being completely liberated from all the reclamations presented by France on behalf of its citizens, that the sum of one million five hundred thousand francs should be paid to the Government of France, in six annual instalments to be deducted out of the annual sums which France had agreed to pay, interest there-

upon being in like manner computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications. In addition to this stipulation, important advantages were secured to France by the following article, viz. : —“ The wines of France, from and after the exchange of the ratifications of the present convention, shall be admitted to consumption in the States of the Union, at duties which shall not exceed the following rates by the gallon (such as it is used at present for wines in the United States), to wit: six cents for red wines in casks; ten cents for white wines in casks; and twenty-two cents for wines of all sorts in bottles. The proportions existing between the duties on French wines thus reduced, and the general rates of the tariff which went into operation the 1. of January, 1829, shall be maintained, in case the Government of the United States should think proper to diminish those general rates in a new tariff.

“ In consideration of this stipulation, which shall be binding on the United States for ten years, the French Government abandons the reclamations which it had formed in relation to the 8th article of the treaty of cession of Louisiana. It engages, moreover, to establish on the long staple cottons of the United States, which, after the exchange of the ratifications of the present convention, shall be brought directly thence to France, by the vessels of the United States, or by French vessels, the same duties as on short staple cottons.”

This treaty was duly ratified in the manner prescribed by the constitution of both countries, and the ratification was exchanged at the city of Washington on the 2. of February, 1832. On account of its commercial stipulations it was in five days thereafter laid before the Congress of the United States, which proceeded to enact such laws favourable to the commerce of France as were necessary to carry it into full execution; and France has from that period to the present been in the unrestricted enjoyment of the valuable privileges that were thus secured to her. The faith of the French nation having been thus solemnly pledged, through its constitu-

tional organs, for the liquidation and ultimate payment of the long-deferred claims of our citizens, as also for the adjustment of other points of great and reciprocal benefits to both countries, and the United States having, with a fidelity and promptitude by which their conduct will, I trust, be always characterized, done every thing that was necessary to carry the treaty into full and fair effect on their part, counted with the most perfect confidence on equal fidelity and promptitude on the part of the French Government. In this reasonable expectation we have been, I regret to inform you, wholly disappointed. No legislative provision has been made by France for the execution of the treaty, either as it respects the indemnity to be paid, or the commercial benefits to be secured to the United States; and the relations between the United States and that power, in consequence thereof, are placed in a situation threatening to interrupt the good understanding which has so long and so happily existed between the two nations.

Not only has the French Government been thus wanting in the performance of the stipulations it has so solemnly entered into with the United States, but its omissions have been marked by circumstances which would seem to leave us without satisfactory evidences that such performance will certainly take place at a future period. Advice of the exchange of ratifications reached Paris prior to the 8. of April, 1832. The French Chambers were then sitting, and continued in session until the 21. of the month, and although one instalment of the indemnity was payable on the 2. of February, 1833, one year after the exchange of ratifications, no application was made to the Chambers for the required appropriation, and, in consequence of no appropriation having been made, the draft of the United States Government for that instalment was dishonoured by the Minister of Finance, and the United States thereby involved in much controversy. The next session of the Chambers commenced on the 19. November, 1832, and continued until the 25. April, 1833. Notwithstanding

the omission to pay the first instalment had been made the subject of earnest remonstrance on our part, the treaty with the United States, and a bill making the necessary appropriations to execute it, were not laid before the Chamber of Deputies until the 6. of April, nearly five months after its meeting, and only nineteen days before the close of the session. The bill was read and referred to a committee, but there was no further action upon it. The next session of the Chambers, commenced on the 26. of April, 1833, and continued until the 26. of June following. A new bill was introduced on the 11. of June, but nothing important was done in relation to it during the session. In the month of April, 1834, nearly three years after the signature of the treaty, the final action of the French Chambers upon the bill to carry the treaty into effect was obtained, and resulted in a refusal of the necessary appropriations. The avowed grounds upon which the bill was rejected are to be found in the published debates of that body, and no observations of mine can be necessary to satisfy Congress of their utter insufficiency. Although the gross amount of the claims of our citizens is probably greater than will be ultimately allowed by the commissioners, sufficient is, nevertheless, shown to render it absolutely certain that the indemnity falls far short of the actual amount of our just claims, independently of the question of damages and interest for the detention. That the settlement involved a sacrifice in this respect was well known at the time; a sacrifice which was cheerfully acquiesced in by the different branches of the Federal Government, whose action upon the treaty was required, from a sincere desire to avoid further collision upon this old and disturbing subject, and in the confident expectation that the general relations between the two countries would be improved thereby.

The refusal to vote the appropriation, the news of which was received from our Minister in Paris about the 15. day of May last, might have been considered the final determination of the French

Government not to execute the stipulations of the treaty, and would have justified an immediate communication of the fact to Congress, with a recommendation of such ultimate measures as the interest and honour of the United States might seem to require. But with the news of the refusal of the Chambers to make the appropriation were conveyed the regrets of the King, and a declaration that a national vessel should be forthwith sent out, with instructions to the French minister to give the most ample explanations of the past, and the strongest assurances for the future. After a long passage the promised despatch - vessel arrived. The pledges given by the French Minister, upon receipt of his instructions, were, that as soon after the election of the new members as the charter would permit the Legislative Chambers of France should be called together, and the proposition for an appropriation laid before them; that all the constitutional powers of the King and his Cabinet should be exerted to accomplish the object; and that the result should be made known early enough to be communicated to Congress at the commencement of the present Session. Relying upon these pledges, and not doubting that the acknowledged justice of our claims, the promised exertions of the King and his Cabinet, and, above all, that sacred regard for the national faith and honour for which the French character has been so distinguished, would secure an early execution of the treaty in all its parts, I did not deem it necessary to call the attention of Congress to the subject at the last Session.

I regret to say that the pledges made through the Minister of France have not been redeemed. The new Chambers met on the 31. July last, and, although the subject of fulfilling treaties was alluded to in the speech from the throne, no attempt was made by the King or his Cabinet to procure an appropriation to carry it into execution. The reasons given for this omission, although they might be considered sufficient in an ordinary case, are not consistent with the expectations founded upon the as-

assurances given here, for there is no constitutional obstacle to entering into legislative business at the first meeting of the Chambers. This point, however, might have been overlooked, had not the Chambers, instead of being called to meet at so early a day, that the result of the deliberations might be communicated to me before the meeting of Congress, been prorogued to the 29th of the present month—a period so late that their decision can scarcely be made known to the present Congress prior to their dissolution. To avoid this delay, our Minister in Paris, in virtue of the assurance given by the French Minister in the United States, strongly urged the convocation of the Chambers at an earlier day, but without success. It is proper to remark, however, that this refusal has been accompanied with the most positive assurances on the part of the executive Government of France of their intention to press the appropriation at the ensuing session of the Chambers.

The executive branch of this Government has, as matters stand, exhausted all the authority upon the subject with which it is invested, and which it had any reason to believe could be beneficially employed.

The idea of acquiescing in the refusal to execute the treaty will not, I am confident, be for a moment entertained by any branch of this Government; and further negotiation is equally out of the question.

If it shall be the pleasure of Congress to await the further action of the French Chambers, no further consideration of the subject will, at this season, probably be required at your hands. But if, from the original delay in asking for an appropriation, from the refusal of the Chambers to grant it when asked, from the omission to bring the subject before the Chambers at their last session, from the fact that, including that session, there have been five different occasions when the appropriation might have been made, and from the delay in convoking the Chambers until some weeks after the meeting of Congress, it was well known that a communication of the whole subject to Congress

at the last session was prevented by assurances that it should be disposed of before its present meeting, you should feel yourselves constrained to doubt whether it be the intention of the French Government in all its branches to carry the treaty into effect, and think that such measures as the occasion may be deemed to call for should be now adopted, the important question arises, what those measures shall be?

Our institutions are essentially pacific. Peace and friendly intercourse with all nations are as much the desire of our Government as they are the interest of the people. But these objects are not to be permanently secured by surrendering the rights of our citizens, or permitting solemn treaties for their indemnity in cases of flagrant wrong to be abrogated or set aside.

It is undoubtedly in the power of Congress seriously to effect the agricultural and manufacturing interests of France by the passage of laws relating to her trade with the United States. Her products, manufactures, and tonnage may be subjected to heavy duties in our ports, or all commercial intercourse with her may be suspended. But these are powerful and, to my mind, conclusive objections to this mode of proceeding. We cannot embarrass or cut off the trade of France without at the same time in some degree embarrassing or cutting off our own trade. The injury of such a warfare must fall, though unequally, upon our citizens, and could not but impair the means of the Government, and weaken that united sentiment in support of the rights and honour of the nation which must now pervade every bosom.

Nor is it impossible that such a course of legislation would introduce once more into our national councils those disturbing questions in relation to the tariff of duties which have been so recently put to rest. Besides, by every measure adopted by the Government of the United States with the view of injuring France, the clear perception of right, which will induce our own people, and the rulers and people of all other nations, even of France herself,

to pronounce our quarrel just, will be obscured, and the support rendered to us in a final resort to more decisive measures will be more limited and equivocal. There is but one point in the controversy, and upon that the whole civilised world must pronounce France to be in the wrong. We insist that she shall pay us a sum of money which she has acknowledged to be due; and of the justice of this demand there can be but one opinion among mankind. True policy seems to dictate that the question at issue should be kept thus disencumbered, and that not the slightest pretence should be given to France to persist in her refusal to make payment by any act on our part affecting the interest of her people. The question should be left, as it is now, in such an attitude that when France fulfils her treaty stipulations all controversy will be at an end.

It is my conviction that the United States ought to insist on a prompt execution of the treaty, and in case it be refused, or longer delayed, take redress into their own hands. After the delay on the part of France of a quarter of a century in acknowledging these claims by treaty, it is not to be tolerated that another quarter of a century is to be wasted in negotiating about the payment. The laws of nations provide a remedy for such occasions. It is a well-settled principle of the international code, that where one nation owes another a liquidated debt, which it refuses or neglects to pay, the aggrieved party may seize on the property belonging to the other, its citizens or subjects, sufficient to pay the debt, without giving just cause of war. This remedy has been repeatedly resorted to, and recently by France herself towards Portugal, under circumstances less unquestionable.

The time at which resort should be had to this or any other mode of redress is a point to be decided by Congress. If an appropriation shall not be made by the French Chambers at their next session, it may justly be concluded that the Government of France has finally determined to disregard its own solemn undertaking, and refuse to pay

an acknowledged debt. In that event every day's delay on our part will be a stain upon our national honour, as well as a denial of justice to our injured citizens. Prompt measures, when the refusal to France shall be complete, will not only be most honourable and just, but will have the best effect upon our national character.

Since France, in violation of the pledges given through her Minister here, has delayed her final action so long that her decision will not probably be known in time to be communicated to this Congress, I recommend that a law be passed authorising reprisals upon French property, in case provisions shall not be made for the payment of the debt at the approaching session of the French Chambers. Such a measure ought not to be considered by France as a menace. Her pride and power are too well known to expect any thing from her fear, and preclude the necessity of a declaration that nothing partaking of the character of intimidation is intended by us. She ought to look upon it as the evidence only of an inflexible determination on the part of the United States to insist on their rights. That Government, by doing only what it has itself acknowledged to be just, will be able to spare the United States the necessity of taking redress in their own hands, and save the property of French citizens from that seizure and sequestration which American citizens so long endured without retaliation or redress. If she should continue to refuse that act of acknowledged justice, and, in violation of the law of nations, make reprisals on our part the occasion of hostilities against the United States, she would but add violence to injustice, and could not fail to expose herself to the just censure of civilized nations, and the retributive judgments of Heaven.

Collision with France is no more to be regretted on account of the position she occupies in Europe in relation to liberal institutions. But in maintaining our national rights and honour all Governments are alike to us. If, by a collision with France, in a case where she is clearly in the wrong, the march of liberal

principles shall be impeded, the responsibility for that result, as well as every other, will rest on her own head.

Having submitted these considerations, it belongs to Congress to decide whether, after what has taken place, it will still await the further action of the French Chambers, or now adopt such provisional measures as it may deem necessary and best adapted to protect the rights and maintain the honour of the country. Whatever that decision may be, it will be faithfully enforced by the executive, as far as it is authorized to do.

According to the estimate of the Treasury Department, the revenue accruing, from all sources, during the present year, will amount to twenty millions six hundred and twenty-four thousand seven hundred and seventeen dollars, which with the balance remaining in the Treasury, on the 1. of January last, of eleven millions seven hundred and two thousand nine hundred and five dollars, produces an aggregate of thirty-two millions three hundred and twenty-seven thousand six hundred and twenty-three dollars. The total expenditure during the year for all objects, including the public debt, is estimated at twenty-five millions five hundred and ninety-one thousand three hundred and ninety dollars, which will leave a balance in the Treasury on the 1. of January, 1835, of six millions seven hundred and thirty-six thousand two hundred and thirty-two dollars. In this balance, however, will be included about one million one hundred and fifty thousand dollars of what was heretofore reported by the departments as not effective.

Of former appropriations it is estimated there will remain unexpended at the close of the year, eight millions two thousand nine hundred and twenty-five dollars, and that of this sum there will not be required more than five millions one hundred and forty-one thousand nine hundred and sixty-four dollars to accomplish the objects of all the current appropriations. Thus it appears, that after satisfying all those appropriations, and after discharging the last item of our public debt, which will be done on the 1. of January next, there will remain unexpended in the Treasury an effective balance of about four hundred and forty thousand dollars. That such should be the aspect of our finances is highly flattering to the industry and enterprise of our population, and auspicious of the wealth and prosperity which await the future cultivation of their growing resources. It is not deemed prudent, however, to recommend any change for the present in our impost rates, the effect of the gradual reduction now in progress in many of them not being sufficiently tested to guide us in determining the precise amount of revenue which they will produce.

Free from public debt, at peace with all the world, and with no complicated interests to consult in our intercourse with foreign powers, the present may be hailed as that epoch in our history the most favourable for the settlement of those principles in our domestic policy which shall be best calculated to give stability to our Republic, and secure the blessings of freedom to our citizens. Among these principles, from our past experience it cannot be doubted that simplicity is the character of the Federal Government, and a rigid economy in its administration, should be regarded as fundamental and sacred. All must be sensible that the existence of the public debt, by rendering taxation necessary for its extinguishment, has increased the difficulties which are inseparable from every exercise of the taxing power; and that it, was, in this respect, a remote agent in producing those disturbing questions which grew out of the discussions relating to the tariff. If such has been the tendency of a debt incurred in the acquisition and maintenance of our national rights and liberties, the obligations of which all portions of the Union cheerfully acknowledged, it must be obvious, that whatever is calculated to increase the burdens of Government without necessity must be fatal to all our hopes of preserving its true character. While we are felicitating ourselves, therefore, upon the extinguishment of the national debt, and the prosperous state of our finances, let us not be tempted to depart from those sound maxims of public policy, which adjoin a just adaptation of the revenue to the expenditure, that is consistent with a rigid economy, and an entire abstinence from all topics of legislation that are not clearly within the constitutional powers of the Government, and suggested by the wants of the country. Properly regarded, under such a policy, every diminution of the public burdens arising from taxation, gives to individual enterprise increased power, and furnishes to all the members of our happy confederacy new motives for patriotic affection and support. But, above all, its most important effect will be found in its influence upon the character of the Government, by confining its action to those objects which will be sure to secure to it the attachment and support of our fellow-citizens.

Circumstances make it my duty to call the attention of Congress to the Bank of the United States. Created for the convenience of the Government, that institution has become the scourge of the people. Its interference to postpone the payment of a portion of the national debt, that it might retain the public money appropriated for that purpose to strengthen it in a political contest—the extraordinary extension and contraction of its accommodations to the community—its corrupt and partisan loans—its extension of the public directors from a knowledge of its most important proceedings—the unlimited authority conferred on the President to expend its funds in hiring writers, and procuring the execution of print-

ing, and the use made of that authority—the retention of the pension money and books, after the selection of new agents—the groundless claim to heavy damages in consequence of the protest of the bill drawn on the French Government, have, through various channels, been laid before Congress. Immediately after the close of the last session the Bank, through its President, announced its ability and readiness to abandon the system of unparalleled curtailment, and the interruption of domestic exchanges, which it had practised from the 1. of August 1833, to the 30. of June 1834, and to extend its accommodations to the community. The grounds assumed in this announcement amounted to an acknowledgment that the curtailment, in the extent to which it had been carried, was not necessary to the safety of the Bank, and had been persisted in merely to induce Congress to grant the prayer of the Bank in its memorial relative to the removal of the deposits, and to give it a new charter, they were substantially a confession that all the real distresses which individuals and the country had endured for the preceding six or eight months had been needlessly produced by it, with the view of effecting, through the sufferings of the people, the legislative action of Congress. It is a subject of congratulation that Congress and the country had the virtue and the firmness to bear the infliction; that the energies of our people soon found relief from this wanton tyranny in vast importations of the precious metals from almost every part of the world; and that at the close of this tremendous effort to control our Government the Bank found itself powerless and no longer able to loan out its surplus means. The community had learned to manage its affairs without its assistance, and trade had already found new auxiliaries; so that, on the 1. of October last, the extraordinary spectacle was presented of a national bank, more than one-half of whose capital was either lying unproductive in its vaults, or in the hands of foreign bankers.

To the needless distress brought on the country during the last session of Congress has been added, the open seizure of the dividends on the public stock to the amount of one hundred and twenty thousand and forty-one dollars, under pretence of paying damages, costs, and interest upon the protested French bill. The sum constituted a portion of the estimated revenues for the year 1834, upon which the appropriations made by Congress were based. It would have as soon been expected that our collectors would seize on the customs, or the receivers of our land offices on the monies arising from the sale of public lands, under pretences of claims against the United States, as the Bank would have retained the dividends. Indeed, if the principle be established that any one who chooses to set up a claim against the United States may, without authority of law, seize on the public property or money wherever he can find it, to pay the claim, there will remain no assurance

that our revenue will reach the Treasury, or that it will be applied after the appropriation to the purposes designated in the law. The paymasters of our army and the pursers of our navy may, under like pretences, apply to their own use monies appropriated to set in motion the public force, and in time of war leave the country without defence. This measure resorted to by the Bank is disorganizing and revolutionary, and, if generally resorted to by private citizens in like cases, would fill the land with anarchy and violence.

It is a constitutional provision that "No money shall be drawn from the Treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law." The palpable object of this provision is to prevent the expenditure of the public money for any purpose whatsoever which shall not have been first approved by the representatives of the people and the States in Congress assembled. It vests the power of declaring for what purposes the public money shall be expended in the legislative department of the Government, to the exclusion of the executive and judicial, and it is not within the constitutional authority of either of those departments to pay it away without law, or to sanction its payment. According to this plan of constitutional provision the claim of the Bank can never be paid without an appropriation by act of Congress. But the Bank has never asked for an appropriation. It attempts to defeat the provision of the constitution, and obtain payment without an act of Congress. Instead of awaiting an appropriation passed by both houses, and approved by the President, it makes an appropriation for itself, and invites an appeal to the judiciary to sanction it. That the money had not technically been paid into the Treasury does not affect the principle intended to be established by the constitution. The executive and judiciary have as little right to appropriate and expend the public money without the authority of law, before it is placed to the credit of the treasurer, as to take it from the Treasury. In the annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury, and in his correspondence with the President of the Bank, and the opinion of the Attorney-General accompanying, you will find a further examination of the claims of the Bank, and the course it has pursued.

It seems due to the safety of the public funds remaining in that Bank, and to the honour of the American people, that measures be taken to separate the Government entirely from an institution so mischievous to the public prosperity, and so regardless of the constitution and laws. By transferring the public deposits, by appointing other pension agents as far as it had the power, by ordering the discontinuance of the receipt of bank cheques in payment of the public dues after the 1. day of January next, the executive has exerted all its lawful authority to sever the connexion between the Government and this faithless corporation.

The high-handed career of this institution

imposes upon the constitutional functionaries of this Government duties of the gravest and most imperative character, duties which they cannot avoid, and from which I trust there will be no inclination on the part of any of them to shrink. My own sense of them is most clear, as is also my readiness to discharge those which may rightfully fall on me. To continue any business relations with the Bank of the United States that may be avoided without a violation of the national faith, after that institution has set at open defiance the conceded right of the Government to examine its affairs, after it has done all in its power to deride the public authority in other respects, and to bring it into disrepute at home and abroad, after it has attempted to defeat the clearly expressed will of the people, by turning against them the immense power entrusted to its hands, and by involving a country otherwise peaceful, flourishing, and happy, in dissensions, embarrassments, and distress, would make the nation itself a party to the degradation so sedulously prepared for its public agents, and do much to destroy the confidence of mankind in popular Governments, and to bring in contempt their authority and efficiency. In guarding against an evil of such magnitude considerations of temporary convenience should be thrown out of the question, and we should be influenced by such motives only as look to the honour and preservation of the republican system. Deeply and solemnly impressed with the justice of these views, I feel it to be my duty to recommend to you that a law be passed authorising the sale of the public stock; that the provision of the charter requiring the receipt of notes of the Bank in payment of public dues shall, in accordance with the power reserved to Congress in the 14. section of the charter, be suspended until the Bank pays to the Treasury the dividends withheld; and that all laws connecting the Government or its officers with the Bank, directly or indirectly, be repealed; and that the institution be left hereafter to its own resources and means.

Events have satisfied my mind, and I think the minds of the American people, that the mischiefs and dangers which flow from a national bank far overbalance all its advantages. The bold effort the present Bank has made to control the Government, the distresses it has wantonly produced, the violence of which it has been the occasion in one of our cities famed for its observance of law and order, are but premonitions of the fate which awaits the American people, should they be deluded into a perpetuation of this institution, or the establishment of another like it. It is fervently hoped that, thus admonished, those who have heretofore favoured the establishment of a substitute for the present Bank will be induced to abandon it, as it is evidently better to incur any inconvenience that may be reasonably expected than to concentrate the whole monied power of the Republic in any form whatsoever, or under any restrictions.

Happily it is already illustrated that the agency of such an institution is not necessary to the fiscal operations of the Government. The State Banks are found fully adequate to the performance of all services which were required of the Bank of the United States quite as promptly, and with the same cheapness. They have maintained themselves and discharged all these duties, while the Bank of the United States was still powerful, and in the field was an open enemy; and it is not possible to conceive that they will find greater difficulties in their operation when that enemy shall cease to exist.

The attention of Congress is earnestly invited to the regulation of the deposits in the State Banks by law. Although the power now exercised by the Executive Department in this behalf is only such as was uniformly exerted through every administration from the origin of the Government up to the establishment of the present Bank, yet it is one which is susceptible of regulation by law, and therefore ought so to be regulated. The power of Congress to direct in what places the treasurer shall keep the monies in the Treasury, and to impose restrictions upon the executive authority in relation to their custody and removal, is unlimited, and its exercise will rather be courted, than discouraged by those public officers and agents on whom rests the responsibility for their safety. It is desirable that as little power as possible should be left to the President or Secretary of the Treasury over those institutions, which, being thus freed from executive influence, and without a common head to direct their operation, would have neither the temptation nor the ability to interfere in the political conflicts of the country. Not deriving their charters from the national authorities, they would never have those inducements to meddle in general elections, which have led the Bank of the United States to agitate and convulse the country for upwards of two years.

The produce of our gold coinage is creditable to the officers of the Mint, and promises in a short period to furnish the country with a sound and portable currency, which will much diminish the inconvenience to travellers of the want of a general paper currency, should the State Banks be incapable of furnishing it. Those institutions have already shown themselves competent to purchase and furnish domestic exchange for the convenience of trade, at reasonable rates; and not a doubt is entertained that, in a short period, all the wants of the country in bank accommodations and exchange will be supplied as promptly and cheaply as they have heretofore been by the Bank of the United States. If the several States shall be induced gradually to reform their banking systems, and prohibit the issues of all small notes, we shall, in a few years, have a currency as sound, and as little liable to fluctuations as any other commercial country.

The report of the Secretary of War, together with the accompanying documents from the several bureaux of that department, will exhibit the situation of the various objects committed to its administration.

No event has occurred since your last session rendering necessary the movements of the army, with the exception of the expedition of the regiment of dragoons into the territory of the wandering and predatory tribes inhabiting the western frontier, and living adjacent to the Mexican boundary. These tribes have been heretofore known to us principally by their attacks upon our own citizens and upon other Indians entitled to the protection of the United States. It became necessary for the peace of the frontiers to check these habitual incursions, and I am happy to inform you that the object has been effected without the commission of any act of hostility. Colonel Dodge, and the troops under his command, have acted with equal firmness, and an arrangement has been made with those Indians which, it is hoped will secure their permanent pacific relations with the United States and the other tribes of Indians upon that border. It is to be regretted that the prevalence of sickness in that quarter has deprived the country of a number of valuable lives, and particularly that of General Leavenworth, an officer well known and esteemed for his gallant services in the late war, and for his subsequent good conduct, has fallen a victim to his zeal and exertions in the discharge of his duty.

The army is in a high state of discipline. Its moral condition, so far as that is known here, is good, and the various branches of the public service are carefully attended to. It is amply sufficient, under its present organization, for providing the necessary garrisons for the sea-board and for the defence of the internal frontier, and also for preserving the elements of military knowledge, and for keeping pace with those improvements which modern experience is continually making. And these objects appear to me to embrace all the legitimate purposes for which a permanent military force should be maintained in our country.

The lessons of history teach us its danger, and the tendency which exists to an increase. This can be best met and averted by a just caution on the part of the public itself, and of those who represent them in Congress.

From the duties which devolve on the Engineer Department, and upon the topographical engineers, a different organization seems to be demanded by the public interest, and I recommend the subject to your consideration.

No important change has, during this session, taken place in the condition of the Indians. Arrangements are in progress for the removal of the Creeks, and will be soon for the removal of the Seminoles. I regret that the Cherokees, east of the Mississippi, have not yet determined, as a community, to remove. How long the personal causes which have heretofore retarded that ultimately inevitable

measure will continue to operate I am unable to conjecture. It is certain, however, that delay will bring with it accumulated evils, which will render their condition more and more unpleasant.

The experience of every year adds to the conviction that emigration, and that alone, can preserve from destruction the remnant of the tribes yet living among us. The facility with which the necessaries of life are procured, and the treaty stipulations providing aid for the emigrant Indians in their agricultural pursuits, and in the important concern of education, and their removal from those causes which heretofore depressed all and destroyed many of the tribes, cannot fail to stimulate their exertions and to reward their industry.

The two laws passed at the last session of Congress, on the subject of the Indian affairs, have been carried into effect, and detailed instructions for their administration have been given. It will be seen by the estimates for the present session that a great reduction will take place in the expenditures of the department in consequence of these laws. And there is reason to believe that their operation will be salutary, and that the colonization of the Indians on the western frontier, together with a judicious system of administration, will still further reduce the expenses of this branch of the public service, and at the same time promote its usefulness and efficiency.

Circumstances have been developed showing the existence of extensive frauds under the various laws granting pensions and gratuities for revolutionary services. It is impossible to estimate the amount which may have been thus fraudulently obtained from the national treasury. I am satisfied, however, it has been such as to justify a re-examination of the system, and the adoption of the necessary checks in its administration. All will agree that the services and sufferings of the remnant of our revolutionary band should be fully compensated. But while this is done, every proper precaution should be taken to prevent the admission of fabricated and fraudulent claims. In the present mode of proceeding, the attestations and certificates of judicial officers of the various states form a considerable portion of the checks which are interposed against the commission of frauds. These, however, have been, and may be fabricated, and in such a way as to elude detection at the examining offices. And, independently of this practical difficulty, it is ascertained that these documents are often loosely granted; sometimes even blank certificates have been issued; sometimes prepared papers have been signed without inquiry; and in one instance at least, the seal of the court has been within reach of a person most interested in its improper application.

It is obvious that, under existing circumstances, no severity of administration can check the abuse of the law; and information has, from time to time, been communicated to the Pension-office, questioning or denying

the right of persons placed upon the pension-list to the bounty of the country. Such cautions are always attended to and examined. But a far more general investigation is called for; and I therefore recommend, in conformity with the suggestion of the Secretary of War, that an actual inspection should be made in each State into the circumstances and claims of every person now drawing a pension. The honest veteran has nothing to fear from such a scrutiny, while the fraudulent claimant will be detected, and the public treasury relieved to an amount, I have reason to believe, far greater than has heretofore been suspected. The details of such a plan could be so regulated as to interpose the necessary checks without any burdensome operation upon the pensioners. The object should be twofold.

1. To look into the original justice of the claims, so far as this can be done under a proper system of regulations, by an examination of the claimants themselves, and by inquiring in the vicinity of their residence into their history and into the opinion entertained of their revolutionary services.

2. To ascertain in all cases whether the original claimant is living, and this by actual personal inspection.

This measure will, if adopted, be productive, I think, of the desired results, I therefore recommend it to your consideration, with the further suggestion that all payments should be suspended till the necessary reports are received.

It will be seen by a tabular statement annexed to the document transmitted to Congress, that the appropriations for objects connected with the War Department made at the last session for the service of the year 1834, excluding the permanent appropriations for the payment of military gratuities under the act of June 8, 1832, the appropriation of two hundred thousand dollars for arming and equipping the militia, and the appropriation of ten thousand dollars for the civilization of the Indians, which are not annually renewed, amounted to the sum of nine millions three thousand two hundred and sixty-one dollars, and that the estimate of appropriations necessary for the same branches of service for the year 1835 amount to the sum of five millions seven hundred and seven-eight thousand nine hundred and sixty-four dollars, making a difference in the appropriations for the current year over the estimates of appropriation for the next, of three millions two hundred and twenty-four thousand two hundred and ninety-seven dollars.

The principal causes which have operated at this time to produce this great difference are shown in the reports and documents, and in the detailed estimates. Some of these causes are accidental and temporary, while others are permanent, and, aided by a just course of administration, may continue to operate beneficially upon the public expenditure.

A just economy, expending where the public

service requires, and withholding where it does not, is among the indispensable duties of the Government.

I refer you to the accompanying report of the Secretary of the Navy, and to the documents with it, for a full view of the operations of that important branch of our service during the present year. It will be seen that the wisdom and liberality with which Congress have provided for the gradual increase of our navy materials have been seconded by a corresponding zeal and fidelity on the part of those to whom has been confided the execution of the laws on the subject, and that but a short period would be now required to put in commission a force large enough for any exigency into which the country may be thrown.

When we reflect upon our position in relation to other nations, it must be apparent that, in the event of conflicts with them, we must look chiefly to our navy for the protection of our national rights. The wide seas which separate us from other Governments must of necessity be the theatre on which an enemy will aim to assail us, and unless we are prepared to meet him on this element we cannot be said to possess the power requisite to repel or prevent aggressions. We cannot, therefore, watch with too much attention this arm of our defence, or cherish with too much care any means by which it can possess the necessary efficiency and extension. To this end our policy has been hitherto wisely directed to the constant employment of a force sufficient to guard our commerce, and to the rapid accumulation of the materials which are necessary to repair our vessels, and construct with ease such new ones as may be required in a state of war.

In accordance with this policy I recommend to your consideration the erection of the additional dry dock, described by the Secretary of the Navy, and also the construction of the steam-batteries, to which he has referred, for the purpose of testing their efficacy as auxiliaries to the system of defence now in use.

The report of the Postmaster-General, herewith submitted, exhibits the condition and prospects of that department. From that document it appears there was a deficit in the funds of the department at the commencement of the present year beyond its available means of three hundred and fifteen thousand five hundred and ninety-nine dollars and ninety-eight cents, which on the 1. of July last had been reduced to two hundred and sixty-eight thousand ninety-two dollars and seventy-four cents. It appears also that the revenues for the coming year will exceed the expenditures about two hundred and seventy thousand dollars, which, with the excess of revenue which will result from the operations of the current half-year, may be expected, independently of any increase in the gross amount of postages to supply the entire deficit before the end of 1835. But as this calculation is based on the gross amount of postages which had accrued within the period embraced by

the times of striking the balances, it is obvious that without a progressive increase in the amount of postages the existing retrenchments must be persevered in through the year 1836, that the department may accumulate a surplus fund sufficient to place it in a condition of perfect ease.

It will be observed that the revenues of the Post-office department, though they have increased, and their amount is above that of any former year, have yet fallen short of the estimates more than a hundred thousand dollars. This is attributed in a great degree to the increase of the free letters growing out of the extension and abuse of the franking privilege. There has been a gradual increase in the number of executive offices to which it has been granted; and by an act passed in March, 1833, it was extended to Members of Congress throughout the whole year. It is believed that a revision of the laws relative to the franking privilege, with some enactments to enforce more rigidly the restrictions under which it is granted, would operate beneficially to the country, by enabling the department at an earlier period to restore the mail facilities that have been withdrawn, and to extend them more widely as the growing settlements of the country may require.

To a measure so important to the Government, and so just to our constituents, who ask no exclusive privileges for themselves, and are not willing to concede them to others, I earnestly recommend the serious attention of Congress.

The importance of the Post-office department, and the magnitude to which it has grown, both in its revenues and its operations, seem to demand its re-organization by law. The whole of its receipts and disbursements have hitherto been left entirely to executive control and individual discretion. The principle is as sound in relation to this as to any other department of the Government, that as little discretion should be confided to the executive officer who controls it as compatible with its efficiency. It is therefore earnestly recommended that it be organized with an auditor and treasurer of its own, appointed by the President and Senate, who shall be branches of the Treasury department.

Your attention is again respectfully invited to the defect which exists in the judicial system of the United States. Nothing can be more desirable than the uniform operation of the Federal Judiciary throughout the several States, all of which, standing on the same footing as members of the Union, have equal rights to the advantages and benefits resulting from its laws. This object is not attained by the judicial acts now in force because they leave one-fourth of the States without circuit courts.

It is undoubtedly the duty of Congress to place all the States on the same footing in this respect, either by the creation of an additional number of associate Judges, or by an enlargement of the circuits assigned to the already

appointed, so as to include the new States. Whatever may be the difficulty in a proper organization of the judicial system so as to secure its efficiency and uniformity in all parts of the Union, and at the same time to avoid such an increase of Judges as would encumber the supreme appellate tribunal, it should not be allowed to weigh against the great injustice which the present operation of the system produces.

I trust that I may be also pardoned for renewing the recommendation I have so often submitted to your attention in regard to the mode of electing the President and the Vice President of the United States. All the reflection I have been able to bestow upon the subject increases my conviction that the best interests of the country will be promoted by the adoption of some plan which will secure in all contingencies that important right of sovereignty to the direct control of the people. Could this be attained, and the terms of those officers be limited to a single period of either four or six years, I think our liberties would possess an additional safeguard.

At your last session I called the attention of Congress to the destruction of the building occupied by the Treasury department. As the public interest requires that another building should be erected with as little delay as possible, it is hoped that the means will be seasonably provided, and that they will be ample enough to authorise such an enlargement and improvement in the plan of the building as will more effectually accommodate the public officers, and secure the public documents deposited in it from the casualties of fire.

I have not been able to satisfy myself that the bill entitled "An Act to improve the navigation of the Wabash river," which was sent to me at the close of your last session, ought to pass, and I have therefore withheld from it my approval, and now return it to the Senate, the body in which it originated.

There can be no question connected with the administration of public affairs more important or more difficult to be satisfactorily dealt with than that which relates to the rightful authority and proper action of the federal Governments upon the subject of internal improvements. To inherent embarrassments have been added others resulting from the course of our legislation concerning it.

I have heretofore communicated freely with Congress upon this subject, and in adverting to it again I cannot refrain from expressing my increased conviction of its extreme importance, as well in regard to its bearing upon the maintenance of the constitution and the prudent management of the public revenue as on account of its disturbing effect upon the harmony of the Union.

We are in no danger from violations of the constitution by which encroachments are made upon the rights of the citizen. The sentence of condemnation long since pronounced by the American people upon acts of that character will, I do not doubt, continue to

prove as salutary in its effects as it is irreversible in its nature. But against the dangers of unconstitutional acts, which, instead of menacing the vengeance of offended authority, proffer local advantages, and bring in their train the patronage of the Government, we are, I fear, not safe. To suppose that because our Government has been instituted for the benefit of the people, it must therefore have the power to con-
 duce to the which even ho fall. In yielding they overlook the the federal can forget that, in diversities in the different States, of its adoption measure of the cial and proper reverse in another the States would to the Federal Government usual powers only as were probable effects thought, safely also the paramount abide by the course as it was hoped,

In addition to tion springing from there has been more than all. I all subject has afforded fish feelings, attentively enjoin purposes of pestimulants it is and pretension this behalf should to an alarming have arisen upon

1st. To the improvements with the right of to at least for the

2nd. To the aid of such work or by a complete surrendering the

3rd. To the improvements lighthouses, but for the removal other temporary our navigable

The claims on power for the general Government upon each of these points certainly present matter of the deepest interest. The first is, however, of much the greatest importance, inasmuch as, in addition to the dangers of unequal and improvident expenditures of public moneys common to all, there is superadded to that the conflicting jurisdictions of the respective governments. Federal jurisdiction at least to the extent I have stated, has been

justly regarded by its advocates as necessarily appurtenant to the power in question, if that exists by the constitution. That the most injurious conflicts would unavoidably arise between the respective jurisdiction of the state and federal governments in absence of a constitutional provision marking out their respective boundaries, cannot be doubted. The local advantages to be obtained would induce the

incurring the dangers y might ultimately exercised by the Federal soon be regarded : authorities; and, from implication or possible to affix the Opportunities and on of power incom- munity would be in- s which resist the wards consolidation cers and agents of ght not always have from intermeddling if they did, they the suspicion of is and consequent up, that harmony etween the general mber of the Confed- interrupted, a spirit gendered, and the multiplied.

twisthstanding these erous doctrine was ceeding to its final rapidity. The de- government in works prevailed in the first session of the e honour to meet in en the bill authoris- part of the United ville and Lexington ed the two houses, the Committees of s containing appro- , exclusive of those and for harbours and t of about one hun- dars. In this amount the Secretary of the he stock of different nt, and the residue irect construction of

In addition to these presented to the two n and recommenda-

tion of their respective committees on internal improvements, there were then still pending before the committees, and in memorials to Congress presented but not referred, different projects for works of a similar character, the expense of which cannot be estimated with certainty, but must have exceeded one hundred millions of dollars.

Regarding the bill authorizing a subscription to the stock of the Maysville and Lexington

Turnpike Companies as the entering wedge of a system which, however weak at first, might soon become strong enough to rive the bands of the Union asunder, and believing that if its passage was acquiesced in by the Executive, and the people, there would no longer be any limitation upon the authority of the general Government in respect to the appropriation of money for such objects, I deemed it an imperative duty to withhold from it the executive approval. Although, from the obviously local character of that work, I might well have contented myself with a refusal to approve the bill upon that ground, yet, sensible of the vital importance of the subject, and anxious that my views and opinions in regard to the whole matter should be fully understood by Congress and my constituents, I felt it my duty to go further. I therefore embraced that early occasion to apprise Congress that in my opinion the constitution did not confer upon it the power to authorise the construction of ordinary roads and canals within the limits of a State, and to say respectfully that no bill admitting such a power could receive my official sanction. I did so in the confident expectation that the speedy settlement of the public mind upon the whole subject would be greatly facilitated by the difference between the two houses and myself, and that the harmonious action of the several departments of the Federal Government in regard to it would be ultimately secured.

So far, at least, as it regards this branch of the subject, my best hopes have been realised. Nearly four years have elapsed, and several sessions of Congress have intervened, and no attempt, within my recollection, has been made to induce Congress to exercise this power. The applications for the construction of roads and canals, which were formerly multiplied upon your files, are no longer presented; and we have good reason to infer that the current of public sentiment has become so decided against the pretension as effectually to discourage its re-assertion. So thinking, I derive the greatest satisfaction from the conviction that thus much at least has been secured upon this important and embarrassing subject.

From attempts to appropriate the national funds to objects which are confessedly of a local character, we cannot, I trust, have anything further to apprehend. My views in regard to the expediency of making appropriations for works which are claimed to be of a national character, and prosecuted under state authority, assuming that Congress have a right to do so, were stated in my annual message to Congress in 1830, and also in that containing my objections to the Mayville Road Bill.

So thoroughly convinced am I that no such appropriations ought to be made by Congress until a suitable constitutional provision is made upon the subject, and so essential do I regard the point to the highest interests in our country, that I could not consider myself as discharging my duty to my constituents in giving the executive sanction to any bill con-

taining such an appropriation. If the people of the United States desire that the public Treasury shall be resorted to for the means to prosecute such works they will concur in an amendment of the constitution, prescribing a rule by which the national character of the works is to be tested, and by which the greatest practicable equality of benefits may be secured to each member of the confederacy. The effects of such a regulation would be most salutary in preventing unprofitable expenditures, in securing our legislation from the pernicious consequences of a scramble for the favours of Government, and in repressing the spirit of discontent which must inevitably arise from an unequal distribution of treasures which belong alike to all.

There is another class of appropriations for what may be called, without impropriety, internal improvements, which have always been regarded as standing upon different grounds from those to which I have referred. I allude to such as have for their object the improvement of our harbours, the removal of partial and temporary obstructions in our navigable rivers, for the facility and security of our foreign commerce. The grounds upon which I distinguish appropriations of this character from others have already been stated to Congress. I will now only add that at the first Session of Congress under the new constitution it was provided by law that all expenses which should accrue from and after the 15. day of August, 1789, in the necessary support and maintenance and repairs of all light-houses, beacons, buoys, and public piers, erected, placed, or sunk before the passing of the act, within any bay, inlet, harbour, or port of the United States, for rendering the navigation thereof easy and safe, should be defrayed out of the Treasury of the United States; and, further, that it should be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to provide by contracts, with the approbation of the President, for rebuilding when necessary and keeping in good repair the lighthouses, beacons, buoys, and public piers in the several States, and for furnishing them with supplies. Appropriations for similar objects have been continued from that time to the present without interruption or dispute.

As a natural consequence of the increase and extension of our foreign commerce, ports of entry and delivery have been multiplied and established, not only upon our seaboard but in the interior of the country, upon our lakes and navigable rivers. The convenience and safety of this commerce have led to the gradual extension of these expenditures; to the erection of lighthouses; the placing, planting, and sinking of buoys, beacons, and piers; and to the removal of partial and temporary obstructions in our navigable rivers, and in the harbours upon our great lakes, as well as on the seaboard. Although I have expressed to Congress my apprehension that these expenditures have sometimes been extravagant and disproportionate to the advan-

ages to be derived from them, I have not felt it to be my duty to refuse my assent to bills containing them, and have contented myself to follow in this respect in the footsteps of all my predecessors. Sensible, however, from experience and observation, of the great abuses to which the unrestricted exercise of this authority by Congress was exposed, I have prescribed a limitation for the government of my own conduct, by which expenditures of this character are confined to places below the ports of entry and delivery established by law. I am very sensible that this restriction is not as satisfactory as could be desired, and that much embarrassment may be caused to the Executive Department in its execution, by appropriations for remote and not well understood objects. But as neither my own reflections, nor the lights which I may properly derive from other sources, have supplied me with a better, I shall continue to apply my best exertions to a faithful application of the rule upon which it is founded. I sincerely regret that I could not give my assent to the bill entitled "An Act to improve the Navigation of the Wabash River," but I could not have done so without receding from the ground which I have, upon the fullest consideration, taken upon this subject, and of which Congress has been heretofore apprised, and without throwing the subject again open to abuse, which no good citizen, entertaining my opinions, could desire.

I rely upon the intelligence and candour of my fellow-citizens, in whose liberal indulgence I have already so largely participated for a correct appreciation of my motives in interposing, as I have done, on this and other occasions, checks to a course of legislation which, without in the slightest degree calling in question the motives of others, I consider as sanctioning improper and unconstitutional expenditures of public treasure.

I am not hostile to internal improvements, and wish to see them extended to every part of the country. But I am fully persuaded, if they are not commenced in proper manner, confined to proper objects, and conducted under an authority generally conceded to be rightful, that a successful prosecution of them cannot be reasonably expected. The attempt will meet with resistance where it might otherwise receive support, and, instead of strengthening the bonds of our confederacy, it will only multiply and aggravate the cause of disunion.

ANDREW JACKSON.

1. December, 1834.

From the *LONDON GAZETTE*.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 9, 1835.

INSOLVENT.

ADBROKE, A., Wigan, Brighton, surgeon.

BANKRUPTCIES ANNULLED.

ALSOP, R., Eccleshall, Staffordshire, miller.
JONES, H., Poultry, chiuaman.

BANKRUPTS.

BASSFORD, T., Bilston, Staffordshire, book-seller.
BROWN, W., High-street, Camberwell, carpenter.
DAVIES, G., Lisson-grove, Marybonne, iron-monger.
HAYWARD, John, Tottenham-court-road butcher.
HALES, S., Newgate-street, butcher.
HOLBROOK, T., Gray's-inn-road, victualler.
HOLDSWORTH, W., Sheffield, spoon-manufacturer.
MARSH, J., Hepworth, Yorkshire, clothier.
NEWPORT, W. C., Bognor, scrivener.
ROBINSON, W., Manchester, coach-proprietor.
SHADGETT, B., Loose, Kent, carpenter.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

HUNTER, M., Rothsay, baker.
MACKINLAY, M., Glasgow, grocer.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 13.

INSOLVENTS.

MASON, E., Chapel-street, Mayfair, poulterer.
SHARLAND, T. W., Lime-street, city, tea-broker.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

DEWHURST, T., Manchester, printseller.

BANKRUPTS.

BERRY, C. C., Liverpool, merchant.
BUXTON, J., Barnard-Castle, Durham, wool-stapler.
COPLING, N. and T. Wood, King-street-stuff-agents.
COWAN, J., Gosport, Southampton, slater.
GLOVER, J., Watall, Staffordshire, iron-founder.
LANGLEY, J., Bristol, wine-merchant.
MATTHEW, T., Margaret-street, Cavendish-square, coachmaker.
PHELPS, J., Old Bell Inn, Belle Sauvage-yard, Ludgate-hill, innkeeper.
PRICE, W. D., Chepton, Monmouthshire, innkeeper.
ROTHERHAM, W., Shoreditch, draper.
SADD, J., Jewry-street, Aldgate, victualler.
SIMPSON, J. and J. Windross, Bishopsgate-street, linen-draper.
STRACHAN, J., Bristol, tailor.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Jan. 12.—

The supplies of Wheat fresh up this morning from the home counties proved moderate, but the arrivals of Ship Flour having been large and pressing on the market, have prevented the trade from sustaining any general improvement in price. At the commencement of the market, selected parcels, particularly of white quality, realised 1s. per quarter more money, but the runs, though saleable, experienced no improvement from last Monday's rates; and towards the close of the day, the trade became languid, and the currency must be noted as unaltered from this day se'night. A partial inquiry existed for bonded Wheat, at low prices.

Prime Chevalier Barley was in request, and 1s. per quarter dearer, having realised 41s. for extra quality. Distillers being well stocked are not purchasers at present, and distilling samples therefore, as well as grinding, were dull at previous rates. The quantity of foreign Barley entered this week for the consumption, previous to the advance in the duty to 15s., amounted to 4,900 quarters. Bonded Barley has been much in request, and good Danish malting quality has realised 22s. 6d. per qr No Holstein offering.

The Malt trade was firm, with a limited stock on hand.

The arrival of Oats from our own coast continues extremely small, but from Scotland, and especially from Ireland, the supplies have been again liberal. The trade ruled steady, and the currency of this day se'night was fully realised.

Beans heavy sale, and the turn lower.

Several parcels of foreign white Peas were offering, and were very heavy sale, with a tendency in prices to recede.

The large arrivals of Ship Flour, with offers of Town-made qualities at low rates, have depressed the trade, and prices are almost rendered nominal.

Wheat, English, White, new....	42s. to 54s.
Old	48s. to 52s.
Red, new.....	38s. to 42s.
Old	40s. to 44s.
Lincolnshire, red	37s. to 43s.
White	40s. to 43s.
Yorkshire, red	36s. to 42s.
White	42s. to 44s.
Northumberl. & Berwick	38s. to 41s.
Fine white	40s. to 43s.
Dundee & choice Scotch	43s. to 44s.
Irish, red, good.....	32s. to 36s.
White	38s. to 40s.
Rye,	30s. to 33s.
New.....	34s. to 36s.
Barley, English, grinding	26s. to 28s.
Distilling.....	28s. to 32s.
Malting	32s. to 36s.
Chevalier	38s. to 42s.
Malt	44s. to 54s.
Fine new,	56s. to 64s.

Beans, Tick, new	33s. to 35s.
Old	36s. to 38s.
Harrow, new.....	36s. to 38s.
Old	38s. to 40s.
Peas, White, English	38s. to 40s.
Foreign	36s. to 40s.
Grey or Hog	34s. to 38s.
Maples.....	38s. to 40s.
Oats, Polands	23s. to 25s.
Lincolnshire, short small	23s. to 24s.
Lincolnshire, feed	21s. to 22s.
Yorkshire, feed.....	21s. to 23s.
Black.....	23s. to 24s.
Northumberland and Berwick Potato, new.....	24s. to 25s.
Old	25s. to 27s.
Angus, new	24s. to 25s.
Old	—s. to —s.
Baufl and Aberdeen, common new	24s. to 25s.
Old	—s. to —s.
Potato	25s. to 26s.
Old	—s. to —s.
Irish Potato, new....	22s. to 23s.
Old	—s. to —s.
Feed, new light	19s. to 21s.
Black, new	20s. to 22s.
Foreign feed	22s. to 24s.
Danish & Pomeranian, old	20s. to 21s.
Petersburgh, Riga, &c....	22s. to 24s.
Foreign, in bond, feed....	12s. to 14s.
Brew	16s. to 18s.

PROVISIONS.

Butter, Dorset	40s. to 42s. per cwt.
Cambridge	40s. to —s.
York	38s. to —s.
Cheese, Dble. Gloucester	48s. to 60s.
Single ditto.....	44s. to 48s.
Cheshire.....	54s. to 74s.
Derby	50s. to 60s.
Hams, Westmoreland..	50s. to 60s.
Cumberland	50s. to 60s.

SMITHFIELD, January 12.

This day's supply of Sheep was, for the time of year, rather great; its supply of Beasts and Porkers moderately good; of Calves rather limited. Trade, partly owing to the carcass-markets still containing a considerable proportion of their Saturday's meat, and partly to the unfavourable state of the weather for slaughtering, was, throughout, very dull, at barely Friday's quotations.

About 1,300 of the Beasts, nearly or quite a notety of which were Shorthorns, the remainder in about equal numbers of Herefords, Devons, Welsh runts, and Irish Beasts, with about 100 Scots, were from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, and others of our northern districts; about 600, about two-thirds of which were Scots, the remainder in about equal numbers of Shorthorns and Devons,

with a few homebreds and Welsh runts, from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 400, in about equal numbers of Herefords, runts, Devons, and Irish Beasts, from the western and midland districts; about 60, a full moiety of which were Sussex Beasts, the remainder, in about equal numbers of runts, Devons, and Irish Beasts, from Kent, Sussex and Surrey; and most of the remainder, including about 80 Towns-end Cows, from the stall-feeders, &c. near London.

A full moiety of the Sheep were new Leicesters, of the Southdown and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about two of the former to five of the latter; about a fourth Southdowns; and the remainder in about equal numbers of horned and polled Norfolks, old Leicesters, Kents and Kentish half-breds, with a few pens of old Lincolns, horned Dorsets and Somerset, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

COBBETT-LIBRARY.

Fourth Edition.

COBBETT'S Spelling-Book.

(Price 2s.)

Containing, besides all the usual matter of such a book, a clear and concise

INTRODUCTION TO ENGLISH GRAMMAR.

This I have written by way of

A Stepping-Stone to my own Grammar;

such a thing having been frequently suggested to me by Teachers as necessary.

1. ENGLISH GRAMMAR.—Of this work one hundred thousand copies have now been published. This is a duodecimo volume, and the price is 3s. bound in boards.

2. TULL'S HORSE-HOEING HUSBANDRY; or, a Treatise on the Principles of Tillage and Vegetation. With an Introduction, by W. M. COBBETT. 8vo. Price 15s.

3. THE EMIGRANT'S GUIDE. Just now Published, under this Title, a little Volume, containing Ten Letters, addressed to English Tax-payers. A new edition, with a Postscript, containing an account of the Prices of Houses and Land, recently obtained from America by Mr. Cobbett. Price 2s. 6d. in bds

4. THE WOODLANDS; or, a Treatise on the preparing of the ground for planting; on the planting, on the cultivating, on the pruning, and on the cutting down, of Forest Trees and Underwoods. Price 14s. bound in boards.

5. YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA.—The Price of this book, in good print and on fine paper, is 5s.

6. FRENCH GRAMMAR; or, Plain Instructions for the Learning of French. Price, bound in boards, 5s.

7. COTTAGE ECONOMY.—I wrote this Work professedly for the use of the labouring and middling classes of the English nation. I made myself acquainted with the best and simplest modes of making beer and bread, and these I made it as plain as, I believe, words could make it. Also of the keeping of Cows, Pigs, Bees, and Poultry, matters which I understood as well as any body could, and in all their details. It includes my writing, also on the Straw Plait. A Duodecimo Volume. Price 2s. 6d.

8. MARTENS'S LAW OF NATIONS.—This is the Book which was the foundation of all the knowledge that I have ever possessed relative to public law. The Price is 17s., and the manner of its execution is I think, such as to make it fit for the Library of any Gentleman.

9. MR. JAMES PAUL COBBETT'S RIDE OF EIGHT HUNDRED MILES IN FRANCE. Second Edition. Price 2s. 6d.

10. A TREATISE ON COBBETT'S CORN; containing Instructions for Propagating and Cultivating the Plant, and for Harvesting and Preserving the Crop; and also an account of the several uses to which the Produce is applied. Price 5s.

11. LETTERS FROM FRANCE; containing Observations made in that Country during a Residence of Two Months in the South, and Three Months at Paris. By JOHN M. COBBETT. Price 4s. in boards.

12. SERMONS.—There are twelve of these, in one volume, on the following subjects: 1. Hypocrisy and Cruelty; 2. Drunkenness; 3. Bribery; 4. Oppression; 5. Unjust Judges; 6. The Sluggard; 7. The Murderer; 8. The Gamester; 9. Public Robbery; 10. The Unnatural Mother; 11. The Sin of Forbidding Marriage; 12. On the Duties of Parsons, and on the Institution and Object of Tithes. Price 3s. 6d. bound in boards.

A Thirtieth Sermon, entitled "GOOD FRIDAY; or, The Murder of Jesus Christ by the Jews." Price 6d.

13. PROTESTANT "REFORMATION" in England and Ireland, showing how that event has impoverished and degraded the main body of the people in those countries. Two volumes, bound in boards. The Price of the first volume is 4s. 6d. The Price of the second volume 3s. 6d.

JOURNAL
OF
A TOUR IN ITALY,
AND ALSO IN PART OF
FRANCE AND SWITZERLAND;

The route being

From Paris, through Lyons, to Marseilles, and, thence, to Nice, Genoa, Pisa, Florence, Rome, Naples, and Mount Vésuvius;

AND

By Rome, Terni, Perugia, Arezzo, Florence, Bologna, Ferrara, Padua, Venice, Verona, Milan, over the Alps by Mount St. Bernard, Geneva, and the Jura, back into France;

The space of time being,
From October 1828, to September 1829.

CONTAINING

A description of the country, of the principal cities and their most striking curiosities; of the climate, soil, agriculture, horticulture, and products; of the prices of provisions and labour; and of the dresses and conditions of the people;

AND ALSO

An account of the laws and customs, civil and religious, and of the morals and demeanour of the inhabitants, in the several States.

By JAMES P. COBBETT.

Just published, price 2s.,

FOUR LETTERS

TO THE

HON. JOHN STUART WORTLEY,

In answer to his "Brief Inquiry into the true award of an Equitable Adjustment between the nation and its creditors."—By WILLIAM COBBETT, M. P. for Oldham.

Just published, price 4d.

MR. COBBETT'S SPEECH.

AND THE

OTHER SPEECHES ON HIS MOTION FOR AN ABOLITION OF THE MALT-TAX.

Just published,

PRACTICAL EXERCISES.

WITH

A KEY TO COBBETT'S FRENCH GRAMMAR.

By J. P. Cobbett. Price Two Shillings.

Just Published,

THE

LIFE OF GENERAL JACKSON,

President of America: with an interesting frontispiece; and an exact likeness of the President. Price 3s. bds.

Price 6s. a new edition of the

ENGLISH GARDENER,

OR,

A TREATISE

On the Situation, Soil, Enclosing and Laying-Out of Kitchen Gardens; on the Making and Managing of Hot-beds and Green-Houses; and on the Propagation and Cultivation of all sorts of Kitchen-Garden Plants, and of Fruit-Trees whether of the Garden or the Orchard.

AND ALSO,

On the Formation of Shrubberies and Flower-Gardens; and on the Propagation and Cultivation of the several sorts of Shrubs and Flowers;

CONCLUDING WITH

A KALENDAR,

Giving instructions relative to the Sowings, Plantings, Prunings, and other labours, to be performed in the Gardens, in each Month of the Year.

By WILLIAM COBBETT.

FRIENDLY SOCIETIES.

Just published, in 8vo. with interesting Plates and Tables, price 5s. cloth, by Baldwin and Cradock, London,

Under the Superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge,

A TREATISE on FRIENDLY SOCIETIES; in which the Doctrine of Interest of Money, and the Doctrine of Probability, are practically applied to the affairs of such Societies. With numerous Tables; and an Appendix, containing acts of Parliament relating to Friendly Societies.—By Charles Ansell, Esq., F. R. S., Actuary to the Atlas Assurance Company.

* * This Treatise is founded on the answers procured by the Society in the years 1828, 1829, and 1830, to inquiries sent to Friendly Societies in most of the Counties in England. Many of the Schedules were defective, but a sufficient number of returns were received to show the progress of the members of different Societies, taken indiscriminately from all parts of England, while passing through, in the aggregate, 24,323 years of life, principally between the age 20 and the age 70.

A NEW
FRENCH AND ENGLISH
DICTIONARY.

In two parts. Part I. French and English.—Part II. English and French. By WILLIAM COBBETT, M.P. for Oldham.—Price 12s.

THE ONLY GENUINE PATENT FRENCH BRANDY WAREHOUSE, No. 111, Drury-lane.—W. WATSON earnestly solicits attention to the above justly-celebrated Spirit, which is not the Wine Brandy, neither is it adulterated with any other low-priced articles, (an imposition too prevalent); but the real Patent Brandy distilled by J. T. Betts and Co., at their Distillery at Smithfield bars, whence it is forwarded direct. It has been declared "the most pure spirit in the world." W. W. being determined to sell no other British than the pure Patent Brandy, its superiority being now universally allowed by the Faculty as most conducive to health, being divested of the acidity and noxious qualities of other Brandy's imposed upon the public as Betts' Patent. It only requires a trial to be preferred to all other beverages; being confident of its securing the approbation of all those who may favour him with their commands. Families and individuals may rely on procuring every article in the wine and spirit trade of the most superior quality and moderate prices. The Patent Brandy may also be had at Watson's, No. 1, Grosvenor-row, Chelsea, near the Bun House. Terms, 18s. per gallon, cash on delivery, returned if not approved of. Goods sent to any part of London free of expense. Country orders, and the trade supplied. N. B. Label on the bottles, "J. T. Betts and Co.'s Pure Patent Brandy, W. Watson, 111, Drury-lane."

SIGHT RESTORED, Nervous Head-ache Cured, and Cholera Prevented. Under the Patronage of his late Majesty and the Lords of the Treasury.—Mr. Abernethy used it, and termed it the faculty's friend and nurse's vademecum. Dr. Andrews also recommends it. CURES—Mr. A. Mackintyre, age 65, 3, Silver-street, Golden-square, of gutta serena. Mr. P. Sanderson, 10, Harper-street, Leeds, of cataract. Mr. H. Pluckwell, Tottenham-house, Middlesex, of ophthalmia. Miss S. Englefield, Park-street, Windsor, of nervous head-ache. Original testimonials from medical gentlemen and families of the first respectability, proving the above, may be seen at 39, Broad-street, Bloomsbury, and 24, King-street, Long-acre.

The high patronage GRIMSTONE'S EYE-SNUFF has obtained, is a testimonial beyond suspicion. This delightful herbaceous compound is the most wholesome snuff taken, and is recommended for its benign influence on all who use it. It is sold in canisters, at 1s. 3d., 2s. 4d., 4s. 4d., and 8s. each. Look to the signature of the inventor, with the above patronage. Sold in all towns in the country.

THE SOCIETY for the RESTORATION of HEALTH, 90, Charlotte-street, Rathbone-place, has been established for the purpose of offering a safe and efficacious aperient, instead of those drastic cathartics publicly proved to have produced mischievous effects (See Oracle of Health, No. VII. price 1d.), and of which such absurd and irrational doses are unconscionably recommended.—HARVEY'S VEGETABLE APERIENT, if taken in time, arrests the progress of all disorders, and removing impurities of the blood, restores to health. In indigestion, costiveness, flatulency, and all affections of the stomach and liver, periodical headache, incipient fever, rheumatism, &c., it has been singularly efficacious, as also in complaints peculiar to females and children. No change of habitual diet or confinement requisite—in boxes at 1s. 14d., 2s. 9d., 4s. 6d., and 11s. each.—HARVEY'S RESTORATIVE CORDIAL, in nervous weakness, loss of appetite, languor, and debility, arising from illness, early imprudence, excesses, climate, sedentary habits, &c., is infallible. To young and to elderly females it affords relief and support that no other tonic has given; it mitigates, often totally prevents, sea-sickness. In bottles at 4s. 6d. and 11s. each.—HARVEY'S EMBROCATION removes the effects of sprains, cramps, bruises, glandular swellings, &c., is a specific (in conjunction with the Pills) in chronic rheumatism, and speedily restores relaxed muscles to their tone. In bottles at 2s. 9d. each.—HARVEY'S LOTION of BEAUTY removes pimples, freckles, and all imperfections of the skin; cures chapped hands and face, and used before and after shaving, imparts comfort hitherto unknown. This delicate preparation, if once tried, will supersede those dangerous mineral washes easily distinguished by forming a sediment in their bottles. Sold in bottles at 3s. 6d. each. Sold also by Barclay and Sons, Farringdon-street; Wild, 13, Catherine-street, Strand; Haskins, 79, Quadrant, Regent-street; Humphries, 12, Wilderness-row; Barton, Parson's-lane, Banbury; Cotton, chemist, Barnstable; H. Carter, Beccles; Chalk and Co., Chelmsford; C. Gain, Exeter; Lockyer, Rugby; Goodhugh, Saxmundham; Deighton and Moxon, York; Bolster, Cork; and all Patent Medicine Venders.

MATHEWS'S STORE CANDLE, 5½d. per pound. Good strong Yellow Soap, 4½d.; best pale, ditto, 5½d.; best mottled, 6d. Superfine Wax-wick Moulds, 7d. Finest Wax, 2s. Transparent Sperm, or Composition, 2s. Finest Sealing-wax, 4s. Superfine old, ditto. Windsor Soap, 1s. 4d. Rose, Almond, and Camphor, 1s. 6d. Palm and white Windsor, 1s. Curd, 9d. Genuine Sperm Oil, 6s. per Imperial gallon. Pale Seal, 3s. 6d. and 3s.—41, Lang-acre, and 34, Upper Mary-bonne-street, Portland-place.—Cash.

93, FLEET-STREET,

Near the avenue to St. Bride's church.

SWAIN & Co., Clothiers, Tailors, and Drapers, gratefully acknowledge the almost unprecedented support with which they have been honoured by the public; and beg to say that nothing shall induce them in any way to relax in their exertions to retain that patronage with which they have been so kindly favoured.

As **SWAIN & Co.** manufacture their own woollen goods, they are able to supply gentlemen's clothing at a much lower price than they can be procured for at any other house in the trade.

The following is a List of their Prices for Cash:

	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Superfine Coats, of Fashionable Colours, from patent finished Cloths	2 10 0	3 5 0
Ditto, Blue or Black	3 5 0	3 15 0
Extra Saxony Wool, Blue or Black	3 13 6	& upwards
Superfine Frock, with Silk Facings	3 10 0	4 0 0
Ditto Trowsers	1 0 0	1 10 0
Summer Trowsers	0 14 0	1 1 0
Kerseysmere Waistcoats	0 12 0	0 14 0
Marsilles Ditto	0 8 0	0 10 0
Valencia and Tollenet	0 10 0	0 14 0
Silk Ditto	0 16 0	1 0 0
A Suit of Livery	4 4 0	4 10 0

Naval and Military Uniforms, Ladies' Habits and Pelisses, Children's Dresses, Shooting Jackets and Hunting Coats, Camlet and Plaid Cloaks, Witney Wrappers, and every other garment equally cheap.

Export orders punctually executed.

I recommend Messrs. Swain and Co. as very good and punctual tradesmen, whom I have long employed with great satisfaction. **WM. COBBETT.**

MORISON'S PILLS.

Prevention and Cure of the Cholera.

Mr. Drew, Hygeist, Leeds.

SIR,—Having perused a book, entitled "*Morisoniana*," wherein is stated several cases of Cholera which had been cured by Morison's Pills, and being attacked with the same dreadful complaint a few days ago, I was induced, from the statement in that book, and with the advice of my friends, to try the effect of the said Pills, and am happy to say, under the blessing of God, I am perfectly recovered by taking only three strong doses.

You have every liberty of making this as public as you think proper, that those who are afflicted with the same complaint, may know what medicine to apply. I am well con-

vinced that the taking of Morison's Pills has saved my life. I am, sir, yours respectfully,

ANN PEACOCK.

71, Peter's-square, Leeds,
18. Sept. 1834.

Sir,—Hearing of the prevalence of the Cholera, I consider it my duty to make my case as public as possible. I was seized a few weeks ago by a severe attack of Cholera, I immediately sent for some medicine recommended for it, and took half of it as directed, but found no relief from taking it; a gentleman came in, and recommended Morison's Pills. I objected, at the first, taking them, but finding myself getting worse, at last consented to take seven of No. 2. I found almost immediate relief; more were recommended, but I refused them, supposing I was too weak, until the morning, when I took seven more; these removed all the pains I had, and I am happy to say, through the Divine blessing, I am perfectly cured. I shall be most happy to answer any inquiries which any person may make, and will give them every satisfaction of the good the Pills have done me.

I am your humble servant,

SARAH WEBSTER.

Burmontofts, Leeds, 18. Sept., 1834.

Cure of Liver Complaint.

To H. Shephard Moat.

Sir,—With grateful thanks to God, the author of all good to man, I hereby state with the greatest confidence, and more so from experience on myself, the benefits I have received by taking the Hygeian Universal Medicine of the British College of Health, London. I have many years been afflicted (state about eight or nine years), suffering from what is termed a Liver Complaint; I had violent pains in my head, stomach, and bowels, scarcely any appetite, and reduced to the lowest ebb of existence, having had all the advice of the best kind, but with no beneficial effects. I, at length, hearing of the Hygeian Medicines so highly appreciated in the city of Buffalo and county for all complaints, induced me to give them a trial. I applied to Mr. W. Morris, Agent for the western county, New York, and from his kind instructions given me, I commenced taking the medicines; after taking only a small package, I can declare that I am perfectly cured. It is true, the operation at first was sharp, but rising up rapidly to eight or ten pills a day, all the evils were speedily removed. Gratitude to the Almighty God, as the dispenser of all benefits, with duty to you, sir, and my afflicted creatures, I feel for all my fellow men. All those that are labouring under similar complaints, should make use of the Hygeian Vegetable Universal Medicines of the British College of Health, to restore them to sound health. I remain, sir, yours truly,

S. P. LEONARD.

Buffalo, 6. July, 1834.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 87.—No. 4.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, JANUARY 24TH, 1835.

[Price 1s. 2d.



TO

SIR ROBERT PEELE.

LETTER I.

*What will you now do with
the House of Commons?*

King's Norton, 20. Jan. 1835.

SIR,—“NOW is the accepted time ; NOW is the day of salvation.” Neither ISAIAH in uttering these words, nor St PAUL in applying them, could have in contemplation a period of deeper interest to mankind in general than the present period is to the King and people of this kingdom. Every thing is let loose ; every establishment, every institution, is placed in a state of jeopardy ; and, as it depends mainly upon you what the important result shall be, I propose to address to you, successively, week after week, six letters, asking you :

1. What you will now do with the House of Commons.
2. What you will do with Ireland, and, particularly with the church of Ireland.
3. What you will do with the church and the Dissenters of England.
4. What you will do with the swarms of pensioners, sinecurists, grantees, retired-allowance people, and dead-weight people.
5. What you will do with regard to the crown lands, and to the army, and, especially, with regard to the punishments in the army.
6. What you will now do with regard to the currency and the debt.

If I could possibly know to a certainty what you will attempt to do as to these several matters, I should be able to calculate, to a great nicety, the length of the duration of your power, taking it for granted that your life would continue to the termination of this grand affair ; and I should also be able pretty accurately to describe how the affair itself would end. Not being able to foresee what you will do, or attempt to do, I cannot venture on this calculation and this description. I must, therefore, proceed hypothetically. I have always been desirous of committing myself, as it is called. I began my memorable letter to TIERNEY, in which I predicted the consequences of your bill, even before the bill was brought in, by saying, that I put my opinions upon record beforehand, because I preferred the danger of being wrong, to the want of claim to the merit of being right. The same sentiment operates with me now : if I be wrong, I wish to be known to have been wrong ; if I be right, I wish to be known to have been right.

In this present letter, I mean to inquire into the nature of your prospects with regard to the present Parliament ; or, to ask you, what you will now do with the new House of Commons. And here, sir, before I proceed into this matter itself, let me beg you to look back to the *real cause* of the Reform Bill. You, and your party, have always seemed to take it for granted, that the reform of the House of Commons *might have been avoided* ; that it proceeded from the ambition, the greediness, the love of power, and of pelf, in the Whigs ; and that it was the Whigs who made the reform of the Parliament, and that deluded the people into an expectation that reform would do them a great deal of good.

This, sir, was a capital error, and it has misled you all the way through. You are very fond of talking of the “*intelligence*” and “*property*” of the

country. With regard to the former, if you mean information and knowledge with regard to civil and political rights, and with regard to the true interests of the kingdom, the great possessors of this intelligence are to be found amongst those who live by their labour; and I verily believe that I could name a hundred weavers and mechanics of the borough of OLDHAM, who possess a greater portion of this knowledge, and who are more capable of a profitable application of it, than any hundred merchants of the city of London; or than any hundred of those who are called country gentlemen, the whole of whom have been too stupid to learn any thing; because too stupid to listen to any thing which militated against their own views, which have either been sordid in the extreme, or the effect of mere animal pride. It was the people, the whole body of the people, that demanded and enforced the adoption of reform; and, if the making of the reform had fallen into the hands of men who thought with the people on the subject, we should now have had a tranquil and most prosperous country, instead of being haunted by the fears of a convulsive revolution, and the fulfilment of all my prophecies, even to their most terrific extent.

Was it the despicable Whigs that produced the parliamentary reform? What! it was they, was it, who caused the thousands of petitions, and the meetings all over the country, after WILLIAM the Fourth came to the throne? It was they who really threw the country into half a convulsion, by meetings and petitions for reform? It was they who made the Duke of WEL-LINGTON *bolt out* that silly speech upon the meeting of the Parliament, on the 26. of October, 1830; it was they who created that indignation against him, which compelled the King, out of humanity to the people of London, to rescind his engagement to dine with his citizens there on the Lord Mayor's day! The Duke is famous for shooting his bolt. He appears to think himself always in a camp. His uncalled-for observation, that "*county meetings were a*

farce," has been flung in the teeth of his son, at meetings of the county, in which lies the estate granted him by Parliament, and which estate was, in my opinion, most unjustly granted. Next came his equally uncalled-for, and most insulting declaration, that a House of Commons, with a majority in it nominated by peers, by rich commoners, and by the Treasury, was the best of all possible *representatives of the people*; and that, if he had to form a House of Commons, he would come as near to it as possible, though he could not expect to form any thing so perfectly good. Next we had his gratuitous support of the Dead Body Bill; and now, at last, we have his voluntary, uncalled-for, support of the Poor-law Bill, and his question to MELBOURNE, whether it was his intention to introduce a *rural police*; and we have your votes for the Poor-law Bill, and your well-known predilection for the Bourbon-like police. Marplots all the way through; and you come to the performance of your great and prodigious task, with all the heavy weight of these undeniable facts against you.

To return to the cause of the Reform Bill, the base Whigs abhorred the thought of real reform as much as the Duke himself did; but the Duke was actually *put down* by the people, after it was declared unsafe for the King to take him into the city; after his carriage had been knocked about in the manner in which it was; when he could no longer walk the streets without being insulted, it was impossible that he could remain minister; and it was impossible that any one should become minister to succeed him, without pledging himself to make a reform in the Parliament; and this was now called for, even by Lord WINCHELSEA, who actually called upon Lord GREY to become minister! Lord GREY had, four years before this, most distinctly recanted all his principles relative to reform. The reform which he did make was very nearly according to the plan proposed by himself in 1796; proposed in his place in Parliament, and negatived there; but, full four years

before he came into power, he declared in the House of Lords, and most distinctly declared, that the opinions relative to reform, which he had held in the warmth of youth, age and experience *had induced him to abandon*. Upon seeing the fate of the Duke, however, he returned, all of a sudden, to the errors of his youth; he pledged himself to parliamentary reform, and thereupon he came into power. The faction gave as little of reform as they possibly could, without enraging the people. That which they did give, they marred, as much as was in their power, by the taxing clauses, by the registry, and by powers given to returning-officers and assistant-barristers, which have already lopped off a tenth part of the electors, and which, you may be quite sure, sir, the people will not, under any circumstances, long submit to. It is perfectly notorious that, had not the people taken the alarm, and come up with their thundering petitions and remonstrances, they would have had a twenty-pound suffrage, instead of a ten-pound suffrage.

So that it was the people themselves who extorted that much of reform which was extorted; and that they have been complaining, ever since the Reform Bill was passed, of the insincerity of the men who brought it forward. This history of the Bill the Tories should always recollect, when they are talking about "*re-action*." Just as if the people were regretting the loss of rotten boroughs? Just as if they wanted OLD SARUM, and GATTON, and the pig-sties of APPLEBY, back again! Just as if they wanted to be insulted and gagged and dungeoned, for another fifty years, and by just the same sort of members of Parliament! Oh, no! This is Tory madness. What the people find fault of is, that the reform yielded them none of the fruits that they expected from it; that they have gained nothing by the reform; that their burdens are as great as ever; and that the laws are made harder and harder towards the industrious classes of the community, finishing with the Poor-law Bill, intended to cause them to live upon a coarser sort of food.

But what sort of a House of Commons will you have now, and how will you get on with it? With regard to the stopping of the supplies, or to the voting of you out of your places, these may be, and I believe are, very stupid expectations; but there are other means to deprive you of your power, or to bring down the proud stomachs of the Duke and yourself. With regard to *me* now. What will my conduct towards you be? I have a very sincere desire to see the country restored to tranquillity, to real and solid prosperity: to see it able to look out into the world again, and not to live in the constant fear of hearing the very name of war pronounced. I, therefore, knowing how injurious it is that the helm of state should be shifting incessantly from hand to hand, wish you so to act as that I, in fulfilment of the wishes of my sensible constituents, may give you one voice amongst the six hundred and fifty-eight. But, then, your measures must be such as to justify me in giving that vote; and if those measures do not include a repeal of the Poor-law Bill, and of the tax upon malt, complete and entire, how am I to justify myself in ever voting for you?

With regard to the first of these measures, I need not here characterise the *Poor-law Bill*; for, if I, after what I have written on the subject; after what I said upon the subject in the House; after my five letters to Lord RADNOR; after the contents of my *Legacy to Labourers*; after having read what your own newspapers, the *Morning Post*, and the *Standard*, and the *Times*, sent forth against this horrible bill; if I, after this, were to support any Minister who would refuse to repeal that bill, I should be every thing which my slanderers have, for thirty years, been saying of me: my very name would deserve to be held in abhorrence; and it ought at once to be engraven on brass, and nailed to the gallows-tree of the county in which I was born. But it may be said, and though I do not agree with you with regard to *this measure*, there may be others, with regard to which you would

be entitled to my support. I have a very different view of this matter. I have only to ascertain, clearly ascertain (and this I will very soon ascertain), that you are for supporting this bill, and pushing it into execution; and, having ascertained that fact, it then becomes my duty to endeavour, with all my might, to deprive you of power; and not, by any means, either directly or indirectly, to do any thing which may by possibility, tend to lengthen the duration of your power.

When you have read my *LEGACY TO LABOURERS*, you will, probably, catch a glance at the ultimate consequences of a perseverance in this bill, which appears to be the last desperate grasp of the landed proprietors, on the property of the proprietors of labour. I shall be told, perhaps, that I have ascribed this bill to a set of Scotch vagabonds, who, according to the notion of *HUDIBRAS*, seek relief from their own miseries, by communicating them to others. Yes, I know, that this scheme for reducing England to the state of Scotland and of Ireland, was hatched in the minds of these servile, mercenary, and greedy vagabonds, bred up under the grinding heritors of their own country, and detested by all the virtuous and kind-hearted part of that country, and which is a very large part, too: I never having witnessed so much compassion for the sufferings of the poor, as I witnessed in the professional men, the merchants, and the higher order of tradesmen in Scotland. I know that I have ascribed the invention of this horrible scheme to these servile and hard-hearted Scotchmen, bred up under the heritors of that country, and disciplined in their hard-heartedness, by the established clergy of that country; I know that I have ascribed the invention of the scheme to these wretches; but I know that it was not these vagabonds who passed the bill; I saw it brought into the House of Commons by a lord possessed of great landed estates; I heard that lord say, that members ought not to listen to feelings in the discussing of a bill; I know that, with very, very few exceptions, it was supported by the

land-owners in the House of Commons; I know that you voted for it; I know that the Duke of WELLINGTON both voted and spoke for it; I know that it came recommended by the report of two bishops, amongst other tag-rag commissioners; and I know that it was finally passed by a majority of ten to one in the House of Lords, though proposed to them by a man who is now, it appears, roving about the continent, after having been ordered to deliver up the seals to Sir HERBERT TAYLOR. Therefore I know that it is the work of the landed aristocracy; and, in discharge of this my bounden duty, I must consider it as an infallible criterion of their feeling towards the industrious classes of England; and I further know, that it is equally my duty to make it the rule of my conduct with regard to that aristocracy.

Though I have always had a very sincere desire that the affair might end, without much injury to that aristocracy; because I dreaded the money monster that might come and supply their place; though this has always been my wish, you do not suppose, I hope, that I have been blind to the conduct of this aristocracy towards the people of England, for three hundred years past; that I have not perceived their monstrous encroachments upon the people; that I have not seen that no establishment, no institution, however dear to the people, has ever stood in their way, when they wanted to come at a share of the property of the kingdom, belonging to the people; and that, when they had that object in view, mercy, honour, and conscience, were always empty sounds: you can scarcely believe, sir, that I have overlooked the triple apostacy by which they obtained and secured the abbey-lands and the great tithes; by which they abrogated the law for relieving the poor and repairing the churches out of the revenues of the church, and turned these into a tax upon the people at large: you cannot believe, that I have forgotten their seizure of the chantries, and the property of the guilds and fraternities; you cannot believe, that I have not per-

ceived how, at the grand rebellion (made by them, and not by the people), they discharged their lands of the revenue due from them to the King, and how they immediately laid an excise upon articles consumed by the people, to raise a revenue to supply the place of that which had been withheld by themselves: you cannot believe, that their conduct at what is called the *Glorious Revolution*, made by the aristocracy, and not by the people, has escaped me, and that I do not know that, unable to get taxes fast enough from the people, they then began to make loans, and to saddle the people with the interest, laying on new taxes upon the people to pay the interest of those loans: it is impossible for you to believe, that I do not know that almost the whole of the enormous pensions, sinecures, grants, retired allowances, and all the prodigious emoluments, have not, and do not, actually come out of those loans: you cannot believe me to be such a fool as not to know, that in proportion as they took away the crown estate, they laid taxes upon the people, to supply the place of the rents of that estate: you can hardly believe that the pretty name of "*QUEEN ANNE'S BOUNTY*" has deceived me; and that I do not know that it consists of those *tenths and first-fruits*, which made a part of the revenue of the crown; and that they were, and are, taken from the crown, and given to augment the "*small livings*"; of which I will give you a specimen: the tithes of *ALDERSHOT*, in Hampshire, yield *seven hundred and fifty pounds a year*; these are paid to the Earl of *GUILDFORD*, as *Master of St. Cross*, who has, besides, the revenues of four parishes in Hampshire; to augment the living of *ALDERSHOT*, fifty pounds a year are given out of "*Queen Anne's Bounty*"; that is to say, out of the taxes; for, you will be pleased to understand that I am not ignorant of the fact, that taxes are paid by the people to make up to the crown for this loss of the *tenths and first-fruits*; which exposes to us, as pretty a trick as ever was played any people upon the face of the earth: and, sir, you know I am not

ignorant of the fact, that, during the time that you were in office before, fifteen hundred thousand pounds were voted by the boroughmonger Parliament, out of the taxes, to "*augment Queen Anne's Bounty*," which was, in fact, so much money voted into the pockets of the aristocracy out of the pockets of the people.

You cannot believe, sir, that I have lived here in England, with eyes in my head, and ears open, for thirty long years (except the two years and a half, when I was in exile to avoid the dungeons of *SIDMOUTH* and *CASTLEREAGH*); you cannot possibly believe that I have lived here all this time without a knowledge of these matters; yet, as they were asleep, and as it was manifestly dangerous to rouse them, I let them lie quietly, looking to the future for tolerable treatment of the people: but, now, when I see a reformed Parliament actually come; and when I see this aristocracy, having grasped the abbey-lands, the great tithes, the parochial relief out of the tithes, the wards and liveries, the crown-estates, the tenths and first-fruits; when, after all this; after having grasped every thing *real*, attempting to sweep away the trifling compensation provided by the Act of *ELIZABETH*, and passing a bill, the inevitable tendency of which 's, to put the wages of labour into the pockets of the aristocracy; and, in order to do that, give instructions to draw up a bill that shall bring the people of England to live upon a *coarser sort of food*; then I say to this long series of encroachments, "*SLEEP NO MORE*"; and sleep they shall not, as long as I have breath in my body, and have senses left in my head. Every resource that I possess, or shall possess, shall be brought into action, for the purpose of making known to the people the nature and extent of these encroachments. I have never proposed an *innovation* of any sort; my war is against innovations; that war I will carry on by every means in my power which I think calculated to give it success; and amongst those means will be all the lawful efforts that I can use to shorten the duration of

your power. It may be said, that you have not declared your intention to keep two thousand-a-year LEWIS, and penny-a-line CHADWICK to work; together with their tribe of underlings. Oh, no! you have not declared your intention to do this; but you have not declared your intention not to do it; and, when you must have known how great an effect that would have had to decide the elections in your favour, we may conclude that you mean to do it; and, to this conclusion we must come, if, along with your silence on the subject, we take into view your own vote on the bill, and the Duke of WELLINGTON's cheerful and bold support of BROUGHAM, when he proposed the second reading of the bill. I have, moreover, been watching your newspapers; and I find that the writers, who wrote so ably against this horrible bill, are now most scrupulously silent upon the subject. Therefore, there can be no doubt: I hardly think it worth while to suspend my operations until the meeting of Parliament: I may do it; but I do not know that I shall.

Upon the subject of the malt-tax, we are, if the following extract from a speech of the Marquis of CHANDOS, at the Buckinghamshire election meeting, be correctly reported, put quite at our ease with regard to your intentions; that is to say, we know what your intentions are.

"During the sixteen years that he had been in Parliament he had done his utmost to serve his country faithfully. At that moment he (Lord Chandos) stood forward the same humble advocate of the farmer he had ever been. It was true that he had received the commands of his Sovereign to enter his council, but on finding that the Prime Minister entertained a different opinion from his own on the subject of the malt-tax, he immediately declined, at the same time stating to the Minister his determination to press the repeal of that tax."

Thus, then, there is one division for you, at any rate. I know that you will have the honour of being joined by Mr.

HUME; the tag-rag of *Doctrinaires*; those stupid wretches, who call it "putting the malt-tax into the pockets of the landlords"; who would get kicked out of a room by my constituents of OLDHAM, if they were to attempt to persuade them that ale at three halfpence a pot is not better for them than the same strength of ale at sixpence a pot. In short, there is nobody in the kingdom, whether in England, Ireland, or Scotland, save and except that bunch of Frenchified fools, who meet at the *Blue Lion*, who does not well know that the malt-tax is prodigiously oppressive; and, at the same time, incredibly injurious to the health and the morals of the millions of this nation. If you be not beaten upon this point, you will owe your escape to the most villanous part of the Whigs, whom you expect, I suppose, to play off in support of this tax, in the same manner that Lord ALTHORP played you off.

But what are your arguments against the repeal. Lord ALTHORP had but one, and you have no other; namely, that "it cannot be spared"; that, if you give it up, you will not have enough money to pay the interest of the debt; or, as the slang goes, to maintain "national faith." Now, in the first place, the four millions and a half, that the malt-tax brings into the Treasury, can be saved by the lopping off of *unmerited* pensions, grants, sinecures, retired allowances, and dead-weight, it being utterly impossible for any christian man to believe, that it is necessary for us to have four hundred and fifty generals, and about three hundred admirals; and that it is necessary for us to have the king of Belgium as a pensioner at sixty thousand pounds a-year. However, laying these monstrous things aside, and coming to the interest of the debt. Upon what ground will you contend, that the working people ought to be called upon to pay any share of this interest? They did not contract the debt, the far greater part of them, even now, are not permitted to vote for those who make laws and loans. If you say that the debt was contracted for the defence of the country generally,

the Poor-law Bill has quite altered the matter, and, in effect, taken from them that share in the country which they had before. Besides, the present generation of people were not born, or were in the cradle, when the debt was contracted. No lawyer ever yet held that children were bound to pay the debts contracted by their fathers, those fathers leaving them nothing to pay with. Oh, no; sir! We have looked into the laws now, and shall look into them further; and before we have done, we shall find, that if you and the aristocracy choose to pay two or three bushels of wheat for one, you must pay them yourselves; and thus, if you do not take care, the matter will end: the Poor-law Bill has put the people on the side of the money-monster; and it will require quite another way of thinking than yours appears to be, to prevent the estates from passing into that monster's hands; for the taxes will not, and cannot, be paid, for any length of time, to the present amount, and in the present currency. If they be not paid to the present amount, the dividends will not be paid to their present amount; and very soon they will not be paid at all; whenever this happens, then comes the terrific question: *Is this mass of persons to starve; or are they to be paid, whatever may be their due, out of the landed estates of those, or the successors of those, who borrowed the money?*

In the discussion of this question we shall derive considerable assistance from your colleague, Mr. ALEXANDER BARING, who, in conjunction with the Oracle RICARDO, insisted, in his place in Parliament, that the fundholders had *a mortgage on the whole country!* Before the Poor-law Bill was passed, I always contended that this was not the case; but I now do not think it worth while to contest that point any longer; and I will contest it no longer. Well, then, sir, every body knows, that there can be no mortgage, except upon REAL PROPERTY. Upon property of a fixed and immovable nature. There can be no mortgage upon a man's tools, stock-in-trade, or household goods: still less, can there be a mortgage on his labour;

which appertains to him as his flesh and his limbs do, and as the breath in his body does. It may be performed, or not, according to the will of the possessor. It is an unsubstantial being. It will create, to be sure; but the arms and the legs must have the consent of the mind, before they can make any thing that can be seen, heard, or touched. There can be no mortgage here; and the mortgagee must, of course, go to the real property; and I do verily believe, though I very much wish the contrary; or, at least, I did very much wish it before the Poor-law Bill was passed; I do verily believe, that you will bring the thing to this pass.

It will be said, now here is this "inconsistent" COBBETT, who, only the other day, was thanking the King, and advising the people of MANCHESTER to thank him, for having turned out the Whigs, now attacking the Tories; so that, in fact, he would leave the King without any servants at all. What! is this inconsistency? I thanked the King; for having driven from his councils and presence the men who had brought in, urged on, and passed the horrible Poor-law Bill, and who had refused to repeal the tax upon malt; and I, as well as the people of MANCHESTER, in their address, expressed a hope that his Majesty, "taught by sad experience, would choose such men "as would act justly, and show mercy "towards his overburdened people." And, when we find that he has not chosen such men; that he has chosen men that will persevere in the Poor-law Bill; that will persevere in keeping on the malt-tax; are we to be accused of inconsistency, because we are expressing our determination to oppose those men? Is it to be taken for granted, that, because we rejoiced at the turning out of one set of servants; because we rejoiced at this, on account of certain bad things which those servants had done; does it follow, that we must hail with approbation another set of servants, who tell us, that they will do just the very things which we complained of in the other set? Having driven off one flock of rooks that were

gobbling up my peas, must I not shoot at another flock, coming from another rookery, about to settle down in my field? This will never do: it is nonsense too staring to have weight with any persons of sense.

It is the undoubted and absolute right of the King to choose his own servants; and it would be a base act in the Parliament to do any thing that would bear the construction of a disposition to diminish that right, or to impair its absolute quality. Therefore, to any measure, be it what it might; to any motion, made by any body, for the evident and sole purpose of displacing the Ministers, without cause assigned, and without that cause being their opposition to some good act, or their support of some bad act; to any such motion I should object. But, if the motion were grounded on some measure of theirs, or on some refusal to adopt a measure, then I should agree or not, according to my opinion of the measure. It is for the King to choose Ministers; it is for the members of the House of Commons to take care that those Ministers do not do the people harm; and, if they attempt to do them harm, it is the duty of the House to take away their power. This is not interfering with the King in the exercise of his prerogative. It is said, that if the House were to stop you, it would be *forcing back upon the King* men whom he has so indignantly dismissed, and to whom he has so much dislike. What has the House of Commons to do with this matter? What business have they with the likings and dislikings of the King? They are intrusted with their power by the people. The King has a nation of twenty millions of people from amongst whom to choose nine or ten servants; and if, unhappily, from whatever cause, he choose servants that the representatives of the people think improper to be entrusted with power, he must be unreasonable indeed to be offended with his people, because they, in a manner in no wise offensive to him, decline to repose confidence in the servants that he has chosen. The King, in his proclamation,

according to the ancient and good-natured form of that document, has told his people that he wishes to meet them in Parliament. There he will meet them; and if he have chosen servants whom the people do not think proper to entrust with power, his Majesty will choose again, of course, being satisfied that his people can have no interest separate from his.

He may think, however, that the people may have been under wrong impressions when they chose this Parliament: if he do think that, he has a right to dissolve the Parliament again, and to appeal to their cooler judgment. He has a perfect right to do this: it would be no act of tyranny; and no sign of the King's entertaining a hostile feeling towards the rights and liberties of the people; and, for my own part, I should be ready to defend the act. The expense, unless in cases of corruption, would be nothing at all; a thing not to be thought of for a moment; and as to the agitation, it is always a good rather than an evil, especially while the suffrage is so limited as it now is; and it should be recollected, that rebellions never take place as long as men have hope; and that nothing keeps hope alive so perfectly as frequently-occurring elections.

However, sir, I do not think that you will be driven to this extremity; the thorough, sincere, deeply-rooted, hatred of the Whigs will be always working in your favour. Their support of you, which you will have in every bad measure, if you propose any, will be your greatest misfortune: to have it said of you, that you are "*as bad as the Whigs*," will be worse than any other accusation that can be framed against you. All their vile deeds; all their stupid inventions you will have to answer for; and, after a badgering and a baiting, which will almost make you wish, that my resolution against you had been agreed to by the House, you will gladly get out of your office, and pray to God, that you may never be heard of again.

That you may not merit that hateful accusation of being "*as bad as the*

Whigs," common mercy commands me to wish ; and in that wish

I remain, Sir,
Your most obedient

And most humble servant,

WM. COBBETT.

RATHCORMAC MURDERS.

I HAVE received the following circular from Mr. WILLIAM O'CONNELL; when I have inserted it, I have a word or two to say about it.

"The undernamed gentlemen having formed themselves into a committee to collect funds for the relief of the widows, orphans, and destitute families of the poor men who lost, without any *moral* guilt on their parts, their lives on the 18. *December*, 1834, at Gortroe; and to procure the necessary comforts for those lying dangerously wounded in hospital, appeal to your humanity for aid towards those charitable purposes. The committee think it *unnecessary to give any imaginative colouring* to the melancholy details of the frightful sacrifice of human life that took place on that day. Let the facts speak for themselves. Nine men were hurried into eternity, some having large families in a state of utter destitution, and others nearly so. Nine more were desperately wounded, two or three of whom are still in a very precarious state; whose deaths will entail similar wretchedness on the creatures that look to them for support. *They abstain from making any remarks on the political incidents* that led to this lamentable transaction. Whatever *opinions individuals may entertain* on them, every one whose heart warms with sympathy for the widowed parent, and still agonizing sufferer, must admit, that the case is now one which calls for an *exercise of charity*. It is solely on the broad principles of *fraternal love and universal benevolence*, that the committee rest their claims to your kind assistance on this

occasion; and beg not alone to request your own subscription, but to solicit your zealous co-operation.

"Signed by order,

"JUSTIN MCCARTHY, Secretary.

"The following gentlemen compose the committee:

"EDWARD ROCHE, Esq.

"GERARD BARRY, Esq.

"REV. C. O'DONOVAN, P.P.

"W. O'CONNELL, Esq., Treasurer
(Rathcormac).

"REV. JUSTIN MCCARTHY, R.C.C.,
"Secretary."

RETURN OF THE KILLED AND WOUNDED AT GORTROE.

NAMES OF THE KILLED.

1. Richard Ryan; leaving a widowed mother and large family.
2. William Twomey; leaving a widow and four young orphans very poor.
3. John Collins;
4. Michael Collins; sons being the only means of the support of a widowed mother.
5. Michael Barry; the sole support of a father aged 86 and helpless.
6. Michael Lane; small farmer, with a distressed family.
7. Patt. Curtin; leaving a widowed mother, and a brother now lying severely wounded in hospital.
8. William Cashman; an only son, small farmer, leaving a mother and five sisters to deplore his loss.
9. John Daly; leaving a widowed mother and five orphans, he being their only support.

WOUNDED IN HOSPITAL.

1. Andrew Shennick; son to a small farmer; if he recover, must be disabled for life; it is impossible he can recover the use of his arm, the ball fractured the elbow-joint and passed through the fore-arm.
2. William Ambrose; a miserable labourer; wife, and six children, one prematurely born since the occurrence; ball wounded the spine, and he is now lying paralysed in hos-

- pital; if he should survive, he must be a miserable creature for life.
3. John Curtin; wounded in the back; brother to No. 7 killed.
 4. Daniel Daly; wounded in the neck, one arm paralysed, small farmer.
 5. Michael Ryan; journeyman smith; ball entered the groin; convalescent.
 6. Daniel Keefe; poor labourer; wounded in the thigh; cannot do any thing for his family for some time.
 7. Manl. Cotter; small farmer; ball fractured the collar-bone; passed down, and not extracted; must be a long time helpless.
 8. John Ivis; comfortable farmer; wounded in the shoulder, severely; convalescent.

Note.—Many more slightly wounded. Out of sixty-seven shots fired, thirty-five balls hit their marks, and can be accounted for.

Now I will neither give any thing myself, nor ask others to give any thing towards this charitable fund. I despise the paper which is at the head of this killed and wounded. The whole tenor of this paper shrinks from imputing any fault to the killers, though a jury has found some of them guilty of wilful murder! By observing that the murdered parties were without "*moral*" guilt, these gentlemen clearly admit their *legal* guilt. "*OPINIONS*"! What, then, do they tell us that there are different opinions about the incidents which led to this transaction? What, are we to view the sufferers in the same light as we should men who are killed by the falling of a house! And am I to make the appeal to my readers, "*solely on the broad principles of fraternal love and universal benevolence*"! Why, thirteen zealous and generous working men of OLDHAM lost their lives in an endeavour to prevent the destruction, by fire, of a cotton-mill in that town, and the working people of the town, and their masters, subscribed 696l. 16s. 5d. to relieve the widows and

children of these unfortunate persons, and to make an allowance of two shillings a week for each child till it should be ten years of age. By the by, let the infamous wretches who abuse the working people of England, look at the conduct of those of OLDHAM in this case. These thirteen men received death in endeavours to save the property of their masters. Their wives and children had a claim upon the charity of every good person in the world. Here, however, we are left to understand that there was legal guilt in the suffering parties, and that there are different opinions, either of which opinions may be right, as to the propriety of powder and ball being used in the collection of tithes. Now, with men who talk thus of such a matter I will have nothing to do. I will never give my countenance to a proposition that these killed parties might be legally guilty; that the powder and ball *may have been* legally and properly employed, and that the sufferings of the widows and children present us nothing but merely a case, calling upon us to act "*on the broad principles of fraternal love and universal benevolence*"; and all this without one single word about Archdeacon RYDER; without even naming him, or naming one of the magistrates, or making use of the words *bullet or powder*. Oh, no! this would be subscribing money to spare the purses of the savage Irish landlords. If it be nothing but a mere ordinary accident, for which nobody is to blame, the land ought to be assessed to take care of the suffering people; and if the Irish will not cause the land to be assessed for that purpose, they have no right whatever to appeal to the English in such a case. I defy this committee to feel more deeply than I feel for the wrongs of these people; but I will do nothing that shall seem to say, that I look upon the affair to be what it is described in this paper; and, therefore, I refuse their application in the most unqualified manner.

WM. COBBETT.

ASSASSINATION.

THE last shot in the locker of hypocritical old WILBERFORCE, king of the kingdom of cracked-skulls, was to accuse people, and me in particular, of recommending assassination. To be sure, he lied, as he always did; and how such a fellow could live so long, and keep lying all the time, is astonishing. His lying with me, however, was of no use: I met the old ruffian foot to foot; ran my fist up in his face, and justified that which I recommended.

A villanous newspaper of DUBLIN has *really* recommended assassination; the assassination of Mr. O'CONNELL. This paper is called the *Warder*; and the following is the passage to which I beg the reader's attention:

" 'O LORD GOD, to whom vengeance
" 'belongeth: thou God, to whom ven-
" 'geance belongeth, show thyself.'—
" Psalm xciv.

" Well may the Protestants of Ire-
" land; indeed, well may the loyal and
" peaceable of all creeds, call upon the
" Almighty to show himself, and stay
" the course of those of whom the
" Psalmist, in another place, says,
" 'Who imagine mischief in their
" ' hearts, and stir up strife all the day
" ' long.' It would seem as if David
" were prophetic of the pre-eminently
" wicked and blood-stained disturbers
" of our day, O'Connell and his vile ad-
" herents. How long, merciful God!
" are we to endure this man? And, if
" thy thunders sleep, is there no other
" agency of thy justice? Is the blood,
" which he daily and hourly causes to
" be shed, to cry in vain to Heaven?
" His demon excitements are spreading
" death to the innocent in every direc-
" tion: yet he, the guiltiest miscreant
" in a country which he has steeped in
" red-blood guilt; he lives, protected
" by the laws which he is continually
" bringing into contempt; protected by
" the Christian feelings at which he
" laughs, and the Gospel restraints of
" those natural passions which his
" crimes are daily provoking to retali-
" ation." * * *

Again,

" The monster, the Polyphemus of
" Popish agitation, walks in the security
" with which a Christian morality in-
" vests him! How long is this to be
" endured? How long is our wretched
" country to groan beneath his factious
" and murderous inflictions? When
" Brutus's dagger pierced Cæsar in the
" Senate, Brutus became the god of
" Rome, for Rome had not the Gospel.
" When Charlotte Corday struck down
" the monster Marat, she became the
" victim of the power which fell not
" with him; all France admired her
" heroism, and deified her name, be-
" cause France was unchristian, and ac-
" knowledged the polytheism of the
" passions * * *
" Yet O'Connell, who has demoralized
" all of his countrymen that have yielded
" to his influence; this Irish Marat is
" shielded by the Gospel Christianity of
" the Protestants, whose blood he is at
" second-hand and evasively shedding.
" * * *

" Merciful Heaven! how long is this
" to be endured? 'O Lord God, to
" whom vengeance belongeth; thou
" God, to whom vengeance belongeth,
" show thyself!'"

Here is as clear a recommendation
for the assassination or murder of Mr.
O'CONNELL, as ever was given for any
one thing in this whole world. The
villanous London *Courier*, when it was
owned by STEWART, the tailor's trotter,
whom old Eldon made a magistrate,
and whom some wise and decent per-
sons recommended to the King as sheriff
for the county of OXFORD, gave a si-
milar recommendation with regard to
me, in 1817, which recommendation
was backed by that miserable reptile,
WILLIAM GIFFORD. When urged to
prosecute the villain, I said "No; the
" wretch can find nobody but himself or
" his like to attempt it; and if I be
" liable to be put to death by such des-
" picable wretches, my life is not worth
" preserving." If Mr. O'CONNELL were
to prosecute this base dog, a judge and
jury would deserve to be hanged that
would not find him guilty.

But that which is said by a desperate

rascal like this, is nothing compared to the defence of it by the *Standard*.

"The *Warder* is as little capable of advising assassination, as we are of adopting such advice. It is because our excellent Irish contemporary feels that it is addressing Christians, that it allows itself a liberty of describing how men, not Christians, would act by one who owes his safety, from wild justice, only to the influence of that religion of which he is the bitter and implacable enemy. In the article of the *Warder* there is no suggestion of assassination, either direct or indirect; but even had there been such a suggestion, the *Warder* would not have been without honoured authority."

Oh, God! "no suggestion of assassination"! But, let us clearly understand what assassination means in its criminal sense. The *Standard* says, that if this villainous Irish newspaper had recommended assassination, the recommendation would not have been without "*honoured authority*." I suppose the recommendation to kill CROMWELL; the killing of OGG by EHUD; the killing of the she-tyrant, ATHALIAH; the killing of SISERA by the wife of HANNAH; and, above all the rest, the killing of the Egyptian taskmaster by MOSES, who afterwards became the servant of the Lord, and the guide and law-giver of his people. But here is the great distinction: in all these cases there was a *tyrant* to dispatch; a tyrant whom the suffering party could not reach by any law. A tyrant is at open war with every individual in the community; and, according to the laws of war, we must combat him; and destroy him, if you can, by force or by stratagem.

When THISTLEWOOD, BAUNT, INGS, and TIDD, were called upon for their defence; THISTLEWOOD, who could not be content to be a patriot, without being an atheist at the same time, talked some pretty round nonsense: but BAUNT, who was a shoemaker, made a defence that would have done honour to the first of lawyers. "My Lords," said he, "we are not traitors; for we entertained no design and no thought,

"either to do injury to the person of the King, or to resist his Government by force. We are not assassins, for we aimed not at the lives of men amenable to the laws. They had passed laws to put us in dungeons, and then they had passed other laws to bear them harmless for even exceeding those laws: it was a band of tyrants that we sought to destroy, and you know, my Lords, that we had a perfect right to do that. The attempt will cost us our lives; but we shall live honoured in the memories of our countrymen; and my last prayer to God will be, that he may be pleased to make our deaths conducive to their deliverance from the tyranny which we wished to abate."

But how dares the DUBLIN ruffian make out, that Mr. O'CONNELL is a tyrant? Is he above the law? Is he not amenable to the ordinary course of justice? Is he so situated, that there is no coming at him, except by committing sudden murder upon him? No: there are none of these grounds to justify the thought of killing him; therefore, the man that recommends it is a malignant and cowardly murderer in his heart. And we have to remember, that this cowardly murderer is suffered to escape all punishment by the Attorney-general of Ireland.

NEGRO WORK.

It was only the other day that Mr. STANLEY was boasting, at his election in North Lancashire, that he had been the chief instrument in accomplishing the twenty-million job; though FOWELL BUXTON will always dispute the honour with him. I always said that the job would destroy the colonies, about which I should not have cared so much, if it had not cost us twenty millions. By the following resolutions of the legislative Assembly of JAMAICA, it will be seen that the destruction is likely to be pretty complete. However, it will tend to bring down this system; and, therefore, I am very far from regarding it as an evil.

"The following resolutions which, together with others on the same subject, were passed by the Jamaica House of Assembly on the 7th of November last :—

"1st. That this House, in all their proceedings, have evinced the most anxious desire to co-operate by every means in their power with the Executive and the other branch of the Legislature, in any measure which seemed calculated to carry the provisions of the Abolition Act into execution, and with this view the House have, during the present session, passed two bills, the effect of which, if either of them had become a law, this House confidently assert would have been to promote the industry of the manumitted slaves, to carry the provisions of the Abolition Act into execution, and to preserve the peace and tranquillity of this island.

"2. That inasmuch as it appears by the answer of his Excellency to the joint address of the Council and Assembly, that some of the local magistrates of this island had already 'been appointed by him to the special commission,' this House cannot but express their astonishment and grief that his Excellency should have thought proper to state, 'that it was impossible for him, consistently with the tenor of all his communications with the Colonial-office, to assent to the prayer of the united address of the Council and Assembly, requesting him to invest with special commissions such a number of the local magistrates in each parish as he might deem sufficient to carry the provisions of the Abolition Act into effect, and to enforce due order and subordination among all classes of his Majesty's subjects in this island.'

"3. That the communications or instructions emanating from, and expressly alluded to by, his Excellency, as those of the Colonial-office, are in direct opposition to the Abolition Act, and calculated to neutralize all the endeavours on the part of the Colonial Legislature to carry its provisions into effect.

"4. that this House can never recognise the unconstitutional principle that any law which has received the sanction of his Majesty can be suspended, abrogated, or annulled by any communications between the Colonial-office and the Executive in this island.

"5. That whatever may be the nature of the communications received from the Colonial-office, this House think that his Excellency might have considered himself fully justified in yielding to the pressure of circumstances and to the wishes of both branches of the Legislature, and thereby have incurred a responsibility with the Government at home less awful than that which now rests upon him.

"6. That this House and the proprietary of the island, actuated by self-preservation, have given, and are giving, their most anxious and zealous co-operation to promote, if it be possible, the success of a measure in which every thing dear to them is involved—their homes, their families, their property, their existence.

"7. That under these circumstances this House cast upon his Majesty's Government the responsibility of answering for the consequences which may result from a measure in which the peace and prosperity of the island are so deeply involved."

WAR BY AMERICA AGAINST FRANCE.

Now we shall see how real republicans will knock about these despicable subjects of a citizen king! Oh! how I should like to see the raving and stamping and foaming, and to hear the gabblings of the conceited devils, when they get the news of their ships being sunk, or their islands taken. I suppose that they will give in, with some despicable lie about having been deceived. If they do not, JONATHAN will pommel them half to death, and make them pay their debt afterwards; and will thus carry another million of the solid across the Atlantic. Nothing can be more in-

famously unjust than their refusal to pay; and the President, who knows their character, having tried words long enough, is now proceeding to blows; the only species of reasoning, which they can be made to understand.

BIRMINGHAM ELECTION.

HERE are two sound men, and a sensible and powerful people. Their election of Messrs. ATTWOOD and SCHOLEFIELD, and the manner of it, are the greatest honour to the people of BIRMINGHAM. The proceedings relating to the election are very long; but they are of very great importance; and, therefore, I shall insert as much of them as I can; and I beg my readers to pay great attention to them, it being utterly impossible that the principles which they inculcate should not now be brought into action.

On Wednesday week the nomination for this borough took place at the Town-hall, and a more truly astounding exhibition of public feeling on any similar occasion, perhaps, never was witnessed.

Thomas Attwood, Esq., was nominated by Mr. Benjamin Hadley, and seconded by Mr. Geo. Edmonds.

Joshua Scholefield, Esq., was nominated by Mr. W. Phipson, and seconded by Mr. Muntz.

Richard Spooner, Esq., was nominated by Mr. J. Taylor, and seconded by Mr. John Simcox.

Mr. ATTWOOD now presented himself, and was received with such an expression of public approbation as we scarcely ever before witnessed.—My friends, I thank you from the bottom of my heart for this generous testimony of your confidence and esteem. I have been so accustomed to such testimonies from your kindness and generosity, that I am not surprised. I know also, that in the honourable trust which you have reposed in me I have done my duty faithfully and honestly, regardless of insults, fearless of injuries, and hopeless of rewards.

(Cheers, and cries of, You have). A worthy friend of mine recommended me the other day to resign (laughter), assuring me, with the wisdom which old age generally acquires, that I had no chance of success. (Renewed laughter). I cordially thanked him, but I knew my own conduct, and I knew your hearts and heads (cheers) and those of the people of England, and I declare to you, my friends that, so far from shrinking from offering myself here, I should not have shrunk from offering myself to any town in England, where the electors were free and independent in the use of their votes. I went to Parliament devoted to Lord Grey. I looked at his unsullied character with something approaching to reverence, and I fondly flattered myself that I should live to see him descend into the grave covered with honours, and with the blessings of his country, and leaving the greatest name in English history behind him. Grievously and bitterly was I disappointed. Two years ago, when I heard the King's Speech recommending the Coercion Bill for Ireland, I saw the downfall of Lord Grey. (Cheers). I saw that he had fallen into the toils of the Court and the House of Lords, and that his mind was not equal to the great destinies before him. The first time I opened my mouth in Parliament I warned the Ministers of the fatal rock upon which they were splitting. I told them that they knew full well that the whole of the aristocracy was against them; that nine-tenths of the gentry were against them; that nine-tenths of the magistracy were against them; that the whole of the clergy, and nearly the whole of the liberal professions were against them. I told them they had no strength whatever but in the affections and confidence of the people (cheers); that the love of the people was the "lock of hair" which constituted the principle of their strength, and that very "lock of hair" they were themselves madly cutting off. Unhappily, my warnings were in vain. Controlled by the Court and the House of Lords, the Whig Ministers made a sacrifice of the people, and thus alone

they have fallen. (Cries of Yes, yes). Lord Grey had once taken occasion to say he would "stand by his order." I thought that expression was uncalled for, and unbecoming his great and estimable character. He knew that his order was created for the people, and that it existed only for the interest and by the will of the people. (Cheers). Now, I also, my friends will stand by my order (great cheering), and I will say, in the language of Mr. Whittle Harvey, that "if it be necessary, I will die by my order." (Renewed cheering). My friends, you have heard many suspicions insinuated respecting me and my political conduct. Because I have censured the Whigs, you have been told that I am partial to the Tories; God forbid! I was the first man to petition to turn out the Duke of Wellington and the Tories in 1830. I voted with Mr. Cobbett and Mr. Fielden to turn out Sir Robert Peel from the Privy Council, when no other man in the House had the courage to do so. (Applause). I have often called Sir Robert Peel, "the scourge of God," a name which the ferocious barbarian Attila assumed when he devastated Europe; and in my conscience I believe that Sir Robert Peel, unhappily connected as he is with the bill that bears his name, has caused more positive misery, more ruin, more discord, poverty, and discontent in England, than ever was caused by any other human being in any country on the earth before. I have repeatedly accused the Duke of Wellington of meanly truckling to Russia. How, then, can I possibly have any sympathies or common feelings with men like these? (Cheers). I shall most certainly oppose them by every honest and constitutional means, but I shall give them no factious or dishonest opposition. If good can possibly come from their hands, which I do not believe, I shall willingly receive it. If they shall repeal the malt-tax, and the corn laws, and the atrocious Poor-law Bill, I shall most cordially assist them in such efforts. (Cheers). I shall receive all the good I can possibly draw from them in behalf of the people; and then, if the Ethiopian shall

not have changed his skin, I should willingly cast them away, as you do a sucked orange. (Laughter). You have been told that I am hostile to the church. I was brought up in the bosom of the church, and she has but few more sincere friends than myself; but, as a true son of the church, I would show my friendship not by cloaking her diseases and her dangers, but by remedying the one and guarding against the other. I would cut out, with a fearless hand, the mortal cancers that are digging to her heart, in order to renew and repair her health and vigour, and give back to her the admirable beauty and efficiency which her original founders had imparted. It may be said, that my honourable colleague and myself have not done much in Parliament, but I can assure you that we have done a great deal. Surrounded by a small but patriotic band, by the unflinching opposition which we gave to tyranny and oppression, we prevented many tyrannical bills from being brought forward, and we contrived to draw the sting, in a great degree, out of those which have passed into a law. Take the Irish Coercion Bill, for instance; when that measure was first brought forward, it was literally terrible in the frightfulness of its tyranny. (Hear, hear). We contrived to cut out one-half of it, and it was passed. In the last session it was brought forward again, and reduced another half, or to a quarter of its original character. My friends, we cut another half from this quarter; so that the bill which is now law in Ireland amounts to about one-eighth of what it was two years ago. The Poor-law Bill, and several other atrocious measures, were treated in the same way. (Loud cheers). It is true we did not do all we wished, nor the twentieth part of it. We were got into strange company, amongst six hundred and fifty gentlemen and noblemen, who however estimable in their private characters, knew but very little of the difficulties and sufferings of the people, and felt but little sympathy with them. Lords and lawyers, and great country squires, generals and admirals, place-

men and pensioners, possessors and seekers of power, office, and pension, these constitute the House of Commons, and most efficiently represent the interests to which they belong; but they do not represent the interests of the people. They know nothing, or care little, respecting the wants of industry. I verily believe there are scarcely a dozen men in that House who are materially interested in the prosperity of productive industry. (Cheers). All are interested in the capital, few in the industry of the country. A few of them, it is true, may be yet concerned in trade, but in almost all such cases they have ten times the interest in capital than they had in industry. These were difficult and impracticable materials to deal with. To represent to them the wrongs of industry, and the necessity of insuring fair profits to trade, and full employment and just wages to labour, was very much like going round the House and throwing salt in the members' eyes. (Laughter and cheers). Such representations were always received with visible dislike, because the parties present had no knowledge of, or felt but little sympathy with, the wrongs and sufferings of the productive classes. Mr. Cobbett's powerful intellect and vast knowledge will be questioned by no man, and yet he tells his constituents at Oldham that he and his excellent colleague, Mr. Fielden, were like "two robins" in the House of Commons; and most certainly I must acknowledge for my honourable colleague and myself, that if we were not quite like robins, we were certainly not like "eagles in a dove-cote." However, my friends, we did all in our power for your interest, and that of your country. (Cheers, and cries of We well know you did). It is proper I should explain to you one *mauvaise* which they practised upon us. I had given notice for two months of a motion of immense importance, involving a question which has produced the present reform, and which will most certainly produce the revolution which is now rapidly approaching. The lords

and lawyers did not like that this question should be laid bare before the public eye; they knew what my facts and arguments would be, and they knew full well that neither the wisdom nor the wit of man could answer them. They, therefore, determined that they should not be heard, and accordingly gave about a dozen dinner-parties on the day in question, in order to give their friends an excuse for withdrawing from the House. The House was pretty full during the celebrated squabble between Littleton and O'Connell, but within five minutes afterwards, the "whippers-in," or rather the "whippers-out" of the Ministers, had literally drawn away nearly the whole of the Members: and the House and myself were counted out, and thus the question was got rid of for the session. (Shame). Now you must not think this was done from any personal disrespect to me. The very same trick had been played upon the introduction of the very same question by Mr. Western, a liberal Whig, in the year 1822; by Mr. Davenport, a liberal Whig, in the year 1827; and by Sir Richard Vivian, a thorough Tory, in the year 1829. The lords and lawyers would never suffer this great question to be exposed and laid bare, either by Whig, or Tory, or Radical. Now I will just mention to you one out of the many undeniable facts which I was going to expose to the House and the country. In what is called the national debt, but which I call the Government debt, there are about 600 millions of 3 per cent. Consols; the whole of this was borrowed at and under 60, which gives 360 millions sterling as the sum which the Government really received; and the whole of this sum was borrowed in paper money, which, estimated in manufactured goods, or labour, or wheat, was not worth more than one-half of the value of the present money. (Hear, hear). Therefore, the Government only received, in reality, one hundred and eighty millions for the six hundred millions of Consols. The price of 3 per cent. Consols now is 92,—600 millions at 92 gives 552 millions sterling, as the sum estimated in heavy sovereigns,

which the holders of Consols are at this moment drawing from the country, in payment for 180 millions of heavy sovereigns advanced to the Government. Here is a profit of just 37½ millions sterling of heavy sovereigns, which the owners of Consols are drawing from the country, amounting to the enormous sum of 3700 tons of standard gold. (Cheers and cries of Shame). This, my friends, was what the lords and lawyers wanted to conceal. I had half a dozen facts of similar magnitude which I had intended to expose, but I will not recapitulate them to you on the present occasion. I will content myself by simply remarking, that in my decided opinion, the "bees" of the social system, the industrious classes generally, are not fairly represented in Parliament. The tax-spenders are well-represented indeed, but the taxpayers have scarcely any representative at all; and unless a further and more efficient reform is effected in the administration of affairs, I do in my conscience believe that nothing can prevent a terrible revolution in England. (Loud cheering for some time). In Sweden they have a House of Commons, and a real House of Commons, in which no man can sit who does not labour with his own hands. The Swedes are happy. We hear of no emigration from Sweden. I would perhaps not recommend altogether a similar House for England, but I am quite sure that the rights of industry are the most important of all the rights which a nation can possess, and that those rights are not properly represented in England. (Cheers). Take for instance one example. Suppose the different productions to amount to 20 millions per annum, of which 10 millions are taken by the law in payment of rents, debts, and taxes, fixed and guaranteed by law; the other 10 millions remains to divide annually between masters and men, between the productive classes. The masters get fair profits, the men fair wages, and all are content: but by some hocus-pocus measure, such as is now effected and concealed by our Parliament, the annual prices of the productions of the country, are reduced

from 20 millions to 10 millions, while the fixed legal charges are not reduced at all. The lawyers come for their 10 millions still, and sweep all from the poor bees, and thus, both masters and men are left like fishes in the pond, floundering in the mud when the waters are drawn off. (Cheers). The master complains of his men's wages, the men complain of their masters' profits, whilst both are secretly and cunningly twisted into the lawyers' hands. Now, if the bees had been properly represented in Parliament, can it be doubted that they would have taken care to secure a better proportion of the honey for their own use? This is the system which must be changed. The rights of industry must be secured, or all other rights are but of little importance. Nothing can long prevent the downfall of a nation in which the rights of industry are sacrificed to the aggrandisement of capital. (Loud cheers). Talk to me of liberty, indeed! Liberty is a mockery if it does not give to the honest labourer the right of living comfortably and independently by the fruits of his labour. (Renewed cheering). This great right is at present disregarded; but it cannot be disregarded much longer. The industrious classes are now thoroughly discontented; their eyes are opened to the wrongs and injuries which have been inflicted upon them, and it needs no prophet to foretell, that unless justice is done them they will shortly take their own affairs into their own hands. (Cheers). Now, it is of no use for our political opponents to blame the Political Union for this state of things. It is the misconduct of the Government which has produced it, and nothing else. If the Political Union had been formed seven years earlier, what a world of calamities would it not have prevented to our country! How many thousand broken hearts would have been avoided, and how many hundreds of thousands of virtuous families would have been saved from ruin. Many persons fear that we shall have a civil war. We shall have anarchy enough, God knows; but I apprehend not a civil war. The lords and lawyers would be

right willing to get up such a thing if they could, but they have paralysed their own arm. They have ruined one-half of their tenantry, and half-ruined the other half. When, therefore, they draw the sword, and appeal to their tenants, the sword will instantly drop from their hands. What! will the tenants fight for their own ruin? And will their labourers fight for degradation and slavery, and for potatoes and salt, and the Poor-law Amendment Bill? Oh no, my friends! The tenants and their labourers are now all with us; in fact, all the industrious classes are now united in one general determination to have justice done between them and their oppressors. The lords will, no doubt, submit to this general determination on the part of the people; but if they should not; if they should attempt to introduce military despotism, or to govern the country by illegal and unconstitutional means; the people of England will present the grandest and most magnificent spectacle that ever was witnessed on the face of the earth before. (Loud and continued cheering). The lords will be swept, as it were, in a whirlwind before the breath of the fury of the people. (Tremendous cheering). I must now say a few words respecting our local affairs. The old publicans, I am told, are some of them displeased that Mr. Scholefield and myself opposed the late alterations attempted in the new Beer-law Bill. Those alterations were arbitrary and tyrannical interferences with the rights and liberties of the lower classes of the people. They were brought forward by the Tories, and fostered by the late Ministers. They threw a complicated net of cobweb laws round the footsteps of the working classes, which it was not possible for them to avoid breaking, and which they were justified in breaking. In this way the people of England would have been seduced and forced to become criminals; and the laws, already sufficiently odious in their eyes, would become much more odious than before. One of these cobweb laws rendered it illegal for a working man to drink his own beer, held in his own hands, and

purchased with his own money. The landlord of a beer-shop was required to tear the cup from his lips, and getting knocked down, as he most certainly and deservedly would be, the constables were then to be called in to settle the dispute; and thus, in thousands of villages, an excuse was to be made for introducing the Bourbon-police amongst us. This was my reason for voting and speaking against the bill; and I should most certainly do so again, whether I please or displease all or any of my constituents. No man can be more sensible than I am of the wrongs and injuries inflicted on the licensed victuallers when the New Beer Bill was first passed seven years ago, but that is no reason why we should now inflict similar wrongs and injustice upon the new publicans, and still less is it any reason that we should sacrifice the rights and liberties of the people. A good deal has been said about influence and intimidation being used in obtaining votes at this election. Now I reject all votes so obtained on my account. (Cheers). I request no person will vote for me unless he conscientiously believes that I am a proper person to represent the town in Parliament; but then, my friends, I have a right to demand the same justice from the other party. (Hear, hear). My Tory friends on my right hand are, I dare say, at work in their old way. Nine-tenths of the votes which their party possesses throughout the country are bought by corruption, bribery, influence, and intimidation. Their voters come to the poll like sheep driven into a slaughter-house. "I have a right to do what I like with my own," said the Duke of Newcastle. Most certainly he has, but he has no right to do what he will with his neighbour's own. (Cheers). He has no right to oppress and injure an honest man for the honest discharge of his duty. If men are to act upon the Duke of Newcastle's principle, society must be divided into hostile and warring factions. The poor must defend themselves by the same weapons as the rich, and I beg you to understand that they have the same right to do so. (Cheers). The Duke of

Newcastle has no better right to withdraw his custom from a shopkeeper, or his farm from a tenant who votes against his landlord's will, than the honest workmen have, in their masses and combinations, to withdraw their custom and their labour from the shopkeepers and manufacturers who displease them. The principle in each case is ungenerous and unjust, but it is exactly the same. (Cheers). The poor man has the same right to expend his 1s. with a political stipulation attached to it, as the rich man has to do so with his 1000*l*. For oppressions and intimidations of this kind, the ballot is our remedy. But they cunningly tell us that the ballot is un-English. No, my friends; it is un-English for a man to sell his country for gold. It is un-English for an honest tenant or shopkeeper to be insulted by a proud and insolent tool of aristocracy, requiring his vote against his conscience, in exchange for his interest and advantage. With the very same justice might the aristocrats require the possession of his wife or his daughter. The very proposition is a gross insult. We must have vote by ballot, triennial Parliaments, and household suffrage, which, as I have often told you before, are our just and constitutional rights. (Cheers). You must remember, my friends, the elective franchise is a trust which you hold for the non-electors, and for your country. When you first elected me, I told you I would resign if you brought me a requisition signed by a majority of the electors, or if you brought me, at any time, a requisition requesting me to resign, adopted deliberately at a general meeting of the inhabitants of Birmingham. I will never consent to hold a situation in Parliament against the will of the majority of the electors, or against the wishes of a majority of the inhabitants of Birmingham. (Great cheering). This brings me to a point which I ought to introduce in the presence of my friend, the Tory candidate, on my right hand. If I were in his situation, I would not outrage the feelings of 150,000 of my friends and neighbours around me. (Cheers). It cannot

be doubted that Mr. Scholefield and myself are supported by at least ninety-nine out of every one hundred of the inhabitants of Birmingham. (Cheers and cries of That you are). Now I put it to my worthy friend to consider for a moment whether he exhibits his usual good taste or good sense in coming forward in direct outrage of the feelings of such an immense majority of his friends and neighbours. (Cheers). I cannot but suspect that he has got some Tory manoeuvre in view. He probably thinks that he has now a good opportunity of exposing the utter weakness of the party which supports him. (Cheers). He must see in this meeting what a comparative bubble that party is floating on the great ocean of public opinion. Having accomplished this useful object, I now recommend him to resign, and then he will have done a real favour to the town. I would not utter a word to hurt the feelings of the gentlemen around him, most of whom I know in their different professions and occupations, to be highly honourable and upright men. I know them to be able and estimable as lawyers and tradesmen; but as politicians I would not give a rush for all the intellect in their heads. (Loud cheering). My friends, I will now trouble you no more, I will only urge upon you the necessity of observing prudence, forbearance, and conciliation, in all your conduct. You have nothing to fear for the success of your cause, but the great character which this town has acquired by the wisdom and justice of its proceedings, and the great influence which that character has given it throughout the country would be materially compromised if any of you should misconduct yourselves upon the present occasion. Our country has heretofore possessed a great example in our conduct, which has not been useless to the rights and liberties of the people. Continue, my friends, this just, upright, patriotic, and magnanimous conduct, and then, if the days of severe trial and of mortal agony, which I anticipate, should arrive, this great and celebrated town may, under Providence, perhaps, be the means of providing refuge and

protection for the laws, the liberties, the rights, and safety of all. (Loud, long, and continued cheering, which lasted for some time).

Mr. SCHOLEFIELD said that much erroneous comment had been made by the opposite party upon the *pledges* given by himself and Mr. Attwood. It was true that he had given a willing pledge to oppose, by every means in his power, the Peel-Wellington Administration; but he was at perfect liberty to accept any good measure the new Ministry might propose, and he should be glad to receive from them a proposal to repeal the odious Bread-tax Bill, or a motion to review the equally objectionable Pension List. In either of these cases, or in fifty such, he should most cordially give them his votes. (Cheers). But were they (the Ministry) likely to suggest measures beneficial to the great body of the people? It was quite as likely to expect that we could gather figs from thistles! (Cheers). Mr. S. avowed his decided dislike to the whole *matériel* of the present Administration. A list of names in worse repute amongst, or more disagreeable to the people, could scarcely have been selected. No man but Peel would "march through Coventry" with such a regiment (laughter), which consisted entirely of persons who had opposed the wishes, the rights, and the liberties of the people, unceasingly and unrelentingly. Had not the Duke of Wellington entered his solemn protest against the Reform Bill? and had not Sir Robert Peel opposed it at every stage? Could any measures of real reform be anticipated from such men? Certainly not. No man that he had met with considered Sir Robert Peel as Prime Minister. Every body viewed the Duke as the real Prime Minister. He (the Duke) was the actual commander-in-chief, and his cabinet council more resembled a court-martial than any thing else. Were not the greater part of the Ministers the Duke's lieutenants? For his own part, Mr. S. said he had a particular objection to a Horse-Guards Government, such as ours now was. A military Govern-

ment was not suited to this country. He warned his fellow-townsmen to be watchful of the military dictates; to be guarded in their conduct; to be mindful to commit no breach of the peace; to offend none of the existing laws; or they might depend upon it the Duke would order out the military to do speedy execution upon them; and the Yeomanry Cavalry were, in too many instances, ready to trample upon the people with their horses' hoofs. (Hear, hear, hear). Mr. S. said that his worthy friend, Mr. Attwood, and himself had drawn down upon them the hatred of many of the Yeomanry Cavalry, he was aware, by the vote they had given to disallow the expenses of that corps. (Loud cheers). If called upon to vote on a future occasion, he should vote as he had done before; for he thought the services of the Yeomanry Cavalry were not worth the cost of them. (Loud cheers). It has been said that the black banner of Toryism was again unfurled; and was not, he would ask, the white banner of Reform brightly floating in the air? Let but the honest, independent electors of Birmingham do their duty in returning himself and Mr. Attwood, and the Tories would never again lift their heads to annoy the friends of liberty!

Mr. SPOONER now rose to address the electors, and was received with the most tremendous hootings and uproar, which lasted for some time. The Chairman, and Messrs. Attwood, Edmonds, Muntz, and Hadley, endeavoured, but in vain, to obtain silence, and it was not until the meeting was literally exhausted by fatigue and confusion, that any thing like silence was obtained. At last Mr. Muntz was enabled to obtain a hearing, and having stated that he rose for the purpose of putting the questions to Mr. Spooner, which he intended doing before silence was restored, he then said, I charge him with having at the dinner, to which I before alluded, said he agreed with the principles and objects of the Political Union, and I now call upon him to say if it is untrue.

Mr. SPOONER in answering that question said, I have not the slightest hesi-

tation in saying, that what took place on that occasion was as near as possible in these words.—(Confusion). I must confess I never did expect that the people of Birmingham would hear a charge without hearing the answer. I am prepared to answer that or any other question, and prepared to prove that my conduct has been uniform and consistent. (Great uproar). I will make another trial to make myself heard, and if you do not hear me, you will have decided like the Welsh Judge, who only heard with one ear because that which he could hear with the other was not palatable to him. I never did say I approved of the principles of the Political Union, I did say, and I say it again, that I was from my heart a reformer, and would do all I could to promote all rational reforms; but I said I would best promote reforms by being out of the Political Union. Those were my sentiments.

Mr. MUNTZ said, we are placed in a difficult situation now Mr. Spooner has explained it so as to remove the sense, and I wish to know how it is to be settled. I have a number of gentlemen here who can bear me out that he spoke to the effect with which I charge him.

The HIGH BAILIFF said, in that case the audience must judge.

Mr. MUNTZ. Well, then, be it so. My next question is, Does not Mr. Spooner fully and entirely agree with Mr. Attwood upon the question of the currency?

Mr. SPOONER said, most fully, most perfectly, most decidedly, and most unequivocally I agree with him.

Mr. MUNTZ. My third question is, in the event of his being elected to represent this borough, and the question of church-rates being brought forward, how will he vote?

Mr. SPOONER replied he would vote in that way which in his conscience he believed would best support the principle of the established church, with the least possible outrage to the feelings of his constituents. (This observation called forth cheers, and shouts of laughter). Mr. Spooner then proceeded to address the meeting, and to state that the first

charge brought against him (and it was of importance to himself and his friends that it should be answered distinctly) was that of apostacy; apostacy from what? Not one political opinion that he had ever entertained had he abandoned, nor had he now taken up one political opinion which he had not entertained ever since he took part in public life. Apostacy was inferred because he was supported by those who never supported him before, and opposed by many who formerly supported him; and why was this? The great questions upon which he and his friends now around him had formerly differed were all irrevocably settled. He had ever been a friend to civil and religious liberty; had advocated Catholic Emancipation, the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, and the Reform Bill. His friends around him had always differed with him upon these points, and had always as zealously and honestly opposed them as he had supported them. But these questions had now become part of the constitution, and no one would be mad enough to attempt to abridge the important privileges which they had conferred. Thus he and his friends had been brought together, not by a compromise of opinion, but by the points on which they had formerly differed being set at rest; and why were they to continue to disagree, when the cause of disagreement was no more? Why was he opposed now to those with whom he formerly agreed? Because they had taken fresh ground, they had left him, not he them; they had increased their demands as soon as their original views and avowed objects were obtained. They now claimed to be exempt from all payments to the established church, which was in fact, saying there should be no established church at all; and many of them now openly called for a separation of church and state. To both these claims he (Mr. Spooner) was most unflinchingly opposed, and in this opposition he was supported by the leaders of that party from which he was charged with apostatising. Lords Grey and Brougham, aye, and even Lord Durham

himself, if rightly reported, had, in the last session of Parliament, frequently declared that to such separation they would never consent; and he could not conceive that any one impressed with the importance of keeping up the standard of religious feeling and moral conduct, could really wish that the Government of the country, while it provided for, directed, and controlled every thing connected with the temporal welfare of the people, should leave the more important duty of providing for their spiritual wants to absolute chance; to the voluntary support of unconnected congregations, each having its own peculiar creed, differing as much from each other as they differ from the established church, and responsible only to the leaders of their own election. These are no new-formed opinions, nor arising merely from early education, but a firm conviction that the constitution in church and state is admirably adapted, in all its parts, to promote the best interests of the people, to maintain true religion, and thus to establish the prosperity of the country on its surest basis, for "righteousness exalteth a nation, and sin is a reproach to any people." Another charge made was, that he was no longer a reformer, because he could not join with those who thought that the late administration were the only true reformers. They were nothing but the shattered fragments of the reform administration; the first separation which took place from that administration carried with it some dross, but, in his mind, took nearly all that deserved the name of an administration, or the confidence of the country; and the point on which they separated was one which ought to have ensured to them the confidence and support of all who valued the constitution. It involved the important question, whether the revenues of the church are, or are not, at the disposal of the state; a question which, if we can form any opinion from what passed in Parliament on that occasion, was not merely urged as an abstract question, but with the view of the application of those revenues to other purposes than

those of the state, namely, to transfer them from the Protestant to the Roman Catholic church. He never could consent that church property should be alienated from Protestant ecclesiastical purposes, nor that it should be dealt with on other principles than those on which private property was dealt with. That the internal distribution of church property required to be revised; that the mode of its collection may be ameliorated, that the duties connected with the possession of that property should be strictly enforced, every true churchman is willing to admit. But to take away that property would be robbery; clothe it with what milder name you please; and would establish a principle which, at convenient times and proper opportunities, would be carried out into operation upon private property; but to employ Protestant revenues to Roman Catholic purposes, would be a crime of a deeper dye, and to which, he was convinced, the people of this country never would submit; but they would support the King in his determination to support the principles which placed his family on the throne. And yet we are called upon to forget the undoubted prerogative of the crown, and to lament over the dismissal of the remnant of that self-destroyed administration, which, sticking true to their places, were willing to concede this most important principle to the man whom, in the beginning of the session, they had advised the crown, in a most unprecedented manner, to denounce, as a dangerous agitator and disturber of the public peace, and who, with the same man, subsequently opened a confidential communication, which ended in his making a dupe of some, a tool of others, and as far as the public can form any correct opinion from what at the time transpired was consummated, by forcing Earl Grey, the only remaining individual who gave a character to the then existing administration, to resign the high office to which he had been called by his Sovereign. And yet we are to be designated apostates for deserting that party which had thus destroyed it-

self. An administration of which its best known remaining members had formed a part of every administration which had existed in the memory of the present race of men, the protocolling Lord Palmerston and his old associates, who were cheering Mr. Canning when he declared that Gatton and Old Sarum were integral parts of the constitution, and in a few short months were supporting that very bill which declared them to be rotten excrescences which must be cut off to insure the safety of the state. Mr. Spooner then said it had been insinuated that he had given pledges, and that his friends around him had required him to do it before they would support him. He had given no pledges, his friends understood and valued the constitution too well to require pledges; they would never consent to send him to Parliament if they thought him willing to go as a delegate, or otherwise than as an unshackled member to a deliberative assembly. All that they required of him was, that which he had frequently and publicly expressed his firm determination to do, to maintain inviolate, to guard with anxious care, the invaluable constitution in church and state, which had been so long a blessing to this country and the admiration of surrounding nations. A few words with regard to their local interests; but one thing he would assure them, that should he be returned to Parliament, no measure whatever should be introduced into the House likely to affect the local interests of this borough without his immediately calling their attention to it, and receiving their instructions; and he could not but regret that their late representatives had not followed that plan in the case of the late bill for regulating weights and measures, by which so heavy a burden had been inflicted upon every retail shopkeeper.

State of the Poll.—First Day.

Attwood 1,295

Scholefield 1,268

Spooner 658

Majority for Attwood —637

Majority for Scholefield —610

At the close of the poll an immense concourse of people, amounting to at least 5,000, assembled round Raden-hurst's Hotel, from the portico of which Messrs. Attwood and Scholefield addressed them, amid the most deafening shouts of applause. Mr. Attwood first presented himself, and said, he was happy to inform them that all was going right; the majority against their opponent was at present two to one (loud cheers), and by to-morrow night he trusted it would be three to one. (Cheers). It was to him most gratifying to find so much firmness and enthusiasm in their country's cause mingled with so much forbearance, and even generosity to their enemies. (Cheers). The victory they were gaining would echo throughout England, because it was a clear, unbought, unbiassed, uninfluenced victory. (Hear, hear, and cheers). Had they in any way misconducted themselves, they would have been subjected to the taunts of their enemies, who would have said they had been intimidated, and that had they been allowed to come up to the poll, they should have gained the day. (Laughter and cheers). Now, however, nothing of the kind could be said. (Hear, hear). He congratulated them on the state of the elections generally; in the small boroughs like Tamworth it was certainly against them, but in all the large towns the cause was their own. (Loud applause). The victory achieved in London was most remarkable. There were four reformers for the City, two for Finsbury, two for Lambeth, two for Marylebone, and two for Southwark. (Cheers). In all that enormous population they had not been able to return a single Tory. (Loud applause). It seemed to him that they were certain to have a much better House than the last, and, consequently, better measures. (Cheers). Their enemies must then acknowledge that all classes of the country were against them, and that they must resign the national affairs into the nation's hands. (Cheers). He would now bid them good night; he hoped to see them to-morrow, and to congratulate them on the final success of their

cause. (Loud and long-continued cheering.)

Mr. SCHOLEFIELD then made his appearance, and was received with great applause. He said he would not detain them long, for on an occasion like that, when the battle was their own, there was no need to waste their time. For his own part he never doubted success, for he felt sure that the electors of Birmingham would not cast from them men whom they had tried and found to be faithful servants (loud and long-continued cheering), who had no interests to serve but those of the people, by whom they were resolved to stand. (Loud applause). They had just learned the state of the poll; he confessed, he thought it must stand in something like the way they found it, for he observed some of their opponents coming from the polling-booths with very long faces, which seemed to indicate that they were beaten. (Loud laughter). He could assure them, their opponents appeared to have a peculiar hatred of him, for men with whom he had been upon intimate terms for the last twenty years, would not see him if they met him in the street. (Laughter, and Hear, hear). It was most gratifying to him to find that Birmingham was maintaining its high position in the country, and it was certainly of great importance that it should do so, for he believed the Duke of Wellington would be inclined to give not a trifle if he could throw out the reform representatives of Birmingham. (Loud cries of Hear, hear). He trusted they would go forward as they had began; he could assure them that neither himself nor Mr. Attwood would attempt to buy them, because they did not mean to sell them. (Laughter and cheers). He was glad to inform them, that they had a committee working in their behalf, including several professional gentlemen, who were fitted by their energies to triumph over a desperate cause, but theirs, he need scarce tell them, was not desperate. (Hear, hear).

State of the Poll.—Second Day.

Attwood	1,729
Scholefield	1,664
Spooner	907
Majority for Attwood	—822
Majority for Scholefield	—757

The announcement was received with three tremendous shouts for Attwood, three for Scholefield, three for W. Phipson, Esq., Chairman of the Committee; followed by one shout more, with three times three for the next election, if the Duke should call for one.

At five o'clock, Messrs. Attwood and Scholefield, attended by some of their friends, appeared on the portico of Radenhurst's Hotel, in front of which many thousands were assembled. The appearance of these gentlemen was hailed with the most enthusiastic cheering, which lasted for some time. Silence being restored, Mr. Attwood spoke to the following effect: It was with gratification that he had now to congratulate them and their country on the victory they had obtained. The state of the poll was for Attwood, 1729 (great cheering), for Scholefield 1664 (renewed cheering) and for Spooner 912 (tremendous groaning), the majority was 2 to 1. Never was there a victory more peaceable and more honourably won, and which redounded more to the honour and credit of the people. (Cheers). The man did not live who could say that his vote had been either directly or indirectly bought by him or his friend. (Cheers). They were in reality the representatives of the people of Birmingham; nor would he, as he had often before said, sit one day in Parliament if he did not know that he was the free and unbiassed choice of the people. (Cheers). The manner in which the people had conducted themselves rendered the victory a double one. Their opponents could not say that they had been deterred by physical force from exercising their votes. No, not a man could say any thing like that. (Cheers). They had had a full opportunity of fairly ascertaining their strength, and they must admit that poor men of Birmingham spoke the same voice as

the manufacturers and more wealthy portion of the inhabitants. They must now admit that there is, in point of fact, but one great class in Birmingham, and that class consisted of men determined to uphold the liberties of their country. (Great cheering). A few years ago, it was thought by many estimable men, that he was too extreme in his politics, but what did they now see? Why, they saw that the march of intellect was abroad, and the consequence was, they were all united. (Cheers). He did not know how to express his thanks to those reformers who, leaving aside all minor differences in opinion, had nobly come forward and thrown their weight into the scale to oppose the common enemy of all reform. (Cheers). It was truly gratifying to see all classes of reformers now firmly united throughout the kingdom. (Great cheering, and cries of So they ought). It was gratifying to see these men come forward to support those men whom the people of Birmingham delighted to honour. (A person in the crowd, That we do). He could not also refrain from expressing his thanks to, and admiration of, the conduct of the district committees, who, by their patriotic spirit and perseverance, had contributed so materially to the victory which they had achieved. (Cheers). They had endured the fatigue and trouble unassisted by him; for he had resolved, though much as he respected the people, he would not obtain his seat through the medium of personal friends. (Cheers). All the gentlemen who had assisted in his election had been actuated by the most patriotic feelings, for they indeed did labour without any other interest than that which they felt in promoting the cause of liberty and reform. From the conduct of these gentlemen on this occasion, they ought to learn one important lesson, and that was, the necessity of bearing and forbearing with each other, whenever minor political differences of opinion existed. He now, however, must thank God that no difference did exist. (Loud cheers). With respect to his friend, Mr. Spooner, whom, he must say, he respected, he

regretted that he should have suffered himself to be seduced by a knot of Tories. He regretted that he had not courage to resist their solicitations. He had spent a long and honourable life, and he (Mr. A.) now lamented that his friend had tarnished it. (Hear, hear). He regretted much the conduct which he had pursued. He (Mr. A.) advised him against it, but he persisted, and the consequence was, he was now humbled and mortified, and he must say he could not but rejoice in his humiliation. (Cheers). He had told him what the result would be, and he now had evident proof of what he said, that his party were only as a bubble in the great ocean of public opinion. (Cheers). Owing to the lateness of the hour, he should not now trespass further upon them, particularly as he was to have an opportunity of meeting them on Monday morning at the Town-hall, when the High Bailiff, as returning-officer, would declare the result of the election, he would not say contest. One remark more—He was determined not to be chaired; he could not fall in with the old practices of the Tory oligarchy. The honour consisted in being really and honourably elected by the people, and not in being dragged about the streets like a puppet-show. He consented on the last occasion to be chaired, because he was willing to afford the people every possible opportunity of celebrating the great triumph which they had achieved in carrying the Reform Bill. The Tories, who were the public robbers of the people, had introduced the system of chairing. It was one of their tricks to render the expenses of electioneering so heavy that no man, unless possessed of great property, could contend against them. Another of their plans was canvassing by well-paid lawyers, not such as had been engaged in the present election (cheers); and then followed treating in public-houses, wearing of ribbons, and all other means of expense. What a contrast the expense of his victory, and that of his colleague exhibited to that of the Tory candidates wherever they succeeded in getting returned. There

was a population of 150,000 in Birmingham, and a constituency of between 3,000 and 4,000, and yet the whole expense would not amount to more than £00L. (Loud and continued cheering). Mr. Attwood again thanked them, and retired amidst great cheering.

Mr. SCHOLEFIELD was now loudly called for, and on presenting himself was received with three rounds of applause. He felt that he had so much to thank them for, that the only difficulty he had was in knowing where to begin. If, however, there was one thing which made a deeper impression upon his mind than another, it was the great willingness on the part of the people to give him full credit for the purity and honesty of his intentions. (Loud cheers). His honourable colleague and himself had done all the good they could in the last Parliament. If an angel was in the House, constituted as it was, more he could not do. (Hear, hear). Himself and his colleague, as well as all the other members who were the real representatives of the people, and who wished to promote their interests, were so hampered as to render it impossible to do more. (Cheers). Never did he feel so disappointed, as when he found himself in that situation which compelled him in the honest discharge of his duty to oppose Lord Althorp and Earl Grey. It was to him a source of regret to find them pursuing the course which they did; and whenever he inquired the cause of their having backed out of those principles which they had previously professed, the answer he always received was, "He was not aware of the difficulties which the Ministers had to contend with." (Hear, hear). Well, he was willing to admit they had difficulties to contend with, as was now quite evident, from the events which had taken place. They had an obstinate and determined House of Lords, they had Court intrigue, and a certain kind of government which should be nameless, to contend with. (Cheers). A change, however, had taken place, and he hoped although cheerless as was the

prospect, that eventually it would end in the welfare and prosperity of the people. The conduct of the people of Birmingham on this occasion was beyond all praise. No rioting, no disorder, and what was still better, no disunion. (Cheers). His friend, Mr. Attwood, had said that they had been returned without expense. It was true they had, and to the honour and credit of the town it could be said that they had evinced in that respect a spirit and independence which would not be exceeded by any other town in the kingdom. (Cheers). If, however, a different feeling did actuate the men of Birmingham, and that their affections were only to be obtained by purchase, he must say that he was not the man who would buy them. (Loud cheers). Their opponents had that morning, when their fate was beyond the possibility of a doubt, put out a handbill, in which they announced that they had still a sufficient number of unpolled voters to win the election. What their object for such an assertion could be he could not tell, but, at all events, he could say it was not quite true. (Cheers). There was another bill, however, which had appeared, in which they stated (as we understood) that they were obliged to swear in special constables to keep the peace. Now, of this, as it was a most uncalled for and unjust reflection upon the people, he must say that it was utterly false; that there did not exist any such necessity. (Cheers). The honourable gentleman, having thanked them for their conduct and support on the occasion, retired amidst loud cheering; after which the immense multitude separated in the most peaceable and orderly manner.

From the LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 16, 1835.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

SANDELL, E., Bristol, stay-maker.

BANKRUPTS.

BAGLEY, G. and J. Evans, Lad-lane, ware-housemen.

CARNLEY, J., Kingston-upon-Hull, upholsterer.
 GEORGE, J., Brownlow-street, Drury-lane, currier.
 INGLIS, W., Houndsditch and Well-street, Cripplegate, currier.
 MARSTON, J., Nuneaton, Warwickshire, grocer.
 MOORE, F., jun., Westmoreland-place, Walworth-common, vinegar-merchant.
 NEVATT, J., Petworth, Sussex, tailor.
 NORRIS, B., Oxford-street, chemist.
 RAYMOND, W., Streatham-place, Brixton-hill, shipowner.
 RICHARDSON, W., Godstone, Surrey, inn-keeper.
 STIVENSON, W., Princes-street, Westminster, dealer in mahogany.
 WIGAN, J., Pine-apple-place, Kilburn-priory, Edgware-road, music-seller.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

KNOX, J., Paisley, victualler.
 LEITH, R., Loth, Sutherland, grazier.
 MACKENZIE, J., Leith, grocer.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 20.

BANKRUPTS.

BROWN, E., J. Davy, and T. Davy, Cullumpton, Devonshire, woollen-manufacturers.
 EDWARDS, J., Wauchelygen, Breconshire, draper.
 GARSIDE, J., Portwood, Cheshire, machine-maker
 HARVEY, J., Dartford, timber-merchant.
 JONES, T., Liverpool, broker.
 LAYFIELD, T. and W., St. James's, tailors.
 MILLER, I., Liverpool, merchant.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Jan. 19.—The supplies of Wheat to this morning's market from Essex were more limited than usual, and moderate from Kent and Suffolk. Some of the samples proved of very fine quality, in instances realising rather more money than this day week, and the general runs of good quality were fully as dear with a more free demand for secondary descriptions; inferior parcels, however, were difficult of disposal. In bonded Wheat nothing doing.

Fine Chevalier Barley for seed obtained 1s. per quarter more money, and good qualities, with fine other Malting sorts, were saleable at quite as good prices as last week; Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, being taken off at 36s. to 37s. Bonded Barley was inquired after, and fine Danish held at 38s. *free*. No Holstein offering.

Both town-made and ship quantities of Malt, were free sale at fully the previous currency;

fine samples are extremely scarce, and much inquired after

The unprecedented arrival of Irish Oats, which during the past week has exceeded 43,000 quarters, has depressed the market, but factors demanding the previous rates, which purchasers not submitting to, caused the business to be limited, and the trade closed heavy with a tendency to give way 6d. per quarter. In bonded qualities nothing doing, but prices firm.

Beans were dull sale, but unaltered in value.

During the past week, previous to the advance in the duty to 8s., 4,310 quarters of foreign Peas were entered in our port for the consumption, which has rendered the trade more dull, and purchases might have been made at a decline of 1s. per quarter. The Government Contract, which was issued on the 16th for 500 quarters, part deliverable within a fortnight, and the remainder within a month, had no effect on the market. Maple Peas 1s. lower, and Grey, dull at last week's decline.

The low price to which Ship Flour has declined, seems to have attracted a little speculative attention, and fresh fine samples must be noted 1s. per sack dearer, with a free sale.

Wheat, English, White, new....	42s. to 55s.
Old	48s. to 52s.
Red, new	38s. to 45s.
Old	40s. to 44s.
Lincolnshire, red	37s. to 43s.
White	40s. to 43s.
Yorkshire, red	36s. to 42s.
White	42s. to 44s.
Northumberl. & Berwick	38s. to 41s.
Fine white	40s. to 43s.
Dundee & choice Scotch	43s. to 44s.
Irish, red, good	32s. to 34s.
White	38s. to 42s.
Rye,	30s. to 33s.
New	34s. to 36s.
Barley, English, grinding	26s. to 28s.
Distilling	28s. to 32s.
Malting	32s. to 36s.
Chevalier ..	38s. to 42s.
Malt	44s. to 54s.
Fine new	56s. to 64s.
Beans, Tick, new	33s. to 35s.
Old	36s. to 38s.
Harrow, new	36s. to 38s.
Old	38s. to 40s.
Peas, White, English	38s. to 40s.
Foreign	36s. to 40s.
Grey or Hog	34s. to 38s.
Maples	38s. to 40s.
Oats, Polands	23s. to 25s.
Lincolnshire, short small	23s. to 24s.
Lincolnshire, feed	21s. to 22s.
Yorkshire, feed	21s. to 23s.
Black	23s. to 24s.
Northumberland and Berwick Potato, new	24s. to 25s.
Old	25s. to 26s.
Angus, new	24s. to 26s.
Old	—s. to —s.

Banff and Aberdeen, common new	24s. to 25s.
Old	—s. to —s.
Potato	25s. to 26s.
Old	—s. to —s.
Irish Potato, new	22s. to 23s.
Old	—s. to —s.
Feed, new light	19s. to 21s.
Black, new	20s. to 22s.
Foreign feed	22s. to 24s.
Danish & Pomeranian, old	20s. to 21s.
Petersburgh, Riga, &c... ..	22s. to 24s.
Foreign, in bond, feed....	12s. to 14s.
Brew	16s. to 18s.

PROVISIONS.

Butter, Dorset	40s. to 42s. per cwt.
Cambridge	40s. to —s.
York	38s. to —s.
Cheese, Dble. Gloucester	48s. to 66s.
Single ditto....	44s. to 48s.
Cheshire	51s. to 74s.
Derby	50s. to 60s.
Hams, Westmoreland..	50s. to 60s.
Cumberland ...	50s. to 60s.

SMITHFIELD, January 19.

This day's supply of Beasts, Sheep and Porkers, was, both as to the numbers and quality, moderately good; its supply of Calves but limited. Trade was, with prime small Beef and Veal, somewhat brisk; but otherwise, very dull at Friday's quotations.

About 1,200 of the Beasts, a full third of which were Shorthorns, the remainder in about equal numbers of Devons, Herefords, Welsh runts, and Irish Beasts, with nearly or quite 100 Scots, were from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, and others of our northern districts; about 700, a full moiety of which were Scots, the remainder in about equal numbers of Shorthorns, Devons, and runts, with a few homebreds, from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridge; about 400, a full moiety of which were Devons, the remainder in about equal numbers of Herefords and Welsh runts, with a few Scots, Staffords, and Irish Beasts, from our western and midland districts: about 50, chiefly Sussex steers and oxen, with a few runts, Devons, and Irish Beasts, from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, and most of the remainder, including about 40 Towus-end Cows, from the stall-feeders, &c., near London.

About two-thirds of the Sheep were new Leicesters, of the Southdown and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about two of the former to three of the latter; about a sixth Southdowns, and the remainder in about equal numbers of old Leicesters, horned and polled Norfolks, Kents, and Kentish half-breds, with a few pens of old Lincolns, horned Dorsets, and Somersets, horned and polled Scots, and Welsh Sheep, &c.

COBBETT-LIBRARY.

Fourth Edition.

COBBETT'S Spelling-Book.

(Price 2s.)

Containing, besides all the usual matter of such a book, a clear and concise

INTRODUCTION TO ENGLISH GRAMMAR.

This I have written by way of

A Stepping-Stone to my own Grammar;

such a thing having been frequently suggested to me by Teachers as necessary.

1. ENGLISH GRAMMAR.—Of this work one hundred thousand copies have now been published. This is a duodecimo volume, and the price is 3s. bound in boards.

2. TULL'S HORSE-HOEING HUSBANDRY; or, a Treatise on the Principles of Tillage and Vegetation. With an Introduction, by WM. COBBETT. 8vo. Price 15s.

3. THE EMIGRANT'S GUIDE. Just now Published, under this Title, a little Volume, containing Ten Letters, addressed to English Tax-payers. A new edition, with a Postscript, containing an account of the Prices of Houses and Land, recently obtained from America by Mr. Cobbett. Price 2s. 6d. in bds

4. THE WOODLANDS; or, a Treatise on the preparing of the ground for planting; on the planting, on the cultivating, on the pruning, and on the cutting down, of Forest Trees and Underwoods. Price 14s. bound in boards.

5. YEARS' RESIDENCE IN AMERICA.—The Price of this book, in good print and on fine paper, is 5s.

6. FRENCH GRAMMAR; or, Plain Instructions for the Learning of French. Price, bound in boards, 5s.

7. COTTAGE ECONOMY.—I wrote this Work professedly for the use of the labouring and middling classes of the English nation. I made myself acquainted with the best and simplest modes of making beer and bread, and these I made it as plain as, I believe, words could make it. Also of the keeping of Cows, Pigs, Bees, and Poultry, matters which I understood as well as any body could, and in all their details. It includes my writing, also on the Straw Plait. A Duodecimo Volume. Price 2s. 6d.

8. MARTENS'S LAW OF NATIONS.—This is the Book which was the foundation of all the knowledge that I have ever possessed relative to public law. The Price is 17s., and the manner of its execution is I think, such as to make it fit for the Library of any Gentleman.

9. MR. JAMES PAUL COBBETT'S RIDE OF EIGHT HUNDRED MILES IN FRANCE. Second Edition. Price 2s. 6d.

10. A TREATISE ON COBBETT'S CORN; containing Instructions for Propagating and Cultivating the Plant, and for Harvesting and Preserving the Crop; and also an account of the several uses to which the Produce is applied. Price 5s.

11. LETTERS FROM FRANCE; containing Observations made in that Country during a Residence of Two Months in the South, and Three Months at Paris. By JOHN M. COBBETT. Price 4s. in boards.

12. SERMONS.—There are twelve of these, in one volume, on the following subjects: 1. Hypocrisy and Cruelty; 2. Drunkenness; 3. Bribery; 4. Oppression; 5. Unjust Judges; 6. The Sluggard; 7. The Murderer; 8. The Gamester; 9. Public Robbery; 10. The Unnatural Mother; 11. The Sin of Forbidding Marriage; 12. On the Duties of Parsons, and on the Institution and Object of Tithes. Price 3s. 6d. bound in boards.

A Thirteenth Sermon, entitled "GOOD FRIDAY; or, The Murder of Jesus Christ by the Jews." Price 6d.

13. PROTESTANT "REFORMATION" in England and Ireland, showing how that event has impoverished and degraded the main body of the people in those countries. Two volumes, bound in boards. The Price of the first volume is 4s. 6d. The Price of the second volume 3s. 6d.

A NEW FRENCH AND ENGLISH DICTIONARY.

In two parts. Part I. French and English.—Part II. English and French. By WILLIAM COBBETT, M.P. for Oldham.—Price 12s.

THE CURSE OF

PAPER MONEY AND BANKING, Or, a short History of Banking in the United States of America, with an account of its ruinous effects on Landowners, Farmers, Traders, and on all the industrious classes of the community.

By W. M. GOUGE, of Philadelphia, in 1833.

To which is prefixed an Introduction by WM. COBBETT, M.P. for Oldham. Price 4s. 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street, and all Book-sellers.

Just published, price 1s. 4d. bound in leather,

COBBETT'S

LEGACY TO LABOURERS;

OR,

What is the Right which the Lords, Barons, and 'Squires, have to the Lands of England?

In Six Letters, addressed to the Working People of England.

WITH A

DEDICATION TO SIR ROBERT PEEL, BART.

By WILLIAM COBBETT, M.P.

FOR OLDHAM.

CONTENTS.

Dedication to Sir ROBERT PEEL; stating the reasons for writing the book, and also the reasons for dedicating it to him.

Letter I. How came some men to have a greater right to parcels of land than any other men have to the same land?

Letter II. What right have English landlords to the lands? How came they in possession of them? Of what nature is their title?

Letter III. Is their right to the land *absolute*? Is the land now their *own*? or, are they still *holders* under a superior?

Letter IV. Have they *dominion* in their lands? Or do they lawfully possess only the *use* of them? Can they do *what they like* with their lands?

Letter V. Can they *use* them so as to drive the natives from them?

Letter VI. Can they *use* them so as to cause the natives to perish of hunger, or of cold?

Just published, price 4d.,

NATIONAL REGENERATION.

1. Letter from Mr. Fitton to Mr. Fielden.
2. Letter from Mr. Fielden to Mr. Fitton.
3. Letter from Mr. Holt to Mr. Fielden.

Which Letters contain a development of all the principles and all the views connected with this important change in the manufacturing affairs of the country.

Just published, price 4d.

MR. COBBETT'S SPEECH.

AND THE

OTHER SPEECHES ON HIS MOTION FOR AN ABOLITION OF THE MALT-TAX.

Price 12s.

A GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF ENGLAND AND WALES;

CONTAINING

The names, in Alphabetical Order, of all the Counties, with their several Subdivisions, into Hundreds, Lathes, Rapes, Wapentakes, Wards, or Divisions; and an Account of the Distribution of the Counties into Circuits, Dioceses, and Parliamentary Divisions.

ALSO,

The names (under that of each County respectively), in Alphabetical Order, of all the Cities, Boroughs, Market Towns, Villages, Hamlets, and Tithings, with the Distance of each from London, or from the nearest Market Town, and with the Population, and other interesting particulars relating to each; besides which there are

MAPS;

First, one of the whole country, showing the local situation of the Counties relatively to each other; and, then, each County is also preceded by a Map, showing, in the same manner, the local situation of the Cities, Boroughs, and Market Towns.

FOUR TABLES

Are added; first, a Statistical Table of all the Counties, and then three Tables, showing the new Divisions and Distributions enacted by the Reform-Law of 4th June, 1832.

JOURNAL

OF

A TOUR IN ITALY,

AND ALSO IN PART OF

FRANCE AND SWITZERLAND;

The route being

From Paris, through Lyons, to Marseilles, and, thence, to Nice, Genoa, Pisa, Florence, Rome, Naples, and Mount Vesuvius;

AND

By Rome, Terni, Perugia, Arezzo, Florence, Bologna, Ferrara, Padua, Venice, Verona, Milan, over the Alps by Mount St. Bernard, Geneva, and the Jura, back into France;

The space of time being,
From October 1828, to September 1829.

CONTAINING

A description of the country, of the principal cities and their most striking curiosities; of the climate, soil, agriculture, horticulture, and products; of the prices of provisions and labour; and of the dresses and conditions of the people;

AND ALSO

An account of the laws and customs, civil and religious, and of the morals and demeanour of the inhabitants, in the several States.

By JAMES P. COBBETT.

Just Published,

THE

LIFE OF GENERAL JACKSON,

President of America: with an interesting frontispiece; and an exact likeness of the President. Price 3s. 6ds.

UNITED KINGDOM LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY,

8, WATERLOO-PLACE, PALL-MALL,
LONDON.

Established by Act of Parliament,

For Assurances on Lives and Survivorships, and likewise for the granting and purchasing of Annuities.

CAPITAL ONE MILLION,

IN

50,000 SHARES OF TWENTY POUNDS EACH.

HONORARY PRESIDENTS:

EARL OF ERROL.
EARL OF COURTOWN,
EARL OF LEVEN & MELVILLE,
LORD VISCOUNT FALKLAND,
LORD VISCOUNT EASTNOR, M.P.,
LORD VISCOUNT GLANDINE,
LORD ELPHINSTONE,
LORD BELHAVEN & STENTON,
SIR J. H. DALRYMPLE, BART., M.P.

Conducted by Sixteen Directors.

WILLIAM A. MACKINNON, Esq., F.R.S.,
Chairman.
MAJOR GENERAL JOHN SHAW, Deputy
Chairman.
F. HALE THOMPSON, Esq., Surgeon, 48, Berners-street.

This Company, from its various plans of accommodation, affords a greater facility to parties wishing to insure, than any establishment of the kind in London.

1. It allows the premiums to be paid quarterly, half-yearly, or annually, as may best suit the convenience of the assured.

2. It allows (when the insurance is for life), half of the annual premium to remain unpaid for five years, at interest, to be deducted eventually from the policy, or paid off at convenience.

3. It adopts the principle of an ascending and descending scale of premiums, which is equally applicable to the opulent and those of limited income; and, from the moderate and judicious rate of its premiums, particularly on the younger ages, and for short periods, is well deserving the attention and patronage of the public.

4. Policies are granted on very moderate terms, payable on the death of two or three

parties (as the case may be), so as to render leasehold property, held upon lives, nearly equal in value to lands held in perpetuity.

ANNUAL PREMIUM FOR ASSURING 100*l*.

Age	Without Share of Profits.				With Share of Profits.			
	1 year.		7 years.		LIVE.		LIVE.	
20	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
30	0 18 4	1 0 2	1 13 10	2 3 10	1 18 8	2 8 2	3 3 1	
40	1 3 11	1 5 4	2 3 10	2 19 1				
	1 10 2	1 12 7						

ASCENDING SCALE.

Age	First 5 years.			Second 5 years.			Third 5 years.			Fourth 5 years.			For remainder of Life.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
20	1	3	2	4	8	0	1	12	11	1	17	11	2	2	9
30	1	10	8	1	17	3	2	3	10	2	10	5	2	17	9
40	2	4	11	2	12	13	3	0	10	3	8	11	3	16	10

DESCENDING SCALE.

Age	First 5 years.	Second 5 years.	Third 5 years.	Fourth 5 years.	For remainder of Life.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
20	2 2 9	1 18 5	1 14 3	1 10 0	1 5 0
30	2 17 0	2 10 4	2 3 8	1 17 0	1 10 4
40	3 16 10	3 6 11	2 16 11	2 7 0	1 17 0

Every requisite information will be given at the office, 8, Waterloo-place, Pall-Mall, where Prospectuses may be had gratis; or by letter addressed to

E. BOYD, Esq., Resident Director.

THIRD PATENT FOR THE PERRYIAN PEN.

INDIA-RUBBER-SPRING PEN, } s. d.
superior in flexibility to the Quill, } 2 6
vine, with holder, }
FOUNTAIN PEN, warranted to Write }
MORE than FIFTY lines with ONE } 3 0
dip of Ink, nine, with holder.... }

All the other sorts of the PERRYIAN PENS at the usual prices.—Sold by all Stationers and Dealers in Metallic Pens, and at the Manufactory, 37, Red Lion-square, London.

BY HIS MAJESTY'S ROYAL LETTERS PATENT—SUBSTITUTE for INDIGO. BRITISH COMPANY.

Established by License from the Patentee. Capital—£250,000.

To be divided into Shares of £20 each, £5 to be paid at the time of subscribing, and the remainder by payments of £5 each, at intervals of two months.

Trustees.

John Wright, Esq. | E. F. Green, Esq.

Committee of Management.

W. Maugham, Esq. | C. Guentrelle, Esq.
P. Anchini, Esq. | G. Keele, Esq.
W. Underwood, Esq.

Auditors.

C. Williams, Esq. | Thomas Holt, Esq.

Bankers.

Glyn, Halifax, Mills & Co.; and Wright & Co. of Henrietta-street.

SIGHT RESTORED. Nervous Head-ache Cured, and Cholera Prevented. Under the Patronage of his late Majesty and the Lords of the Treasury.—Mr. Abernethy used it, and termed it the faculty's friend and nurse's vademecum. Dr. Andrews also recommends it. Cures—Mr. A. Mackintyre, 65, 3, Silver-street, Golden-square, of gutta serena. Mr. P. Sanderson, 10, Harper-street, Leeds, of cataract. Mr. H. Pluckwell, Tottenham-house, Middlesex, of ophthalmia. Miss S. Englefield, Park-street, Windsor, of nervous head-ache. Testimonials from medical gentlemen and families of the first respectability, proving the above, may be seen at 39, Broad-street, Bloomsbury, and 24, King-street, Long-acre.

The high patronage GRIMSTONE'S EYE-SNUFF has obtained, is a testimonial beyond suspicion. This delightful compound is the most wholesome snuff taken, and is recommended for its benign influence on all who use it. Sold in canisters, at 1s. 3d., 2s. 4d., 4s. 4d., and 8s. each. Look to the signature of the inventor, and the patronage. Sold in every country town.

The shares will be to bearer; when sold, a transfer in the books of the Company will not be requisite; the holders will not be required to sign any deed, and no liability will arise to them beyond the amount subscribed.

Interest, at the rate of five per cent. per annum will be paid on the amount subscribed, and the Committee of Management will make up their accounts once a year, when a meeting of the Shareholders will be called, and the Committee will be guided by the majority then present as to the duration of profits from time to time.

The Committee of Management consider it better to add such gentlemen to their number from among the Shareholders, who may possess the means of furthering the objects of the Company; and they invite applications to be made for that purpose, addressed to the Committee, at the office of the Company; and persons disposed to take licenses for dyeing by the new process are also requested to apply to the Committee. The object of the Company not being a monopoly, and if the present capital is increased, a preference of subscribing to such

additional capital will be given to the subscribers to this Company.

Works are already erected, on an extensive scale, for the manufacture of the Substitute for Indigo, and arrangements made to bring it into immediate use.

Applications for Shares to be made (if by letter post-paid), addressed to the Committee at the Bankers, or 2, Copthall-chambers, London; or at the following banking-houses in the country:

The Belfast Banking Company	Belfast
J. D. Latouche and Co.	Dublin
Rawson and Co.	Halifax
Rawson and Co.	Huddersfield
The Bank of Birmingham	Birmingham
The Bank of Manchester	Bolton
Cunliffes, Brookes and Co.	Blackburn

Where a more detailed Prospectus may be had; and at the Company's Office.

For more than half a century the first Chemists of Europe have directed their best energies to the discovery of some means by which a perfect and uniform Blue Dye (other than Indigo) might be obtained; hitherto their researches have been unsuccessful. At length a process has been discovered, and for which a Patent has been obtained, as also for the manufacture of the SUBSTITUTE for INDIGO. The articles of which it is made abound in this country, and in their collection employment will be given to the most indigent class of his Majesty's subjects in England, Ireland, and Scotland. From an estimate taken from official documents, it is fairly presumed that an annual saving of £450,000 will arise by the use of this Substitute, and the cost price to the consumer will not be half that of Indigo.

The objects of the Company are to encourage the Manufacture, and to bring into general use the British Substitute for Foreign Indigo, and to dye Wool, Stuffs, Cloths, Silks, and other Fabrics, Blue and other colours (for which Indigo is now used), with this substitute. The Colours produced, such as Blacks, Greens, Bronzes, Browns, and various others, will be so fast as to resist the action of Light, Air, and Friction: the articles so dyed will not turn white at the edges or seams, a quality long sought after, particularly in Stuffs or Cloths for Furniture and other purposes, in which exposure to Light and Heat is inevitable, and hitherto has proved destructive of their colours; independently of fastness, a brilliancy of colour will be produced by the Substitute, which cannot be obtained with Indigo.

Samples of Cloths, Stuffs, Wool, &c., dyed in France and in this country, are ready for inspection at the temporary Offices of the Company, 2, Copthall-chambers, Throgmorton-street; some of them are literally worn threadbare, the colour still as fresh as when first dyed.

MORISON'S PILLS.

Cure of Cholera Morbus.

To Mr. La Mott.

SIR,—I feel I should not be doing justice to you and the public (especially at this time), were I to withhold publishing the great cure I have received by the use of Morison's Vegetable Universal Medicines. Last Saturday was a fortnight, after taking my tea I was seized with cramp in my stomach; I took a series of tinctures. Now, every person, at all acquainted with chemistry, knows very well that alcohol extracts some vegetable substances, decomposes others, and neutralizes those of a third quality, while the fourth, fifth, and sixth principle, as must be in Morison's Pills, are not in the least effected by the agency of that spirit. By using a spirit, therefore, to try the purgative effects of vegetable composition, except the patient had got the pills in tincture, Mr. West and his coadjutors displayed complete ignorance of the laws of chemical affinity, as regards the effect such medicines can have on the human constitution. Hoping to take up this subject again, I waive further critical remarks on it.

J. GREER, P. H. S.

35, Portland-street, Lauriston.

Second Report of the Cures from Mrs. Marchant, Walham Green, to Messrs. Morison and Moat.

Gentlemen,—I send you the following outline of a few cases of cures, which I am daily gathering for your publishing:—Mrs. T., of Walham Green, having been much afflicted with Erysipelas in her leg, Spasms and Cramp, is now cured by taking a few doses of Morison's Universal Medicine. Also, her daughter with a severe attack of the whooping-cough, but by the use of the above medicine, restored to health and strength. Likewise her niece, who was labouring under consumption; when all other means failed, the Universal Medicine alone restored her to health and spirits. So numerous are the proofs in my own family; I have the greatest confidence in its medical virtues, and wish it more extensively known for the benefit of those who are diseased, and shall be happy at all times to answer any inquiries, by referring to Mrs. Marchant, of Walham Green, who would give the lady's address.

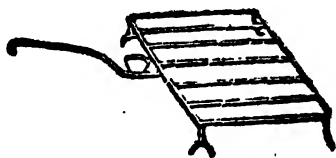
A young woman has been cured of a sore-throat with a few doses of the pills. A gentleman, eight miles in the country, was cured by the pills of influenza, after having had a doctor to no good effect. Another young woman has been cured of a very bad sore-throat with one small box of No 2 pills. I am making great progress with many cases of great importance, with which I will furnish you when completed. I remain, most respectfully, yours,

MARY MARCHANT.

Walham Green, near Fulham,

4. Sept., 1834.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.



TO CORRESPONDENTS.

IN future, I wish all letters, TO ME, to be addressed directly to me, at POST-OFFICE, FARNHAM, SURREY; and not to Bolt-court, London. If gentlemen have to write on business, relating to things sold at the shop, in London, they will please to write to Mr. OLDFIELD, at Bolt-court, Fleet-street, London.

TO

SIR ROBERT PEEL.

LETTER II.

What you will do with Ireland, and particularly with the Church of Ireland.

King's Norton, 26. Jan. 1835.

SIR,—This is a subject which will greatly embarrass you; and, here we touch upon *establishments*; upon what you call, and I do not call, "*ancient rights*" and "*prescriptive authority*." It is no more than justice to myself to observe here, that, just after the *Emancipation Bill* had been passed, I presented a petition to the House of Commons, by the hands of Mr. DENISON, one of the members for the county of Surrey; that, in that petition, I gave a full description of the monstrousness of the Protestant hierarchy in Ireland; that I besought the House to believe, that the Emancipation Bill would add to the troubles of Ireland, instead of diminishing them, unless that hierarchy

F

were completely removed out of that it once fine and miserable country; and, accordingly, my petition concluded with an earnest prayer, that the House would adopt measures for removing that hierarchy altogether. I will insert this petition, in another part of the *Register*; but I cannot help remarking here, that, in consequence of this petition, the House came to a resolution, THAT PETITIONS FROM SINGLE INDIVIDUALS SHOULD NOT, IN FUTURE, BE PRINTED BY ORDER OF THE HOUSE; and I believe, that it was you yourself who moved this very resolution!

Take, then, the turmoil; take the embarrassments; take the bewildering troubles, which would not now have existed; take the RATHCORMAC affair; take the NEWTOWN BARRY slaughter; take the slaughter of CARRICKSHOCK; none of which ever could have been heard of, if this petition had been attended to, instead of being marked by your scorn! During the discussions on the Emancipation Bill, the Duke of WELLINGTON and you, and (at which I was astonished) the present Lord CHANCELLOR, in answer to those who said that it would destroy the Protestant hierarchy in Ireland, asserted, most roundly, and a hundred times over, that it would tend to the security, and peaceable durability, of that hierarchy; and, the hero of WATERLOO, in every thing equally wise, and in his expressions and declarations, always peculiarly prudent, said, that one of his principal reasons for bringing forward the measure was, its inevitable tendency to strengthen the Protestant church in Ireland; to make it beloved by the Catholics, instead of being hated by them; with a pretty broad hint, that it had a tendency to convert Catholics to the Protestant religion.

Not to this extent did the matter went Mr. O'CONNELL, Mr. SPENCER, and others; not to the extent of conversion, indeed, did Dr. DOYLE go; but as to

the *harmony*; the *friendly feeling* towards the Protestant hierarchy, to be produced by this measure, that the DOCTOR and Mr. O'CONNELL went the full length. I wished the measure to *pass*; but, I could not bring myself to play the hypocrite so far as to plead for it upon these grounds; and I thought it my duty, even while the bill was under discussion, to caution my steady-headed countrymen not to hope for any good from this measure *alone*. I forget the precise date of the article which I wrote on this subject; but, if I have time to find it, I will insert it also, in this same *Register*. Some time in the month of October, 1828, there was a meeting held at PENENDEN HEATH, in the county of Kent. At that meeting the High Sheriff, who was check by jowl with Sir EDWARD KNATCHBULL, refused to put to the meeting a *petition which I put into his hands*, and which I moved, and which was duly seconded. In that petition I proposed to the meeting to pray for Catholic Emancipation, and for *something a great deal more*, on the ground, that that alone would do no good. This petition I will insert in another part of this same *Register*. The Whigs had their petition, and the Tories had theirs; and the Tories, with Lord WINCHELSEA at their head, carried their petition. Mr. SHEIL had flown across the kingdom from the West of Ireland to PENENDEN HEATH, in order to support the Whig petition at this meeting; and, in a speech full of that cleverness, which he has always at his command, he urged the justice and expediency of Catholic Emancipation. The meeting was so large, consisting in so great a part of horsemen, and the foot people so numerous, and the length of the train of wagons so great, that he could be heard only by a group of foot people, who stood within, perhaps, thirty yards of him. This group consisted entirely of men in smock-frocks, who stared with astonishment at the volubility, the fine words, and the oratorical gesticulations of the speaker. After having stated the justice of the measure, he drew a very affecting, but a very true picture, of his miserable countrymen;

and then he was proceeding to describe the various blessings which his poor countrymen would derive from Catholic Emancipation; when a tall stout man, who was about twelve feet from him, called out, in a very audible voice: "Will Catholic Emancipation *fill their bellies*, you?" I, who was standing close by Mr. SHEIL, in the same wagon, touched his elbow, and said, "Answer *that*." He did not, and that one short question demolished the whole of his harangue; though the harangue was so eloquent and so elegant, that it was very well worth while going from London to MAIDSTONE to hear.

The Kentish chopstick was right: it was a rebellion of the belly, which Lord BACON tells us (and we did not want him to tell us) is, by far, the most dangerous sort of rebellion; and, sir, are not you and the Duke of WELLINGTON now prepared to acknowledge your most gross error as to this matter? Or will you still insist, that it was *wise* to adopt the measure of Catholic Emancipation, with a view of *reconciling* the Catholics of Ireland to the Protestant hierarchy? Do you still insist, that that measure was calculated to give security and tranquillity to the Protestant church; and to induce the Catholics to pay tithes to it in future; and also to pay church rates, without complaining? I think that you will hardly go this length; and that it would have been wise to grant nothing to the Catholics, unless you had been prepared to remove the hierarchy altogether; and, if you be thus convinced; if you do see that I was right, and you wrong, upon this great occasion, why should not I call upon you to listen to me now? It will not do to say, that you could not foresee that that measure would only add to the discontents and the troubles; for this *was foreseen*, and most distinctly foretold; and the foretelling was proclaimed from the house-tops; therefore, if you refuse to listen now, the charge against you is, not only want of knowledge in yourself; but obstinacy in refusing to listen to those who had, and have, the knowledge.

The first heavy blow, I suppose, by

which you will be assailed, will be a revival of Mr. WARD's motion; or something to that effect. This motion, as far as I could make top or tail of it, was, a proposition to take from the Protestant hierarchy in Ireland, and to make it be a part of the revenue of the kingdom, all that portion of the tithes, and other revenues of the church of Ireland, which is *more than is wanted for the spiritual guidance and assistance of the church Protestants* in that country. Upon the ground of the resistance of this motion by the Ministers; that is to say, upon the ground that the Ministers should meet this motion with a *direct negative*, STANLEY and GRAHAM resigned; they being for the direct negative, and the rest of the Ministers being for an amendment, by which the motion was to be shuffled off, on the ground that it was necessary first to have a commission to inquire into the extent of the spiritual wants of the Protestants in Ireland.

GRAHAM and STANLEY contended, that it was unconstitutional, and God knows what besides, to take from the church any portion of its property, and to *apply it to lay or secular uses*; and you, in your manifesto, say the same thing. Those two gentlemen were willing, and you appear to be willing, to *handle* the church property; but your principle is, that no part of it is to be *alienated* from the church; no part of it can, without a *violation of the constitution*, and of all "*ancient rights*," and "*prescriptive authority*," be *wholly alienated* from the church.

Here, then, there are two questions to be discussed: 1. Is this doctrine of yours sound? 2. Would the alienation recommended by the motion of Mr. WARD, have the effect of causing the discontents of the Catholics to be less than they now are on account of tithes?

With regard to the first of these questions, it is quite astonishing to me, that this doctrine of non-alienation should have been held by GRAHAM, STANLEY, or you, every one of whom ought to have something of the *law*, touching this matter; and ought to

know, that, if your doctrine be sound, not only was the whole work of the Protestant Reformation, a work of *fraud*, or of *rapine*; but that, perhaps, one-half of the landed estates of the whole kingdom are now held by no better title than that of *powerful rapine*. The *abbey-lands* is a case perfectly in point: they belonged to Holy Church, as much as the parochial benefices did. But I will not urge that case, having a case a great deal more simple. You and Sir ROBERT INGLIS, one day in my hearing, pleaded the "*prescriptive rights*" of the present clergy. You said, that there had never been a *taking away* of the benefices from the Catholic clergy, and a giving of them to the Protestant clergy; but that the latter were the receiptable successors to the former by *prescriptive right*. Here you discovered a profound want of knowledge of the law; for, as you ought well to have known, the benefices were transferred from the Catholics to the Protestants by act of Parliament; and, of course, you ought to have known, that the title of the present possessors is not worth one single straw, if the present Parliament have not the power of transferring them back again; or in any other direction.

But, this is not my case: I want a case; a clear case, of church property, taken away from the church altogether; of tithes, *taken away from the church altogether*, and given, or sold, by grant, or authority, of the Parliament to *lay persons*; and by that means becoming altogether property, totally alienated from the church, *by act of Parliament*; and applied to the purposes of the state, *Want* such a case, do I! I want something to close my eyes up, in riding along the road in any fifty miles in England, and not seeing such a case. For, can you ride along even twenty miles, without seeing lands, the great tithes of which were alienated from the church, by act of Parliament, and thereby become the property of the *lay persons*? This is so notoriously the fact, it is so notorious, that, in spite of Magna Charta, in spite of the canons of the church; in spite of a thousand years of

prescriptive right in the church; it is so notorious that this was done by act of Parliament, and that these tithes have been lay-property ever since this was done, that one wonders how a pure chevalier statesman, like Lord STANLEY, should have called Lord ALTHORP and his people a "THIMBLE-RIG MINISTRY," because they seemed to admit that there might legally be an alienation of the property of the church!

It is very true, that the just and pious people of England did not relish this alienation; perfectly true, *that they resisted it*, to the utmost of their power; perfectly true, that they held it to be sacrilege and abomination indescribable, *to yield tithes and oblations to lay-men*; but it is not less perfectly true, that an act of Parliament was passed to punish them most severely for their "*ungodly*" and *perverse* withholding any tithes "and oblations *from lay-persons*, having a *legal right* to demand them." In virtue of this act of Parliament law, the Duke of LEEDS, I think it is, now demands and receives tithes, offerings, and oblations, at WAKEFIELD in Yorkshire; and the Duke of DEVONSHIRE, according to his own statement, the great tithes of twenty parishes in Ireland! And, in the face of all this, and of twenty times more that could be stated, do we find three *cock statesmen*, with necks and tails like peacocks, roundly asserting, that the proposition of Mr. WARD recommends a daring violation of the *prescriptive rights* of the church!

After this, I fear insulting your understanding, and more especially that of my readers, by citing another proof. But, as it has been left us by PITT THE GREAT; as it is only thirty-seven years old; and is so very complete, we must have it. In 1797, an act was passed (look at it) to appoint a board of commissioners; to allow of the *SELLING*, out and out and for ever, *to lay persons*, part of the *glebes*, of the *college-property*, of the *tithes* and *oblations* appropriated to *bishopricks, deans and chapters*, and *colleges*. This act went into effect; it is in effect now; *such sales* are now

taking place every day; and *the proceeds* have been and are *paid into the Treasury*! A pretty "*thimble-rig*" statesman, then, who now glories in having "*sacrificed* office" to the "great principle of the *unalienable* nature of "church-property"! What a pity it is that a bursting purse should be so apt to make an empty head!

The second question, namely, Would the acting upon Mr. WARD's motion *have the effect of lessening the discontents in Ireland*? Why should it? According to this motion, the amount of the tithes, over and above what shall be found requisite for the "*spiritual wants*" of the Protestants, is to be applied to the *services of the state*. But before it be so applied, it must be *collected*; and why should the collection be more pleasant hereafter than it is now? It is the collection, the payment, that is the thing complained of. To be sure, Mr. ARCHDEACON RYDER would not go then with the soldiers to collect the oblations of the faithful by the means of powder and ball; but somebody must go to collect the tithes; and is there a man in this world so foolish as to believe, that the people being told, that Archdeacon RYDER no longer got the money, would make them pay those tithes more cheerfully than they do now? It appears the most monstrous nonsense that ever came into human brain, that the proposed *change in the destination* of the tithes would lighten the burden, or lessen the discontents of the people, on account of it.

Then, after all, a part of the amount is to go to supply the "*spiritual wants*" of the church Protestants. These *spiritual wants* are not great in quantity, to be sure; but still there must be tithes to supply them; and as long as any fragment of the demands of the Protestant hierarchy shall exist in Ireland, so long that hierarchy will demand four or five millions a year of English money, to make the Irish knuckle down to that hierarchy.

What, then, ought to be done? Why first, you should take up my petition of 1829, and also the petition tendered by me at PENNDEN HEATH. Next, you

should have the tithes in Ireland valued, lay as well as clerical; then at ten, or twelve, or fifteen years' purchase, buy all the advowsons not in the gift of the crown; and this would demand not much more than half the sum, which the at once tame and barbarous Whigs gave away, under pretence of putting an end to slavery; but, in fact, to curry favour with the cracked-skulls of Yorkshire, principally; and which money so given, seems to bid fair for producing a total destruction of the West India colonies. Besides the advowsons, there would be the life-interest of the incumbents. But, both together would not amount to more than fifteen millions. Then, however, we shall have to sell the great mansions, the large pleasure-grounds, and the lofty walls around them which the poor Irish have been obliged to build for the Protestant parsons. There are about enough of them to make poor-houses for the indigent; and very conveniently and pleasantly situated they are.

This is the way, and the only way, of settling this monstrous affair. The land being freed from tithes, should bear a tax for the relief of the poor, in proportion to its extent and its nature; for, you have only to look at the people of Ireland to be convinced, that even the total abrogation of the Protestant hierarchy in Ireland would do little towards putting an end to the troubles and turmoil in that country. *Tithe* has nothing in its nature to make it more burdensome than *rent*. I challenged Lord ALTHORP three different times to show that it had; and he always postponed the answering of my challenge. All payments are hateful to people who are in rags, and who have nothing to eat but dirty roots. The misery of the people makes them affrighted at every pecuniary demand upon them; especially when the process against them is so swift and so merciless; and when the probable consequences are, an ejection, at once, from all shelter, even the most wretched, and a turning out upon the bare ground to perish with hunger, or with cold. However, in addition to all this, there is in Ireland, a *sore place*

inherited from father to son, for three hundred years; namely, a rendering of offerings and oblations; a supporting of a clergy, whom they look upon as heretics; and to give support to whom, is, in their eyes, a crime, which they look upon as demanding some degree of expiation; while they, according to their means, support their own diligent and pious pastors, whose character and conduct form such a contrast with those whom they hate, and whom they are, nevertheless, compelled to support in splendour.

The church Protestant religion was established in England by sheer force; against the will of the people; against their urgent prayers and remonstrances; and had there not been a forty-five years' reign of such a tigress as ELIZABETH, whose jibbets and whose racks were continually at work, it never would have been established even in England: and, after all, she and her rapacious aristocracy were compelled, at the end of forty-three years of her reign, to resort to the Poor-law Bill of that year; in order to give the people something like a *compensation* for that which they had lost. This was the great quieter: it made relief of the destitute a part of the religion of every parish; and it did more to establish this church, than all other things put together.

Far different was it in Ireland. That country became a scene such as the world never before held. The hardest parsons that could be found; the most daring, and most merciless, were sent over to take possession of the livings. When they opened their Prayer Book the people screamed, and ran from them. She attacked the country by piece-meal: the people were dragged into the churches by force, sometimes tied hand and foot, and laid down upon the floor, while the reading and the preaching were going on. She had constant war in Ireland; constant pretended rebellion; constant confiscation and bloodshed; but never thought of poor-laws for Ireland! Indeed, that country was given up as a spoil to her rapacious courtiers. Plunderer after plunderer laid his hands upon the same people, and upon the same

spot: with *myrmidons* from *Germany*, and *apostates* from *England*, she is supposed to have slaughtered one-third part of the people! When cruelties unheard of, and bloodshed to redden the ground, had subdued the people into something like quiet for awhile, agents were sent amongst them for the express purpose of stirring up resistance. This was termed *rebellion*. *Attainders* and *forfeitures* ensued; and away went half a county at a time from the possessors by descent of seven or eight hundred years, into the hands of the greatest miscreants that had ever dishonoured the face of the earth.

Much about the same course was pursued by JAMES the First, by CHARLES the First, by CROMWELL, by CHARLES the Second, who, to the Irish people, was a monster the most ungrateful that ever breathed the breath of life. The *confiscations* and *plunder* became less in the reign of WILLIAM the Third, because there was scarcely anything left to confiscate; and the Irish people never possessed, almost literally speaking, the breath in their own nostrils, until the House of Hanover came to the throne; and hardly then, until the *American war*.

Is it any wonder, then, that every native Irishman should have a sort of antipathy against *England herself*? I do not like to hear Mr. O'CONNELL lay the blame upon "*England*"; because, in the first place, I am an Englishman myself; and I always feel some portion of the dishonour, which is justly imputed to my country. I am not guilty in this case, and all Ireland well knows it; but still, the accusation is unpleasant to my ears. But I dislike it a great deal more on account of the mischief which I know that it does. When Mr. LAWRENCE told me he had written a history of Ireland, which proved that the ill-treatment of Ireland had nothing to do with religion; but that the fault was in *England herself*, which had always been equally unjust towards Ireland. When King JOHN told King GEORGE, my answer to him was: "Well, if it be so, for God's sake don't publish your book here." "The people of England seem now

"(1828) to be disposed to do you justice; but, by heavens! if you lay this accusation against *England in a lump*, they will swear, that the long continuance of the treatment proves that "it is *absolutely necessary*."

Yet, though I hear these accusations of Mr. O'Connell with regret, I cannot say that they are *unjust*; and, certainly, it would be *unnatural* in an Irishman not to entertain the resentful feeling, however strongly prudence might bleed with him not to express it. I used to blame Mr. O'CONNELL more on account of these expressions, till I saw Ireland with my own eyes. So far from blaming him now, I honour him for these marks of his deep-felt resentment; and I deem that Irishman either an ignorant man, or a base villain, who does not applaud him for every effort that he is making in behalf of his country, so long and so cruelly oppressed. The miscreant feeders on the taxes, who are continually endeavouring to excite a hatred against him; these miserable scribes are not at all aware of the real cause of the great affection which the people of Ireland have for him; nor of the implacable malice which is entertained towards him by the great and the rich. It has been frequently observed, that he who has a *hollow tile* has seldom an easy bed. Look at Ireland: see two-thirds of its rents drawn away to England by men who would not be delighted beyond measure to see their tiles traced to their sources!

Ah, MA. WARD, Mr. WARD! You are only skimming upon the surface! Yours is only such a dip upon the lake as the pretty and sweetly twittering swallow takes with the tips of its wings. Yours is no dive. So far from seeing to the bottom, you have not even made an estimate, the most loose, of the depth of the causes of the miseries, the vengeful feelings, and the sanguinary deeds of Ireland.

Out of these confiscations, forfeitures, seizures, grants, and appropriations of all sorts, have grown *taxes* as numerous as the stars in the sky. There being *no legal provision for the poor*, (mind this!) the possession of the

hovel and the little bit of ground is like the possession of *life and limb*! You wonder why the man and his family cling, like drowning creatures, to the miserable hole in which you see them: but you do not know, that, *if ejected from that, death is their doom*: there being no overseer to provide them with a shelter; the great landlord taking all away, and leaving no more protection to the poor than there is for the mice or the rats!

And now, Sir ROBERT PEEL, is this a state for eight millions of people to be in, upon the finest soil in the world? In return for allegiance there is the reciprocal claim to protection. All our lawyers agree, that allegiance *grows out* of protection; and that, where the latter is not given, the former does not exist. And are you quite clear that any power on earth has a *right* to keep a people in the state in which the Irish people now are? You may say, that we have not the power of making their state better; and, then, all the civilians, and all learned lawyers, will tell you, that you ought to leave them to the *law of nature*; that is to say, *to do what they can for themselves upon their own native soil*.

But, if you cannot do anything material directly, you might avoid every thing calculated to augment the evil. The Catholic Emancipation Bill placed Catholics and Protestants upon a level, with regard to fitness for emolument and power; but this only adds to the irritation arising from exclusion, if the provisions of the law be rendered of *non-effect*. The Orange power is nearly as dominant as it ever was; and, not having the insuperable law to afford an *excuse* for the exclusion, the exclusion becomes a direct charge against the executive Government itself. This is great and just ground of complaint. One of my first acts should be battering down the statue of WILLIAM THE THIRD, which is painted up by the Orangemen once a year, in insolent triumph of impunity to injustice. My next act should be to compel the residence of landholders, or forfeiture of rents to a certain extent, according to

the nature of the case. I would take care, I warrant you, that the people of Ireland should not toil to furnish money to enrich the wretches of PARIS, of MILAN, and of ROME. I would take care that effectual provision should be made for the relief of the destitute; and not suffer Ireland to be peopled with *farmers* who never taste meat from year's end to year's end, while twenty thousand oxen, sheep, and hogs, are shipped from her shores every week in the year. If I could not get rid of an army and a police costing four or five millions a year, to keep this people in order, *I would leave them to themselves*.

It is said that capital is wanted in Ireland. The capital is *in the land*; the land produces twenty times as much as the people consume; I mean those who work upon the land; but how is there to be capital in Ireland, if all the fruits are taken away? Go and look at an old settled farm in the State of NEW YORK, NEW JERSEY, or PENNSYLVANIA. You will generally see three houses; the second three times as big as the first; the third three times as big as the second; the first built of logs; the second with roughish stones, perhaps; the third a good brick mansion, with sash windows. The grandfather lived in the first, while he was clearing the ground, raising his food, and something to carry to the market, or to sell to some one or other. In the second the father accumulated, from a multiplied surplus carried to the market. In the third lives the grandson, very much at his ease, keeping a horse to ride, and another to go in his gig; and thus came the houses, the household goods; the farm-buildings (some of them the very finest in the whole world), *out of the land and the labour*, and out of them *alone*, while collateral branches of the families have been furnished forth during the process.

Did it ever enter into the head of this first settler to *carry out money from England* to settle with? Ah! but then these American settlers *kept all the produce to themselves*! If they had been living under the grasp of the agent of an absentee landlord, in order that the

latter might squander the fruits amongst the gabbling devils at Paris, or at BRUSSELS, or in the "*charming mountains*" and *vales* of the base Swiss ;" or in "*trips over the Simplon*," or amongst the perfidious and Whig-like-cut-throats of Italy, then, indeed, no capital would have grown out of the land of NEW JERSEY, and even the first miserable log-hut, as the progeny increased, would have degenerated down into the deplorable hovels of the ill-treated people of Ireland. *Capital*, indeed ! Send over English capital to Ireland, to be taken away by the grasping and profligate tyrants, who haunt the "*hells*" in that parish, which abuses and dishonours and blasphemes the name of ST. JAMES ; and who make the squares of the West-end, and the villages round the Wen, stink of French cookery and Irish debauchery !

This talk about "*capital*" is like all the rest of the botheration stuff which we hear from the at once sly and brazen Irish landlords, who, after making the working people pay for the sea-weed that is drifted upon the shore, and who bring the money over, swallowing the price of a car-load in one gulp of turtle soup, tell us, with a sort of a wise simper, "*What we want*, in Ireland, Mr. Cobbett, "*is CAPITAL.*"

It is for you, sir, to make Ireland abound with a sufficiency of capital. It has been formed by nature to be as happy as any country beheld by the sun in his whole course. It has the mildest of climates, the richest of soils, mountains green to their tips ; stone and mortar and slate everywhere at hand ; and a people as stout, as hale, as laborious, and with only commonly decent treatment, the most docile upon the face of the earth. It is by nature agricultural, though the greedy beasts that rob it are crying out for manufactures. In short, God seems to have done everything to make its inhabitants happy, and man seems to have done everything to make them miserable ; and it is your bounden duty, and the duty of every man who at all meddles with public affairs, to neglect nothing

within his power, now to undo all the mischiefs which England has inflicted upon this valuable part of his Majesty's dominions.

I shall find some other opportunity of stating the wrongs done to Ireland by the reform-bill, and also my opinion with regard to the very great dangers which must finally arise from driving the Irish people to the United States of America. In the meanwhile,

I remain, Sir,

Your very humble

And most obedient servant.

WM. COBBETT.

TO THE

EDITOR OF THE STANDARD.

King's Norton, 27. Jan., 1835.

SIR,—I have read in *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, as extracted from your paper, an article, which I shall insert at the end of this letter, and which article gives us your opinions about the Ministers' intention as to church reform.

Well ; but, stop, now, before we go any further. You have read the "*LEGACY TO LABOURERS*" ! I know it was sent you on the 17th ! And did it not make you feel ? Was it not like a stroke of American thunder, and did it not sweep from your mind all the howlings of the Whigs, and all the cacklings of the stock-jobbers ? Has a sharp fever never made you begin to think about the worthlessness and nothingness of all the poetry and all the music and all the gay things which had so occupied your attention before ? And, can you have avoided a similar feeling upon reading of that book, when you considered, as you must have done, if you considered at all, that a million of men in this island, capable of bearing arms, will have all the knowledge and all the principles contained in that book, safe in their minds, before this day nine months ? That is the real pressure from without ; and if any man thinks to carry the country through this mess of difficulties, without that pressure at his back, he is the most mistaken of mortals !

Fellows that have power in their hands always *stand in their own light*. Why should a book like this sell at this surprising rate! "Oh," the fool in power will say: "it is read by nothing" but the rabble: it is not read by the "*intelligence of the country*"! However, let us not waste our time about this any more at present, but go to your affairs of the church.

And, do you really think, sir, that that which you propose, and which you doubtless know to be the intentions of the Ministers to propose, will satisfy the people? Why, you appeal to the *church-people*. I am a churchman; understand its doctrines and all belonging to it, I do verily believe, not only better than Sir Robert Peel and his colleagues, but better than his bench of bishops. I know it to be a sober, grave, and decent mode of worshipping God; I hold that an habitual attendance at the church, with due reverence to the clergy, are necessarily productive of the best effects; I know that the establishment is, according to its intention and its foundation, this: that it provides religious teaching as matter of RIGHT (and I despise every thing which is not of right); I know it justly retains out of the revenues of the land a share for the poor man who has no land, and gives him a minister, a church, a churchyard, to be his of right as much as they are a right to the rich; and that when I am told that every man ought to be referred to his own purse for the maintenance of his minister, this is nothing more than the unjust and insolent rich saying to the poor man, "I will rob you of the last remains of your patrimony."

These are the grounds upon which I shall defend the church; and, every one who has been a reader of my writings must know, that it must be to me a matter of the deepest regret, of the profoundest mortification, that I now think it my duty to endeavour to effect a complete REPEAL OF THIS CHURCH; a complete doing away of the establishment altogether, and causing there to be that which the Dissenters call, a separation of church from

state. Now, sir, you will not find me blink this question; you will find nothing *louche* in my proceedings; I will entertain no hypocritical gabble about grievances of Dissenters, the church being, as it is now managed, a grievance altogether to them, as well as to me. If I have my health and strength, during the next session of Parliament, I will move for a repeal of all the acts of Parliament, by which this church was made, and by which it is now upheld; unless some other member choose to do it, and then that other member shall have my support.

Sir, I am rather anticipating here; for in my third letter to Sir Robert Peel, which will appear in the *Register* next week, I have shown that the abuses of this church are such, that it is impossible to correct them. I know that it is impossible. Thirty years ago, when I first besought the clergy to set about the correction themselves; the debt being then only about four hundred millions, and the money-monster a pigmy compared to what he is now: thirty years ago, something might have been done in the way of correction and preservation; but, now, after the conduct of the clergy during that thirty years; after all their deeds in their character of magistrates; after the conduct of Parson Hay at Manchester, and of the archbishop, who gave him a great living a few days after the Manchester massacre; after all their deeds of 1817, 1819, and 1820; after all the knowledge that we possess, that the aristocratical clergy have been for years and years devouring the working clergy; after our seeing the sons of play-actors and the sons of play-actresses loaded with rich benefices while so many pious and learned men have been living in little better state than the livers upon tumpers in Ireland; after the accounts brought us of swagging parsons in the Palais Royal at Paris, there expending, in pursuits that I need not describe, the oblations squeezed from the parishioners in England, recollecting, as some of us do, the rigid laws passed by our fathers to prevent any portion of the parochial revenues from being spent out of the king-

down; after having seen the beneficed clergy, charged in due form of law with neglect of their duty; after having seen the actions in court to obtain the penalties from them according to the statute; after having seen these actions twice stayed by act of Parliament, finally quashed, and a new act brought in to secure the parties impunity for the future; after having seen whole crowds of the sons and dependants of the aristocracy rush from the army and the navy into "holy orders," and seen them receive benefices, receive the tithes and oblations with one hand, and receive the pay as soldiers and sailors with the other, though, observe, they could not receive the half-pay but as a retaining fee for future services; and though the law, by making the clerical character indelible, made such services impossible, and subjected the parties, if they did perform the services for which they received pay, liable to excommunication. After having seen all this, and seen fifteen hundred thousand pounds voted out of the taxes, paid principally by the working people, "to relieve the poor clergy of the church of England," while there were hundreds upon hundreds of the aristocratical clergy who hold two or three livings each; and while there were bishops with incomes of more than forty thousand pounds a year each: after having seen all this, and seen that we were still to keep up an army for the collection of the tithes, none but an idiot would think of a correction of these abuses, and for my part, I resolved to do every thing that I could to remove these scandalous, these crying, these during these insistent violations of the law, by a removal of the whole of the thing out of which they grew.

And, sir, though Ministers may be blind as bats, why should you be so miserably blind as to believe that the people in general look upon the revenues of this enormous body as tending to propagate religion? They believe no such a thing; they believe all the revenues to be just so much taken by the aristocracy for their own purposes. They see who the bishops are; who the deans are; who the great livings are

all heaped upon; and they want nobody to tell them what are the real uses of this establishment at this time. Some put forward pretences that they wish to render the church *more efficient*: others pretend their wish to uphold the church, but to remove the tithes and other inconveniences! I will give in to no hypocritical pretence whatsoever: the church was made by act of Parliament; it has been sustained by act of Parliament; it is sustained by act of Parliament still; I think that this establishment ought to be repealed: "Dissenters' grievances" is nonsense if you retain the tithes and the church-rates. Well, then, the church must be repealed, or the people must do what they can, and I know pretty well what they will do.

I know that you will tell me, as James the First said, "No bishop, no king." That was a cry without a meaning; but you will tell me that you do not think that the lords can exist without the bishops and the church. I do not see why they cannot; but, if it were so, the fault would be none of mine. If they do not repeal the Poor-law Bill pretty quickly, and call in the pressure from without in the shape of universal suffrage, my opinion is, that the ten-pounders and the money-monster will not let them have a very quiet life of it for any great length of time. Then you will exclaim, "HERE COMES REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT"! Now, sir, between ourselves and quietly, let me advise you to couple those two words together in the way of menace as seldom as you possibly can. I have recently heard some arguments on that side of the question, coming from working-men, too, which would give you an agree-fit to last you a week! Oh, no, sir: let us avoid the discussion of that question; if we possibly can; I used to be very forward in saying, that I was for a government of *King, Lords, and Commons*. I do not know how it is, but I have always looked shy at these words, *since the passing of the Poor-law Bill*! No, sir: do let us be quietly as we are, in this respect, at any rate. Do not, I pray you, threaten the people with a government like that of America,

the whole civil government of which, including ambassadors, President, and every thing, do not cost so much in a year as is screwed out of our bones to be given to the Duke of Wellington alone, and that, too, at the end of twenty years of such givings. Oh no, sir, let us die quietly, and not have our last moments disturbed by dreams about General JACKSON, and his cheap government, who have paid off their debt, and have just made the French rascals pay them a good round sum, to begin filling their military chest.

I could not help observing in the course of your article, your *population* remarks. You have now swelled up England and Wales to *fifteen millions*, it seems. What a gross, what an abominable falsehood is here! This is a most ruinous as well as most villanous lie. The thing you relate cannot be true. No argument can be produced why the same progress should not have been going on before any return at all was made in 1801; and if so, there could have been no people at all in England, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Five hundred years before that, impossible for there to have been any: and then there were thirteen thousand churches built, twenty-six cathedrals, and about six hundred monasteries, without either hands or money! Verily, this is the most monstrously lying nation that the world ever heard of. For the present, sir, I take my leave, with begging you to read with attention, my third letter to Sir Robert Peel, which you will find makes a statement of difficulties in this church affair, far greater than you ever were aware of.

I am, sir,

With much respect,

Your obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

(From *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*.)

CHURCH REFORM.—The public, says the *Standard*, has already learned, through various channels; what, indeed, might have been anticipated from Sir R. Peel's character, and his declaration; that a plan of comprehensive, but safe and temperate church reform, is under consideration by Ministers. We have no reason to suppose that this plan is

as yet fully matured; but we believe that we can lay before our readers the general principles already marked out for its construction, from which general principles they can form a just estimate of the tendency of the measure, and the spirit in which it is undertaken.

"The reforms in contemplation are not directed to pleasing enemies of the church, but to the extension of its just influence, by extending religious instruction to all, and thus rendering more warm the attachment and increasing the number of its friends. May we not then confidently rely upon the clergy and laity of the church of England to lend their cordial and zealous co-operation to their friends now in power, in effecting such reforms? It is of great importance that all churchmen, of all ranks and denominations, do lend this cordial and zealous aid; because such an opportunity of strengthening the establishment by the fairest and most effectual means, can scarcely again offer in our time; and because, without some such reinforcement of its foundations, as can be derived from an increase of moral attachment to it, and of its spiritual influence, the temporal establishment may fall. The end to be proposed in any plan of church reform, must be the extension of the means of religious instruction and consolation to the whole people. The only means by which this end can be accomplished, humanly speaking, is the providing an efficient minister for every parish in the kingdom; and, in the use of the word parish, we rather mean what parishes ought to be than what many are. By every parish in the kingdom, we mean every district, be it great or small, the spiritual wants of the population of which a minister can supply. The providing of a resident, accessible, and efficient religious teacher for every family in England and Wales, whether these families are congregated in manufacturing towns, or dispersed through agricultural districts, must be the cardinal object of every really useful church reform; and we can safely say that it is the cardinal object of the plan now under consideration with Ministers.

"This is an object which cannot be accomplished without involving extensive changes. An efficient Minister cannot be had, nor indeed, whatever his pious and self-denying disposition, cannot maintain his efficiency without a competent income. It was well said, long ago, that 'scandalous livings will make scandalous ministers'; and the reform which should merely provide 10,000 or 15,000 ministers, or whatever the number, without securing these teachers from want or dependence, would ill-deserve the name. It would destroy the efficiency of the church, where it is efficient, without supplying its inadequacies in any case. But how is a considerably increased number of ministers to be provided for, without violating existing interests, and, of course, existing interests must be protected from violation; for a church re-

form, involving robbery, would inflict more moral evil by its example, than could ever be repaired by its arrangements. The first step, then, of increasing the efficiency of the church, must be a provision for the ultimate extinction, and for the present diminution, as far as respect for existing interests will permit, of the practice of pluralities. We trust that the very name of pluralism will ere long be known to our church only as matter of historical reference.

"In the next place, respect being still had to existing interests, the funds of chapters, and other collegiate institutions not connected with the universities, may be rendered available to a certain extent, still reserving enough to provide for the rewards of learning, exertion, and piety. If, in the end, these funds do not prove sufficient, the fact will be made obvious to a people at length satisfied, that the revenue provided for the church of 4 or 5,000,000 may prove inadequate to the church of 15,000,000. So far we may expect that the ministerial measure of reform to be brought forward by Sir R. Peel's Government will secure, if the thing is possible, a resident and competently paid clergy. But the efficiency of the clergy must always, more or less, depend upon the superintending care of the bishops. In order, however, to enable these fathers of the church to exercise their superintending care with useful effect, some provision, still respecting existing interests, must be made to equalize the labours of the several prelates, and to adjust their incomes in due proportion to these equalized duties. It is impossible that any plan of real church reform can leave a Bishopric of Chester for example, and others that might be named, so inadequately provided for, as they are, and so overloaded with duty. The practice of supplying to inadequate bishoprics the means of decent support, by grants of commendams, is attended with inconveniences. It renders the bishop, in appearance, though commonly in appearance only, less independent than he ought to be before the country: it protects the anomalous existence of bishoprics, so unequally provided for: and it withdraws so much from the income distributable amongst the subordinate clergy. Respect being had still to existing interests, we believe that it is intended to provide against the possible grant of commendams hereafter; an indirect, but extremely valuable consequence of the proposed equalization of duties, and the corresponding adjustment of income amongst bishops, will be both an apparent and real addition to the independence of the right reverend order. Amongst bishoprics equally provided for, as respects income, or if not partially equalized by the balance of income and labour, the hope of translation can have little influence. We have thus laid before our readers an outline, which we believe to be a faithful one, of the ministerial plan of church reform; and we recommend it to the most serious consideration of every churchman."

COBBETT'S LEGACY TO LABOURERS;

OR,

What is the Right which the Lords, Baronets, and 'Squires, have to Lands in England, any more than any body else has to the same Lands?

IN

Six Letters, addressed to the Labourers of England, with a Dedication to Sir Robert Peel.

Price 1s. 4d. bound in Leather.

I HAVE to state several things relative to this little book; and, first, my request to my sincere friends, all over England, Scotland, and Ireland, that they do their best to promote the circulation of this book. It is a little book, neatly bound, fit to go into the waistcoat-pocket of a journeyman, or a labourer, or a gentleman. It is bound in leather that it may last, and may not be confounded amongst newspapers and pamphlets. My opinion is, that the principles of this little book will finally prevail every where; and that the consequences will be and must be such as all good men have so long been praying for. I have here carried the war home to the very throats of the enemies of liberty and of justice. I have here taught the working-man what share he has in those lands which others pretend to possess in absolute proprietorship. This book will never be answered, any more than the History of the Protestant Reformation was. Here is more matter in this hundred and forty-four pages than in a hundred and forty-four volumes of the blue-covered stuff that you see on booksellers' shelves. At any rate, here are the aristocracy put to their trumps: and if the Radnors and Mildmays, and the rest of the poor-law fellows proceed, let the aristocracy take this notice from me, that this little book is only No. 1. of blows which they have to receive.

All my judicious political friends must see the vast importance to our cause of a most extensive circulation of this book; and I call upon them to help me to the utmost of their power. There has been

monstrous delay in the having of this book ready for delivery to booksellers. The book was finished printing on the last day of December; but I objected to the selling of any until the 17. of January, leaving those seventeen days to be employed in the binding of the books ready for delivery, especially as I was informed that nearly two thousand copies out of an edition of five thousand had already been bespoken. Seventeen days allowed time for the binding of the whole edition; what, therefore, was my surprise, upon arriving at Birmingham on the 20., to find that none had been yet got there, and that none could be got there; and that when I myself wrote to have a hundred sent down to a bookseller, I was told that they could not be got in from the bookbinders. This arose entirely from the person charged with the business, not perceiving the difference between a mere pamphlet and a bound book. He did not perceive that it was necessary to begin a fortnight beforehand with the bookbinders, in order to have a book for sale on the day of publication. Thus it is that booksellers and their customers have been disappointed in the country. At Manchester, on Tuesday last, 27. January, a friend of mine, who had been extremely anxious to get a copy of this book, wrote to me to say that he could hear nothing of the book being there, though so many persons were inquiring after it. This is nobody's fault that I know of; but it shall be somebody's fault, and my own fault too, if this happen again. Many of the booksellers in the country had *paid for the books beforehand*. They ought to have had them even the day before publication in London; but the want of knowledge as to making the due preparations prevented this; and all that I have to do now with regard to these gentlemen is, to satisfy them that there has been no undue preference and no foul play; but I will further assure them, that if another edition of this book be published, which I suppose there soon will, not one single copy shall be sold, *until the whole edition is delivered in from the bookbinders*; and

that the publication shall not take place in London until every order from the country be first supplied, which will, indeed, all be done in one and the same day.

I have now some remarks to make upon the difficulty which people find in the getting of my books, every where except in London.

I cannot get your books, Mr. Cobbett, from our booksellers; they never keep them; and if they tell you that they will write for them, they tell you some time after, that they "*cannot get them*;" that they "*suppose they are out of print, or something of that sort.*" Now this is the case all over the kingdom; and I do not suppose that at Bath, at Nottingham, at Birmingham, even at Manchester, any bookseller is to be found who has a book of mine for sale, or who will undertake to get it; and I know this to be the case at Dublin and at Cork. They keep everybody else's books but mine. Plenty of all the books that issue forth from the novel shops; staring at you through the panes of the shop-window: inviting you by lists hanging out at the door on placard; pressing you, by the mean soft advertisements, in the rubbishing things called Magazines and Reviews; but go into the showy shop, and ask for Cobbett's "*Paper against Gold*," his "*History of George the Fourth*," his "*Advice to Young Men*," his book on Gardening; and the poor callow-looking soul that stands behind the counter will tell you, that he never heard the names of the books before; but perhaps Mr. Quarto has. Out comes Mr. Quarto, sucking his gums; shakes his head; never heard of the books. "*Could he write to London for them*?" By all means: he writes: his correspondent tells him that there are Cobbett's books, and that *Cobbett's books cannot be had without being paid for on the counter*. That is enough: when the customer comes again, "*the books have been written for, but are not to be had in London.*"

Now every one knows, that the trade allowance to booksellers is such as they have thought sufficient for hundreds of

years past. I have never thought it too much; I have always most scrupulously prevented any sale at my shop by retail, except at the fullest, highest retail price. If I have had two books on the counter (when I myself was at hand), and there has been a bookseller's man wanting the two, and a retail customer wanting one, I have ordered the two to be given to the booksellers. So that there has been nothing wanting on my part to do the trade full justice. Nay, I should have no objection to the trade allowance being still larger than it is; but I must have and I will have the ready money or have nothing; and no one has reason to complain. Yet, such is the reluctance to part with money for any thing, that even when you can have a hundred books down by the coach, and when you are almost sure to have the profit in your pocket at the end of the week, you will not send the money to get the books. My friends in Lancashire, particularly, may, if they pay a little attention to this, and bestir themselves a little personally, do me a great deal of good, and the cause a great deal more good, in this particular instance; and I hope they will exert themselves, and such of them as think proper write to me upon the subject.

There is another great obstacle to the circulation of my books. The lords and the parsons have not been abusing me for so many years, and their vile and infamous country newspapers have not been loading me with calumny, *without effect*. One effect has been, that no genteel bookseller in a country town has thought it safe for himself and his fat wife and ugly children; has thought it safe, I say, the poor, mean, dastardly scoundrel vagabond has not thought it safe to have one of my books in his shop; while he has thought it quite safe to send forth cart-loads of libels against me. So that, through this channel they can do nothing; this channel is amongst the things that I am seeking to destroy. The desirable thing is, to have some good, plain, honest fellow, who lives within his means; to whom the

profits would be something very considerable; but by whom or for whom the money could be got to *begin with*; for, without that, there can be no books. The last time I settled up the book-debt affair, I was about seven hundred pounds behind-hand, which I never could get, and which made me resolve never to deal upon trust again.

My friends are now in possession of the facts relating to this, to me and to them, very important matter. Several gentlemen have spoken to me about purchasing numbers of these books to *give them away*. I advised them not to do it by any means. The price is low enough: the thing is more valued on account of the purchase. In short, nothing could be worse than a distribution without payment. I wish my friends to consider, in the several towns and places, the way in which they can promote the sale of this book. I think it very likely that the edition of five thousand may be sold in the course of a month; other editions will follow of course; the more it is read the more it will be read; and if I could once see ten editions of it fairly in the hands of the people, I would leave the Frankland Lewises and the Colonel D'Acourts, and the penny-a-line Chadwicks, and all the Radnors, and all the Mildmays, to "carry out" the Poor-law Bill to the hearts' content of Joseph Hume, and of all the gang of Scotch feelosofers. Let the working man read this book, and England is saved from the hands of revolutionists.

WAY TO BEAT THE WHIGS.

FIRST.—Bring in a bill to repeal the Poor-law Bill and Sturges Bourne's bills.

SECOND.—Bring in a bill to totally repeal the malt-tax.

THIRD.—Get the King's free pardon for all the pretended rioters transported in 1830 and 1831, and also free pardon for the Dorsetshire labourers.

That is all! But, must there not be church-reform? Yes; but the Ministers may have a good while to think

about it: they will not be so *hurried*. By the time that all the church-bells had been ringing for a week for the repeal of the malt-tax, great part of the meeting-goers in the country-places would begin to be reconciled to the church. In ten days's time, the pots of good beer would begin to foam in the cottages, and if I wanted a fellow's vote for church-reform, I should not like to find him sitting by the fire, holding a brown jug of beer upon his knee. Mr. O'Connell has great powers of agitation ascribed to him: never would he move one single chop-stick from his stool, while the jug of beer was in his hand or the barrel of beer in his house. Political philosophers too often overlook that which is universally allowed in other cases: namely, the effect of the body upon the mind. Now, I am so thoroughly imbued with the notion, that keeping the peace is intimately connected with the keeping of full bellies, that I should, in my subjects, prefer *rotundity of face* to all other qualities and qualifications.

"I do not like that spare Cassius," said Cæsar; and, he was a good judge.

But, do I really think, that merely the adopting of these three measures would enable Sir Robert Peel and his colleagues to silence that prodigious pack of Cerberuses called the Whigs? Not all at once; but, they could not get on: no man would dare oppose the Ministers or think of harassing them, if he ever meant to look his constituents in the face again. They could raise no clamour out of doors. Of themselves, they and their ten-pounders are nothing. It is the hundreds of thousands of angry working-men that give them their weight, and who, in fact now serve them as a standing army. And how would they get these together against men who had given them good strong beer at three half-pence a pot, and who had brought back home their brethren to share it along with them? There would be a few of the Radicals and the Mildmays and other poor-law people to try to rouse them; but, they would ask them *whether they wanted them to have coarser food?*

If I be asked whether I be so mad as to believe, that the Tories will adopt my system; I say, I do not know, whether they will or not; but, I know this, that if they follow my advice, they are upon a bed of roses at once; and that if they do not, "*bundles of thorns*" very inadequately describes that which they will have to endure; and I should by no means be surprised to see them bundled out with even less ceremony than that used towards their predecessors. If this should be their fate; then may we begin to look out for squalls: then begins the real storm, then the "pressure from without" comes, and performs its acts of duty and of justice; for, never will I believe that the people of England will imitate their persecutors by setting the law at defiance, and by doing such things as makes one shudder but to think of. I prefer seeing the measures adopted and the ministers retain their power; and, certain I am, that they can retain quiet power, and efficient power, by no other means.

BRIBERY AND CORRUPTION.

THESE infamous things, which seem inseparable from this species of taxing government, are still more daringly carried on than ever, in many places; and I remember a friend of mine saying many years ago, It is impossible it should be otherwise, when sixty millions a year are collected in taxes. It was greatly remiss in me not to publish through the Register my *sermon against bribery*; remiss in me not to publish it, before the elections began. But, it would be remiss not to do it now, in order that the bribed villains, especially those who call themselves *catholics* and *clergymen*, and whose tender consciences will not suffer them to pay church-rates and tithes without fears for their salvation; in order that the bribed villains of every description, but particularly of these two descriptions, should, unless they be *atheists* at the same time, have God's judgment staring them in the face for what they have done. It is right, too, that honest men, who detect

this villany, should have the judgments of God at hand, to thrust up under the noses of the villains. Whether there can be discovered any mode of punishing crimes such as these, I know not. The base villain who bribes is upon a perfect level with the villain who is bribed; and that man who will hold intercourse voluntarily with either a bribing or a bribed villain, is himself a base and worthless wretch. With this preface, I insert my sermon against bribery, which, if the whole of it cannot come into this Register, will be continued in the next. I request my friends at Oldham to cause their children to read it, and to explain to them how different their own honourable conduct has been.

FALL OF JUDAS;

OR,

GOD'S VENGEANCE AGAINST BRIBERY.

"Now, this man purchased a field with the reward of Iniquity; and, falling headlong, he burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out."—*Acts, ch. i. ver. 18.*

BRIBERY is the giving, or the taking, of money, or some other thing of value, real or imaginary, as an inducement, or reward, to do, or to cause to be done, some act which the parties know to be wicked: and, while there are few things more detestable than this in their nature, there are still fewer which have, in the affairs of mankind, effects so extensively mischievous. Yet, as, in the case of drinking and gaming, the frequency of the crime renders it less generally and strongly reprobated than it ought to be; though, if we duly consider it, either in its nature or in its consequences, we shall find that we are criminal, not only if we directly or indirectly, give it our countenance, but if we neglect any means within our power to expose it to hatred and to bring down upon it some portion, at least, of that vengeance which the Scriptures teach us is its due.

Bribery must always be a *deliberate* act, a *wilful* sin, a deed committed against the loudly and distinctly expressed admonitions of conscience. Various are the particular motives by which the wretches who *give* bribes are actuated; but, he who receives a bribe is actuated, and always must be actuated, by the base motive of *lucre*. Here are, indeed, the tempter and the tempted; but, so foul is the crime, that it is difficult to say, that the former is more criminal than the latter. In many cases the tempter is by far the most criminal; the deluder or instigator more wicked than he who yields to the temptation, because there are many cases, where the tempted party is taken by surprise: taken at a moment when he is off his guard; urged by hasty passion; misled by feelings in themselves amiable; deceived by false appearances. In these cases common charity finds an excuse for those who yield to temptation; but, he who takes a bribe, does it deliberately; does it with his eyes open; coolly calculates the money's worth of his crime; makes up his mind as to the price of his intended iniquity; determines to sell his soul, and carries it to market. In such a traffic it is impossible to make a distinction between the parties: the wretch who buys is, indeed, as worthy of detestation as the wretch who sells; but, as the latter is worthy of the deepest, the former can be worthy of no more; and, at the hands of a God of justice, they must receive the same measure of punishment.

The conduct of the chief priests, in the case of the traitor Judas, was inexpressibly base; but, it was not more base than that of Judas, who, like many, many others, offered his soul for sale. One or the other of the parties must make the offer; but, as to the magnitude of the crime, it signifies little which of them it is. To be sure, in this case of Iscariot, the circumstances were singularly shocking. The follower, the professed disciple, one of the chosen and honoured twelve, goes to the known deadly enemies of his gentle, kind, benevolent, unoffending mas-

ter, and asks them *how much they will give him* to betray that master into their hands. They offer him a *bribe* of thirty pieces of silver. He takes the bribe; becomes the *spy* of these hypocritical pretenders to piety; and the sign, by which he points his master out to the low and hardened myrmidons of the persecutors, is a *kiss*, the token of fidelity and affection! The spy and traitor knows, that the death, the ignominious death, of his innocent and generous master is to be the consequence; but, still he coolly perseveres; he has taken a *bribe*! and, having been capable of *that*, remorse could find no place in his bosom. But, God's justice was not tardy in overtaking him. He purchased a field with the wages of his perfidy; and, upon that very spot "he fell headlong, and all his bowels gushed out"; a lesson to spies and traitors to the end of the world. His accomplices in guilt, his employers and payers, were divested of their power; and the *nation* who were so base as to wink at the crime, were scattered over the face of the earth; destined to be in every country and to be owned by no country; doomed to be accumulators of wealth, and to be, at the same time, the scorn even of the beggar.

But, though this particular act of bribery was so completely horrible in all its circumstances, we must take care not to suppose, that *precisely such* circumstances, or that any *horrible* circumstances, are absolutely necessary to make the crime of bribery detestable and worthy of punishment even equal to that of Judas and the Jews. The very act of giving, or of taking, a bribe, implies an *intention* in the party to *do evil*; and, though, when the bribe be the price of human blood, our very nature calls on us for an uncommon portion of horror to be felt at the conduct of the criminals; though, when one man deliberately gives, and another as deliberately receives money, or promises, the exchange against which is to be the death, or ruin, of some one, the love or confidence of whom the bribed wretch is known to possess; though, in such a case, our loudest and bitterest

execrations justly fall on the haids of the cool, blood-seeking offenders, we must not, for a moment, suppose that there are cases, where bribery does *not* demand our detestation and abhorrence, any more than we must suppose that, because murder is worthy of death, maiming is worthy of no punishment at all;

The Scripture takes care to warn us against this error; for, it holds up to our detestation bribery of every description, and bribery of no kind more distinctly and earnestly than that kind which works its way to our neighbour through a circuitous and general channel; and which destroys the peace and happiness of the community by corrupting the sources of law and of justice. When SAMUEL became old, he set his sons to judge, that is to say, to be rulers or guides, or chief magistrates to the Israelites. But (1 Sam. ch. 8, ver. 3.) his sons "took *bribes* and *perverted judgment*." That is to say, made partial laws and regulations. Whereupon the Israelites demanded a *king*, in imitation of the neighbouring nations. They were remonstrated with upon this demand; Samuel told them of the sufferings and degradation that this would bring upon them. The answer to that eloquent, beautiful and affecting appeal which he made to them after SAUL was made king, clearly shows how much they revered him. "Behold," says he, "*here I am*: witness against me before the LORD and before his anointed: whose ox have I taken? or whose ass have I taken? or whom I defrauded? whom have I oppressed? or of whose hand have I received any *bribe* to blind mine eyes therewith? and I will restore it to you.—And they said, Thou hast not defrauded us, nor oppressed us, neither hast thou taken ought of any man's hand." 1 SAM. ch. 12, ver. 3 and 4.

Nevertheless, though they thought as highly of his wisdom as they did of that rare integrity, which had made him give up his own corrupt sons, they persisted in demanding a king, even after he had placed before their eyes the

divers acts of despotism which a king would assuredly commit. They knew what was to befall them; but, even despotism, with all its burdens, all its arrogance and all its insolence, they welcomed as a means of freeing them from that tantalizing curse; the oppression of partial laws and a partial administration of public affairs; a mockery of freedom and of justice, carried on through the corrupt influence of *bribes*, taken by hypocrites clothed in authority.

Bribery is every where, in Holy Writ, marked down amongst the most hateful of public offences. Amos (chap. 5. ver. 10, 11, 12, and 13) well describes the state of things where bribery prevails, "They *hate him* that rebuketh in the gate, *and they abhor him* that speaketh *uprightly*. Forasmuch, therefore, as *your treading is upon the poor*, and ye *take from him burdens of wheat*; ye *have built houses of hewn-stone*, but *ye shall not dwell in them*; ye have *planted pleasant vineyards*, but ye *shall not drink wine of them*. For I *know your manifold transgressions* *and your mighty sins*: they afflict *the just*, they *take a bribe*, and they *turn aside the poor in the gate from their right*. Therefore, *the prudent shall keep silence in that time*; for it *is an evil time*."

Thus it ever is: a state of things in which bribery prevails, necessarily consists, in part, of cruel oppression, and especially on the weak, or defenceless, or, as here denominated, *the poor*. A necessary consequence, danger in complaining of such oppression; and, hence the prophet observes, that, in such a state of things, *the prudent will be silent*: which may well be called the last stage of human endurance and degradation; for, to suffer, however, acutely, is a trifle, compared with the necessity of another man's groans; a species of torture which has never been put in practice, except in a state of things where bribery was the pivot of power.

"Gather not," says DAVID (Psalm 26, ver. 8 and 9) "my soul with sinners; nor my life with bloody men, in whose

"hands is mischief, and *their right hand is full of bribes*." Thus it ever is: the man who can be guilty of *bribery*, is capable of any act of wickedness. Blood may, in some cases, not be necessary to effect his designs; but the man, who will either give or take a bribe is capable of shedding innocent blood rather than not effect his purposes. His heart must be *corrupt* in the first, and it must have become *perfectly callous*, before he can, to the face of another man, give or take, a bribe. ISAIAH adds his authority to that of DAVID. He describes the *good* man thus: "He that *speaketh uprightly*; he that *déspiseth the gain of oppressions*, that *shaketh his hands from the holding of bribes*, *and that stoppeth his ears from hearing of blood*; he shall dwell on high; *his place of defence shall be the munitions of rocks*."

In this beautiful passage, too, we find *oppression* and *bloody-mindedness* associated with *bribery*; and, it really does seem that they are inseparable; and that, while oppression and cruelty cannot be carried to any great extent without *bribery*, this last can never be practised extensively without producing the two former.

Hateful, therefore, as the thing is in itself, it becomes still more hateful when we take its *consequences* into view. When we reflect on the state of depravity, at which men must have arrived, before they can open to each other a transaction, the very name of which acknowledges infamy in the actors, how are we to refrain from abhorring the wretch guilty of the offence? In other crimes, accomplices fall gradually into each other's views; they undertake, and only undertake; and are involved in the sin frequently without perceiving the extent. But, in the case of bribery, the two parties meet; they negotiate, looking each other in the face by the light of God's sun; and they coolly make and ratify a *bargain*, which stamps villain on the front of both. Bribery, nine times out of ten, includes a breach of *trust*, or *confidence*: it is an act of perfidy, bought on the one side and sold on the other; and

that, too, with the clear foreknowledge of its producing, first or last, wrong to some part or other of the rest of mankind. But, still, we have but an imperfect idea of its wickedness till we come to contemplate its consequences; till we consider the evils it brings in its train; the oppressions, the acts of cruelty, the ruin, the misery, the destruction of individuals, the disgrace and overthrow of nations, the rivers of human blood, which, through its means, are poured out on the sacrilegious altar of ambition and avarice. Luxury and effeminacy bring their evils; superstition has also its scourge in its hand; pride, folly, indolence, ignorance and insolence, have their chastisements for the nation that indulges in them; but, let *bribery* once take root: let its corrupting fibres once get fast hold; let its branches spread abroad, and all becomes poison and rottenness; the nation is doomed to suffer long and much; and even half-destruction becomes a blessing, if it rid a people of the degrading and intolerable curse.

Let us not, however, be content with this rather general view of the matter, and seem to consider it as a thing, with regard to which *we ourselves* have nothing to do. Let us rather, every man look well into his own conduct; and, judging impartially, settle the important point; whether *we* are in anywise blameable as to this matter. For nations are composed of individuals; if no individual were corrupt, all would be sound. Bribery requires two parties to give it its consummation; and, if there were none to take, there could be none to give bribes; and, hence it has been held by some, that, where corruption of this kind prevails, the greater part of the fault lies with those who take bribes. In truth, however, there is no difference at all in the two. Both commit the act for their own selfish purposes; and neither is so ignorant as not to know, that the act is unjust and infamous.

It is a fatal error if, in such a case, there can be error to suppose, that because we do nothing more than take the probably pitiful bribe; because we

stop there; because we cannot clearly trace it to all its consequences, we are, therefore, harmless, and that the sin of the consequences rests only on the head of those who have an immediate hand in producing those consequences. We know the act to be wicked; we know that the bribe is given for the purpose of having the power to do that which is wrong; for the purpose of getting at a something, which, in the end, must naturally be injurious to our neighbour, or our country, which is only another word to express our neighbour. We know this, and there needs nothing more to deter us from taking a bribe. Power, no matter of what description, acquired by bribery, must have *evil for its object*; and therefore, in the taking of a bribe, and in aiding and abetting any one in the acquisition of power in exchange for such bribe, we make ourselves answerable, in the eye of reason and of religion, for all that he may perpetrate in consequence of being possessed of that power. Evil must necessarily arise out of evil. The "corrupt tree must bring forth evil fruit"; and a share of the fruit falls to every one, who, in any manner or degree, assists in planting or fostering the tree.

According with these principles are the awful denunciations of God, whose word pronounces condemnation more especially on the *takers* of bribes. Indeed the whole herd of givers and takers are sometimes spoken of and put into one mass of horrible malefactors; but, at any rate, no distinction is made in favour of *takers*. In Jos. ch. 15, v. 34. "The congregation of hypocrites shall be desolate, and fire shall consume the tabernacles of bribery." Now, with men (if there really be such) who are blasphemers, with men who ~~disbelieve the Scriptures~~, with men who ~~ridicule revelation~~, with such, this denunciation may be tested lightly. But, will any of those, who call the Bible the word of God, despite this denunciation, will they say, that a bribe may, in certain cases, be taken without incurring the vengeance of God? Such men there may possibly be; it is possible, that there are men who affect to

look upon themselves as the elect, as endued with particular grace, as under the immediate guidance of the holy spirit, and who boast of a direct communication with heaven. It is possible that there may be men, pretending to all these religious advantages, and who, at the same time, not only think lightly of bribery, but actually give and take bribes; and, if there really be such men, all that one can say is, that, to the most detestable of wickedness in practice, they join, in professions, the most loathsome hypocrisy. Such men are not only a scandal to religion, but a dishonour to human nature, and their erect attitude of body is a disgrace to the human form. There are monsters of the visionary as well as of the substantial creation; but, what monster ever existed in either equal to the inward man swoln with the grace of God and the outward man fingering a bribe?

It is worthy of remark, that, in almost every instance where *bribery* is mentioned in the Scriptures, *hypocrisy* also finds a place. They are, indeed, constant associates. They are twin sisters. The hypocrite in religion will stick at nothing that is base, or cruel; and the baseness seems always the sweeter to him, if seasoned with cruelty. Therefore, to bribe, or be bribed, is in the regular course of one who is a hypocrite in religion; while he who is capable of bribery is capable of any act of dissimulation, and a false pretence of religion is necessary to him as a *disguise*. People of this description should have the hatred and the hostility of all the sound part of mankind. They are amongst the very greatest enemies of the human race. One of them is the cause of more mischief in the world than fifty bands of thieves; for the hypocritical briber or bribed is a scourge that reaches whole nations; compared to an intercourse with him, the robbers' den is a school of honesty, and the brothel a seminary of purity. Even the open, the daring, the shameless briber is less detestable than he who assumes the garb of piety as the bravo, whose trade is portrayed on his visage, is less detestable than the cool, sly, placid-looking, simpering killer who

wins from the thoughtless the character of *mildness*, while his whole soul is bent on blood; who does not agitate and waste himself by threats and denunciations: who employs no sounds to frighten off his victim; who, reversing the remark of the poet, "does not *speak* daggers, but *uses* them."

Sin, in all cases, endeavours to *disguise itself*. Satan is too crafty to present the wages of perdition in its naked form. A bribe, like poison, is frequently tendered, and as frequently asked for, under shapes that are calculated to disguise its real character from the eyes of common beholders. But, any benefit, profit, gain, advantage, or a *promise* to bestow any of these, no matter of what kind, in an exchange for an evil act, no matter of what description, to be committed by another, is, to all intents and purposes, a *bribe*. In the case of *Judas* it was *money*, counted down: it was the thirty pieces of silver given into the spy and traitor's hand; but, if the Chief Priest had obtained the same act from him by a promise of providing for him, or for his children or relations, the sin would not have been less detestable or less deadly. The act would still have been the same, and the same would have been the motive. Indeed, this latter mode of bribing is the most dangerous, because less open and less liable to be detected, checked and punished, and more likely to creep on, till, by degrees, it has infected the whole community. The wretches who take money-bribes, as well as those who give them, are known and detested. They take their place in the ranks of infamy. They, like common prostitutes and common vagrants, make no disguise of their practices. They are marked out as wretches to be shunned. Like common prostitutes, seeing that they are held in abhorrence, they make a jest of their infamy. But the crafty, the under-working sons of corruption endeavour to disguise, and but too often succeed in disguising, their real character and conduct from the eye of the world. They thrive by bribery, and the world does not perceive the cause of their

thriving. They do not give and receive the bribe in money; the payment of the wages of perfidy is not direct and visible; but the payment comes, in the end, and the bribery is as complete in its character as that of Iscariot himself.

(To be continued.)

PENENDEN HEATH PETITION.

To the honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The petition of the people of Kent in county meeting convened on Penenden Heath, this 24. day of October, 1828,

Most humbly sheweth,

That your petitioners, called together by the High Sheriff of the county for the purpose of deliberating on the propriety of petitioning Parliament to adopt such measures as are best calculated to support the Protestant establishment in church and state; and being of opinion that neither church nor state stands at this time in estimation as high as that in which they might stand, hope that your honourable House will not deem them presumptuous if they beg leave to be permitted to point out to your honourable House the measures which they deem best calculated to insure the important object propounded to them by the High Sheriff.

That, with regard to the church establishment, your humble petitioners perceive a great and growing lukewarmness towards it; an unpopularity approaching towards loathing and hatred, and a rapid and constantly increasing decline in the numbers of its flocks, whilst those of the Catholics, and of every description of Dissenters, are increasing in a like proportion; a fact which clearly shows that the church owes no part of its decline to a want of religious feeling amongst the people.

That your humble petitioners are convinced that this lukewarmness, unpopularity and disgust, have arisen, not so much from any general and rooted

dislike to the doctrines and ritual of the establishment, as from the conduct of a considerable part of its clergy, and more especially from the flagrant misapplication of its immense temporalities.

That, with respect to the conduct of the clergy, your humble petitioners, while they would fain obliterate from their own memory, as well as from that of all mankind, many deeds, from the punishment due to which the dignified parties have been shamefully screened, cannot disguise from themselves, and will not disguise from your honourable House, that the beneficed clergy, in general, have become lax in their manners and their morals, given in an immoderate degree to luxurious enjoyment, habitually spending their time in places of fashionable, not to say criminal, resort, and, as if this island were a sphere, too limited as a scope for dissipation, quitting the kingdom in great numbers, thus drawing from their parishes (more than one-half of which they hold in pluralities) a great part of their substance to be expended upon their own pleasures, while the cure of the parishes is left to stipendiaries, who, from the miserable pittance they receive, are wholly unable to perform even the smallest part of those duties of charity and hospitality, to ensure the constant performance of which, as well as for the teaching of the doctrines of religion, the revenues of the church were granted.

That it is well known to your honourable House that all the temporal possessions of the church, whether tithes, glebes, college lands, abbey lands, or, of what description soever, were founded on the basis of charity, and were granted, not to the clergy for their own use, but in trust for the good of the nation at large, and, especially, for the relief and the comfort of the poor, the widow, the orphan, and the stranger; and that it is also well known to your honourable House, that in Catholic times, there were no poor-rates, no church-rates, and no paupers, and that the poor were relieved, the strangers assisted, and the churches built and repaired, out of the tithes and other revenues of the church;

and that it is further well known to your honourable House; and but too well known to your humble petitioners, that the tithes, and the rest of the revenues of the church, have, by degrees, been entirely alienated from their original purposes; that the clergy now take the whole to themselves; and that the poor are relieved, the wandering stranger assisted, and the churches built and repaired, out of the taxes raised on your humble petitioners; which taxes, for the whole of England and Wales, amount annually to nearly eight millions sterling, of which, at the date of the last return, four hundred and eighteen thousand two hundred and eighty-one pounds, fell annually upon the county of Kent.

That your humble petitioners, sufficiently sore at reflecting upon these well-known facts, hardly know how to restrain their feelings; when they look at the present state of this their own country, so highly favoured by nature, once so renowned for its good living, its freedom, and its happiness; but now so depressed and pauperised by the heavy hand of taxation, and especially by the unmitigated and increasing exactions of the clergy; that, yet, even these they might bear with some degree of patience, if a due performance of religious duties were the consequence; but, when they see that the tithes of the four hundred and twenty-seven parishes of their county are in the hands of less than two hundred rectors and vicars, many of whom have prebends and other benefices in addition; when they see that eighty-seven of the parishes have no parsonage houses; that the luxurious and haughty incumbents think good enough for them to reside in; when they see that there are seventy-five parishes which have no parsonage houses at all; when they see that there are thirteen parishes which have absolutely no churches; when they behold the scene of abandonment, dilapidation, and devastation, and reflect, that at the same time, even in the parishes which have no churches, the tithes are exacted to the last blade of grass; and that there are forty-four parishes, each having less than one

hundred people, and yet having tithes exacted from them with the utmost rigour; while your humble petitioners behold all this, and see themselves taxed at the same time, for the purpose of building new churches, to be put into the hands and to add to the revenues of these same clergy; when they then behold and thus reflect, they do, they confess, feel their bosoms swell with feelings, from an expression of which they are restrained only because they can find no words commensurate with the nature and character of the case.

That, however, if your petitioners were so unjust and barbarous as to find, or so cowardly as to affect to find, consolation from reflecting that their sufferings yield in point of severity to those inflicted by the same hand on others, they might find such consolation in contemplating the treatment of their unhappy fellow-subjects, the Catholics and Dissenters in Ireland, in which part of the kingdom all the abuses above enumerated exist in a degree ten-fold greater than in England; that, in that oppressed country, there are 3,403 parishes; that the tithes and glebes of all these are received by less than 350 rectors and vicars, even the livings being only 515 in number, and that, of course, each parson has on an average the tithes and glebes of more than nine parishes; that, of the 3,403 parishes, there are only 139 which have parsonage houses; and that, consequently, there is but one parsonage-house to every 24 parishes; that, in the 3,403 parishes there are only 465 churches, so that there is but one church to seven parishes; that in this state of things, the Church of England people have become less and less in number, until, at last, there is not more than one person of that religion to every six who are Catholics or Dissenters; that in many parishes there are not more than five or six churchmen in a parish, and that, in others, there are none at all; and that, yet, the Catholics and Dissenters, who, while they build and repair their own chapels and support their own ministers, are compelled to pay tithes exacted in the

most rigorous manner, to a clergy whom they seldom see, and of whom they often know not the names, are harassed by the tithe-proctors and by processes issued frequently by the parsons themselves, acting as magistrates, and are, by the proctors, aided by armed men, frequently stripped of every thing in the world, even to their last potato; and their last rag of clothing; so that, throughout whole districts, the wretched people are, at times, reduced to a state of rage, produced by the cravings of hunger, and by feelings of revenge; that here your humble petitioners find the true cause of all the discontents, all the violences, all the horrid acts of blood, which are constantly making their appearance in that unhappy country; here, too, your humble petitioners see the cause of those laws passed of late years, for transporting Irishmen beyond the seas (and that, too, without Judge or Jury), for being out of their houses, for any fifteen minutes at one time, between sunset and sunrise; and here, also, your petitioners see the true cause that they themselves are compelled to pay heavy taxes for the support, in time of profound peace, of a large standing army, for which they can discover no real use other than that of keeping their Irish fellow-subjects at this horrible state of subjection, oppression, and degradation.

That, your humble petitioners, reserving, for the present, the prayer which they have to offer to your honourable House, relative to a remedy for the enormous abuses in the church, proposed now to state to your honourable House, that it is their decided opinion that the dangers which menace the state, arise solely from a want of reform in your honourable House, and that as to the source also they directly trace the above-mentioned conduct of the clergy, and the gross misapplication of the temporalities of the church.

That your honourable House have now upon your table a petition, which you received from the hands of Mr. Grey (now Earl Grey) in the year 1793; that in that petition it was asserted, that peers and other great men, only 154 in

number, returned *at their own pleasure, a decided majority of your honourable House*, at the bar of which House the petitioners were ready to prove the truth of their assertions; that your honourable House received the petition, denied not the facts, but permitted not the petitioners to be heard at your bar; and that your humble petitioners, in this country meeting assembled, deem it to be perfectly notorious, that the state of the representation has not improved since the time when the aforesaid petition was presented to your honourable House.

That your humble petitioners would be filled with surprise and wonder at finding that they have to pay taxes to support hundreds upon hundreds of pensioned and sinecurist lords, ladies, and children, male and female, without it being, in many cases, even pretended that they, or that any one belonging to them, have ever rendered any service to the country; that your petitioners would be surprised to find, that while the nation has only 15 foreign ministers in employ, it has actually to pay 57 foreign ministers, and to pay altogether a sum which they believe to surpass that which is paid for the same purpose by all the other nations in the whole world; your petitioners would be surprised to find, that the nation has to pay one Field Marshal or one General for every 163 private soldiers in the army, including non-commissioned officers, five Generals to every regiment of soldiers, and one commissioned officer to every four private men; that your petitioners would be surprised to find, that the nation has to pay two Admirals for every one of its ships of the line, one Admiral for every 140 sailors, and one commissioned officer, exclusive of midshipmen, for every five sailors; that they would be still more, if possible, surprised to find, that a million and a half of money has been voted out of the taxes for the relief of the poor clergy of the church of England, especially when they looked at the above-mentioned monstrous pluralities, and knew that many of the bishops have lately died, leaving from two to four hundred

thousand pounds each in personal property for the aggrandisement of their families; that the surprise of your petitioners would surpass all power of utterance in finding, that military and naval half-pay had been given, out of the taxes, to men, who were, at the same time, receiving tithes and other emoluments, as clergymen of the established church; that, in short, the least incredible of these things would appear to your humble petitioners sufficient to astonish an indignant world; but that, when your petitioners reflect on the averment of the petition of 1793, that a decided majority of your honourable House was returned by 154 persons, partly Peers and partly great Commoners, and when they further reflect that your honourable House is the sole imposer and the sole guardian and the sole distributor of the public money; when they thus reflect, and forget not that in the year 1808, a return laid before your honourable House stated, that your honourable members yourselves received amongst you 178,994*l.* a year, out of the public money; when your humble petitioners thus reflect, all ground of surprise vanishes at once, and the only question with your anxious and humble petitioners is, how long they, and their country, are doomed yet to behold this state of things.

That your humble petitioners, convinced that there can be no peaceable termination to their sufferings and the disgrace of their country, until this mighty cause of mischief be removed, most humbly and most earnestly pray, that, as the best, and indeed, the only means of supporting, for any length of time, the Protestant establishment in church and state, your honourable House will, first, pass an act to make a Radical reform in your honourable House, and that you will, next, pass an act totally abolishing all clerical tithes both in England and Ireland, appropriating the rest of the church revenues for the relief of the poor, leaving the clergy the use of the churches, the parsonage-houses, and the glebes, and, if more be necessary for their support, leaving that support to come from their

own flocks, in like manner as it now does to the priests and ministers of our Roman Catholic and Dissenting fellow-subjects.

And your humble petitioners will ever pray.

PETITION.

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The Petition of William Cobbett, of Barnes, in the county of Surrey,

Most humbly sheweth,

That your petitioner prays your honourable House, that the Protestant church of Ireland, as by law established, may be, by law, repealed and utterly abrogated and abolished; and that this prayer he founds on the facts which he, with the greatest respect, will now proceed to submit to your honourable House.

That, until the year 1547, the Catholic religion was the only religion known in Ireland; that, after the Protestant religion was introduced into England, it was, by law, made to be the religion taught in the churches in Ireland; that a Protestant clergy were made to supplant the clergy of the ancient religion; that the latter were turned out of the livings and the churches; that the altars were pulled down and the mass abolished, and the Protestant table and common prayer forcibly introduced in their stead.

That the people of Ireland saw with great indignation this attempt to force upon them a new and strange religion, and to compel them to abandon and to become apostates to that religion in which they had been born and bred, that religion which had been the religion of their fathers for many centuries, and the truth, purity, and wisdom of which were so clearly proved by its happy effects.

That, therefore, the people rejected this new religion, of the origin of which, or of the authority by which it

was imposed on them, they had, and could have, no idea; but that the Government of England persisted in compelling the Irish to submit to an abandonment of the ancient, and to an adoption of the new religion.

That, in order to effect this purpose, clergymen to officiate in the churches of Ireland were sent from England, and that to these, the tithes and other church-revenues were all transferred, leaving the Catholic clergy to beg or starve; but that, such was the abhorrence which the Irish people entertained at the thought of apostatising from their religion, that they shunned, as they would have shunned deposits of deadly pestilence, those churches, to which they had before resorted with punctuality and zeal surpassed by the people of no nation on the earth; and that, still clinging to their faithful pastors, they secretly sought in houses, in barns, in woods, in caves, amongst rocks, or in fastnesses of some sort, the comforts of that communion, to which they no longer dared to resort in open day.

The Government, irritated at this contumacy, as it was called, but fidelity, as it ought to have been called, resorted to means the most tyrannical, the most cruel, and even the most ferocious, in order to subdue this pious fidelity; that it inflicted fine, imprisonment, torture, or death, and sometimes two or three, or all of these on the same person; that it confiscated not only innumerable estates belonging to Catholics, but whole counties at once, on the plea that this was necessary in order to plant the Protestant religion; that the lands thus confiscated were given to Protestants; and that, in reality, the former owners were extirpated, or made little better than slaves to the intruders.

That, however, in spite of acts of tyranny, at the thought of which Nero and Caligula would have started with horror, which acts continued to be enforced with unabated rigour for more than 200 years; that, in spite of these acts of fining, confiscating, plundering, racking, and killing, all having in view one single object, that of compelling the people to conform to the church as

by law established; that, in spite of all these atrocious acts, these matchless barbarities of two hundred years, the people of Ireland, though their country was frequently almost literally strewn with mangled bodies, and made red with blood, adhered with unshaken fidelity to the religion of their and of our fathers; that in spite of death continually looking them in the face; in spite of prisons, racks, halters, axes, and the bowel-ripping knife; in spite of all these, their faithful priests have never deserted them; and that the priests now in Ireland are the successors of thousands of heroic martyrs, many of whom were actually ripped up and cut into quarters.

That, nevertheless, the new church, by law established, got safely into her possession all the property that had belonged to the ancient church; and that she took all the tithes, all the parsonage houses, all the glebes, all the landed estates, which in Ireland are of immense extent and value; so that Ireland exhibited, has, for nearly three hundred years, continued to exhibit; and still exhibits, the strange sight of an enormously rich established church nearly without flocks, and on the other hand, an almost mendicant priesthood with flocks comprising the main part of the people; it exhibits a religious system, which takes the use of the churches from the millions, and gives it to the thousands; that takes the churches from that religion by the followers of which they were founded and endowed, and gives them to that religion the followers of which protest against the faith of the founders and endowers, and brand their religion as idolatrous and damnable.

That your humble petitioner can form an idea of the being short of a fiend, in point of malignity and cruelty, capable of viewing such a scene without feelings of horror, and, therefore, he is convinced that your honourable House, still, as he hopes, animated with the benevolent spirit which led to the recent enactment in favour of the persecuted Catholics, will hasten to put an

end to a scene so disgraceful, and to injustice so flagrantly outrageous.

That it must be manifest to every one, that there could be, for giving the vast revenues of the church of Ireland to a Protestant clergy, no ground other than that those revenues might be applied in such manner as to cause the main body of the people to become and remain Protestants, and that, too, of the communion established by law: that those revenues, on the most moderate estimate, amount to three millions of pounds sterling a year; that several of the Irish bishops have, of late years, left, at their death, personal property exceeding, for each, two hundred thousand pounds; that the deaneries and prebends, and other benefices in the church of Ireland, as by law established, are of great value; and that your humble petitioner is sure that your honourable House will not deem him presumptuous, if he take it for granted, that your honourable House will allow, that it is impossible that any Government in its senses, that any but tyrants, and mad tyrants too, would have given immense revenues to the Protestant clergy, unless with a view, and in the confident expectation, of seeing the people, or a large part of them at any rate, converted to the Protestant faith, and joining in the Protestant communion; for that, otherwise, it must have been evident, that those immense revenues could only serve to create division, and to perpetuate all the passions hostile to the peace and prosperity of a country.

That, however, at the end of two hundred and seventy-six years, there are, in Ireland, even a less number of church Protestants than, at your humble petitioner finds good historical reason for believing, there were an hundred and eighty years ago; and that it is a fact generally admitted, that the church Protestants in that country have long been, and still are, decreasing in number, compared with that of the Catholics, and also compared with that of those Protestant sects who stand aloof from her common prayer and communion; that it is an undoubted fact,

that, in many parishes, there are scarcely any Protestants at all; that, in some parishes there is not one; that throughout the whole country, there is not, on an average, more than one church Protestant to every six Catholics or Dissenters; and that, while the Catholics are shut out of the churches founded and endowed by their forefathers of the same faith, and while these churches are empty, or, at best, echo to the solitary voice of the stipendiary agent of the opulent and luxurious non-residing incumbent, the Catholics are compelled, either to abandon the public practice of their worship, to build chapels at their own expense, or, which they are frequently compelled to do, kneel down on the ground and in the open air.

That, if your honourable House will hardly be able to refrain from expressing deep indignation at the thought of a scene like this (existing apparently with your approbation), it would be presumption indeed, in your humble petitioner, to attempt to estimate the feelings with which you must contemplate the present state of the Irish church, as by law established, and the present application of its prodigious revenues.

That there are in Ireland 3,403 parishes; that these are moulded into 515 livings, and that, therefore, each person has, on an average, the tithes and glebes of more than nine parishes; that this is not the worst however, for that many of the livings are united, and that the whole 3,403 parishes are divided amongst less than 350 persons; that of the 3,403 parishes, there are only 139 that have parsonage houses, so that there is now remaining only one parsonage house in every 24 parishes, and only 465 that have any churches, or one church to seven parishes; and that even in these, residents of the incumbent, or even a curate, seldom takes place for any length of time; that the church, as by law established, would seem to be merely the means of making, out of the public resources, provision for certain families and persons; that of the four archbishops, and eighteen bishops of the Irish Church, as by law established, there are, as your petitioner believes,

fourteen who are, by blood or marriage, related to peers; that a similar principle appears to your humble petitioner to prevail in the filling of the other dignities and livings; and that, therefore, the Irish church, as by law established, really does seem to your humble petitioner to exist for no purpose other than that of furnishing the Government with the means of bestowing largesses on the aristocracy.

That, though this must, as your petitioner presumes your honourable House will believe, be a great evil, it is attended with evils still greater than itself: that to expect, in such a state of things, a willing payment of tithes, and clerical dues, would be next to a trait of madness: that the tithes are often collected by the aid of a military force, and that bloodshed is not unfrequently a circumstance in the enterprise; that it is manifest, that, if there were no military force kept up, there could be no tithes collected; and that, therefore, to the evil of the present application of the Irish Church revenues, is to be added the cost, and all the other evils arising from the keeping up of a great standing army in Ireland; that, besides this army, there is kept on foot an armed, and, sometimes, mounted, police establishment, costing an immense sum annually; that it is clear that neither army nor police would be wanted in Ireland were it not for the existence of the church establishment, which the Catholics or Dissenters, who from six parts out of seven out of the people must naturally and notoriously do, detest and abhor; that, therefore, while the Irish church, as by law established, appears to your humble petitioner to be kept up as a source for supplying Government with the means of bestowing largesses on the aristocracy, the army and police appear to him to be required solely for the purpose of giving efficiency and permanence to that supply.

That, hence arise, as your humble petitioner firmly believes, all the contents, all the troubles, all the poverty, nakedness, hunger, all the human degradation in Ireland; and this belief

he founds upon facts which are undeniable.

That, when the Reformation laid its merciless hand on Ireland, that country, blessed with a soil and climate as good as any in the world, had 649 monasteries, and other foundations of that nature; that it had a church in every parish, instead of having, as now, one church, on an average, to seven parishes; that it had then a priest in every parish, who relieved the poor and repaired the church out of the tithes: that it had, in the monasteries and in the bishops' palaces, so many points whence the poor, the widow, the orphan, and the stranger, received relief; and that it had (greater than all the rest) unity of faith, glory to God with one voice, peace on earth, and good will towards men.

That, also, your humble petitioner need not tell your honourable House, that these have all, yea all, been swept away by the means made use of to introduce, establish, and uphold the Protestant hierarchy; that these means are still in practice, and are, in productiveness of turmoil and misery, as active and efficient as ever; and that, as long as this hierarchy shall continue to exist, these same means must, your petitioner is convinced, be employed constantly and with unabated vigour.

That, therefore, your humble petitioner prays that your honourable House, proceeding upon the clear precedents set by former Parliaments, will be pleased to pass a law to repeal, abrogate, abolish, and render utterly frustrate and of no effect, the Protestant church now established by law in Ireland; that you will be pleased to cause a just distribution, in future, of the tithes and other revenues now received by that church; that, in this distribution, you will be pleased to cause to be made effectual provision for the relief of the poor; and that you will be pleased to adopt, relative to the premises, such other measures as, in your wisdom, you shall deem to be meet.

And your petitioner will ever pray.

WM. COBBETT.

Darn-Edin, 20th April, 1835.

From the LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 23, 1835.

INSOLVENTS.

STEWART, J. F. D., River-street, Myddleton-square, coal-merchant.
TUCK, G., Cleveland-street, Fitzroy-square, grocer.
WILKINS, J., Stamford-street, letter-press-printer.

BANKRUPTS.

BILLAM, J. B., Wakefield, Yorkshire, manufacturer.
FITCH, S., Cambridge-heath, Hackney, victualler.
GIDLEY, G., Wood-street, Cheapside, button-manufacturer.
HARVEY, A., Penzance, Cornwall, watch-maker.
JAMES, D., Dartford, banker.
JOHNSTON, E., Dover-street, Piccadilly, and Charlotte-street, Edinburgh, milliner.
KEY, W., London-wall, cheesemonger.
KING, H. W., Bristol, attorney-at-law.
LYONS, N. J., South Lambeth, master-mariner.
MILES, G., Stroud, Gloucestershire, clothier.
PARK, J., Leeds, woollen-cloth-manufacturer.
RAYMENT, J., and J. Perry, Manchester, paper-dealers.
REEVE, J. T., Whitechapel, High-street, licensed-victualler.
SCHOLEY, H., Kingston-upon-Hull, draper.
SHARLAND, T. W., Lime-street, tea-broker.
WAKEFIELD, J., Hallow, Worcestershire, machine-maker.
WALKER, H. G., White Lion-street, Spital-square, coach-maker.
WIGAN, A. L., Brighton, surgeon.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

WRIGHT, J., Glasgow, wine-merchant.
THOMSON, J., Seggie, Kinross-shire, corn-dealer.
TAYLOR, R., Blackness and Dundee, chemist.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 27.

INSOLVENT.

JENNINGS, T. & T., Jun., Brompton-grove, Middlesex, heavy-stable-keepers.

BANKRUPTS.

BAKER, G., High-hill Ferry, Upper Clapton, draper.
BANKS, T., Cheltenham, linen-draper.
BOOTHBY, J., Sutton's-grounds, Westminster, grocer.
BLAIR, R., Hook, Surrey, coal-dealer.
CROSSLEY, W., Leeds, cloth-merchant.
FISHER, J. H., Trafalgar-square, Charing-cross, scrivener.

GRAY, R., Liverpool, commission-agent.
INGO, H., Newcastle-upon-Tyne, ship-broker.
JACKSON, W., and G. Longstaff, Wilde's-rents, Bermondsey, leather-dressers.
LEADER, W., Wells-street, Oxford-street, coach-maker.
MARTIN, W., Doncaster, fitter of gas-works.
MILLER, I., Liverpool, commission-agent.
OWEN, W., Manchester, glass and lead dealer.
PHIPSON, J. W., Selby Hall, Northfield, Worcester, dealer in metals.
TAYLOR, S. J., Fleet-street, London, tobacconist.
TOMBS, J. and T., Southwark-square, Southwark, builders.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Jan. 26.—The supply of Wheat from Kent was rather more liberal than usual, but from Essex and Suffolk the arrivals were moderate. The dampness of the atmosphere having affected the condition of many of the samples, and little disposition being evinced on the part of the millers to purchase, the trade ruled extremely heavy, and though selected parcels may have realized the prices of this day sennight, yet other descriptions were very difficult of disposal even at a decline of 1s. per quarter, and at the close of the market, the greatest portion of the samples remained unsold. In bonded wheat nothing transpiring.

Barley was in limited supply, and prime qualities proving still scarce, fine Chevalier and other malting descriptions fully maintained the improved rates of last week, but all other qualities were very dull sale. In distilling and grinding sorts little doing, and prices nominally the same. Fine Holstein and Danish Barley in request; of the former no arrivals have been of late received, but samples of the latter have obtained 38s. per qr. free.

Fine Malt comes sparingly to hand, and quite as dear; ship qualities were also saleable, and realized fully the previous rates.

The arrivals of Oats from England and Ireland were moderate, but rather large from Scotland. The trade was less animated than on Friday, but the advance of last Wednesday was maintained, making the article 6d. per quarter dearer than this day sennight. There were a good many country buyers at market, who did not seem inclined to accede to any improvement. In Ireland prices remain high, and in some markets are advancing, making the article fully 1s. 6d. per barrel dearer, free on board, than the rates now obtaining in Mark Lane. Bonded qualities firm; and offers are being made from Denmark, of fresh feed, at 12s. 6d. per quarter, free on board.

Beans dull but unaltered in value.

White boiling Peas heavy sale; Gray qualities, owing to the Scotch samples pressing on the market at low terms, must be noted 1s. lower. Maple in request for seed, and fully as dear.

The Flour trade was heavy, and ship qualities taken off slowly at last week's prices.

Wheat, English, White, new....	42s. to 55s.
Old	48s. to 52s.
Red, new	38s. to 45s.
Old	40s. to 44s.
Lincolnshire, red	36s. to 43s.
White	40s. to 43s.
Yorkshire, red	36s. to 42s.
White	42s. to 44s.
Northumberl. & Berwick	38s. to 41s.
Fine white	40s. to 44s.
Dundee & choice Scotch	43s. to 44s.
Irish, red, good	32s. to 34s.
White	38s. to 42s.
Rye,	30s. to 34s.
New	34s. to 36s.
Barley, English, grinding	26s. to 28s.
Distilling	28s. to 32s.
Malting	32s. to 36s.
Chevalier	38s. to 42s.
Malt	44s. to 54s.
Fine new	56s. to 64s.
Beans, Tick, new	33s. to 35s.
Old	36s. to 38s.
Harrow, new	36s. to 38s.
Old	36s. to 40s.
Peas, White, English	36s. to 38s.
Foreign	36s. to 38s.
Gray or Hog	36s. to 39s.
Maples	38s. to 41s.
Oats, Polands	23s. to 25s.
Lincolnshire, short small	23s. to 25s.
Lincolnshire, feed	21s. to 23s.
Yorkshire, feed	22s. to 24s.
Black	23s. to 25s.
Northumberland and Berwick Potato, new	24s. to 26s.
Old	—s. to —s.
Angus, new	24s. to 25s.
Old	—s. to —s.
Bauff and Aberdeen, common new	24s. to 25s.
Old	—s. to —s.
Potato	25s. to 26s.
Old	—s. to —s.
Irish Potato, new	23s. to 24s.
Old	—s. to —s.
Feed, new light	20s. to 22s.
Black, new	20s. to 22s.
Foreign feed	22s. to 24s.
Danish & Pomeranian, old	20s. to 21s.
Petersburgh, Riga, &c.	22s. to 24s.
Foreign, in bond, feed	12s. to 14s.
Brew	16s. to 18s.

PROVISIONS.

Butter, Dorset	40s. to 42s. per cwt.
— Cambridge	40s. to —s.
— York	38s. to —s.
Cheese, Dble. Gloucester	48s. to 68s.

— Single ditto	44s. to 48s.
— Cheshire	54s. to 74s.
— Derby	50s. to 60s.
Hams, Westmoreland	50s. to 60s.
— Cumberland	50s. to 60s.

SMITHFIELD, January 26.

In this day's market, which was throughout well supplied, trade was, with each kind of meat, unusually dull. With Mutton at a depression of 2d. to 4d., Veal, 4d. to 6d. per stone; with Beef and Pork at barely Friday's prices.

About 1,300 of the Beasts, in about equal numbers of Shorthorns, Devons, Welsh runts, Herefords, and Irish Beasts, with about 100 Scots, were from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and others of our northern districts; about 800, a full moiety of which were Scots, the remainder in about equal numbers of Devons, Herefords, and Welsh runts, from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 350, in about equal numbers of Herefords, Devons, and runts, with a few Irish Beasts, from our western and midland districts; about 100, full two-thirds of which were Sussex Steers and Oxen, the remainder about equal numbers of runts, Devons, and Irish Beasts, from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, and most of the remainder, including about 100 Towns-end Cows, from the stall-feeders, &c., near London.

A full moiety of the Sheep were South-downs; about a fourth new Leicesters, in about equal numbers of the Southdown and white-faced crosses, and the remainder about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, and Kentish half-breds, with a few pens of old Lincoln, horned and polled Norfolk, horned Dorsets and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent, Cons. Ann. }	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
	91½	91½	91½	90½	91½	91

COBBETT-LIBRARY.

Fourth Edition.

COBBETT'S Spelling-Book.

(Price 2s.)

Containing, besides all the usual matter of such a book, a clear and concise

INTRODUCTION TO ENGLISH GRAMMAR.

This I have written by way of

A Stepping-Stone to my own Grammar;

such a thing having been frequently suggested to me by Teachers as necessary.

1. ENGLISH GRAMMAR.—Of this work one hundred thousand copies have now been published. This is a duodecimo volume, and the price is 3s. bound in boards.

2. TULL'S HORSE-HOEING HUSBANDRY; or, a Treatise on the Principles of Tillage and Vegetation. With an Introduction, by Wm. Cobbett. 8vo. Price 15s.

3. THE EMIGRANT'S GUIDE. Just now Published, under this Title, a little Volume, containing Ten Letters, addressed to English Tax-payers. A new edition, with a Postscript, containing an account of the Prices of Houses and Land, recently obtained from America by Mr. Cobbett. Price 2s. 6d. in bds.

4. THE WOODLANDS; or, a Treatise on the preparing of the ground for planting; on the planting, on the cultivating, on the pruning, and on the cutting down, of Forest Trees and Underwoods. Price 14s. bound in boards.

5. YEARS' RESIDENCE IN AMERICA.—The Price of this book, in good print and on fine paper, is 5s.

6. FRENCH GRAMMAR; or, Plain Instructions for the Learning of French. Price, bound in boards, 5s.

7. COTTAGE ECONOMY.—I wrote this Work professedly for the use of the labouring and middling classes of the English nation. I made myself acquainted with the best and simplest modes of making beer and bread, and these I made it as plain as, I believe, words could make it. Also of the keeping of Cows, Pigs, Bees, and Poultry, matters which I understood as well as any body could, and in all their details. It includes my writing, also on the Straw Plant. A Duodecimo Volume. Price 2s. 6d.

8. MARTENS'S LAW OF NATIONS.—This is the Book which was the foundation of all the knowledge that I have ever possessed relative to public law. The Price is 1s. and the manner of its execution is I think, such as to make it fit for the Library of any Gentleman.

9. MR. JAMES PAUL COBBETT'S RIDE OF EIGHT HUNDRED MILES IN FRANCE. Second Edition. Price 2s. 6d.

10. A TREATISE ON COBBETT'S CORN; containing Instructions for Propagating and Cultivating the Plant, and for Harvesting and Reserving the Crop; and also an account of the several uses to which the Produce is applied. Price 5s.

11. LETTERS FROM FRANCE; containing Observations made in that Country during a Residence of Two Months in the South, and Three Months at Paris. By JOHN M. COBBETT. Price 4s. in boards.

12. SERMONS.—There are twelve of these, in one volume, on the following subjects: 1. Hypocrisy and Cruelty; 2. Drunkenness; 3. Bribery; 4. Oppression; 5. Unjust Judges; 6. The Sluggard; 7. The Murderer; 8. The Gamester; 9. Public Robbery; 10. The Unnatural Mother; 11. The Sin of Forbidding Marriage; 12. On the Duties of Parsons, and on the Institution and Object of Tithes. Price 3s. 6d. bound in boards.

A Thirteenth Sermon, entitled "GOOD FRIDAY; or, The Murder of Jesus Christ by the Jews." Price 6d.

13. PROTESTANT "REFORMATION" in England and Ireland, showing how that event has impoverished and degraded the main body of the people in those countries. Two volumes, bound in boards. The Price of the first volume is 4s. 6d. The Price of the second volume 3s. 6d.

A NEW FRENCH AND ENGLISH DICTIONARY.

In two parts. Part I. French and English.—Part II. English and French. By WILLIAM COBBETT, M.P. for Oldham.—Price 12s.

**THE COURSE
OF
PAPER MONEY AND BANKING,**
Or, a short History of Banking in the United States of America, with an account of its ruinous effects on Landowners, Farmers, Traders, and on all the industrious classes of the community.

By W. M. GOUGEON, of Philadelphia, in 1833.
To which is prefixed an Introduction by Wm. Cobbett, M.P. for Oldham. Price 4s. 11. Bolt-court, Fleet-street, and all Book-sellers.

Just published, price 4d.,

NATIONAL REGENERATION.

1. Letter from Mr. Fitton to Mr. Fielden.
2. Letter from Mr. Fielden to Mr. Fitton.
3. Letter from Mr. Holt to Mr. Fielden.

Which Letters contain a development of all the principles and all the views connected with this important change in the manufacturing affairs of the country.

Just published, price 4d.

MR. COBBETT'S SPEECH.

AND THE
**OTHER SPEECHES ON HIS MOTION
FOR AN ABOLITION OF THE MALT-TAX.**

JOURNAL
OF
A TOUR IN ITALY,

AND ALSO IN PART OF
FRANCE AND SWITZERLAND;

The route being

From Paris, through Lyons, to Marseilles, and, thence, to Nice, Genoa, Pisa, Florence, Rome, Naples, and Mount Vesuvius;

AND

By Rome, Terni, Perugia, Arezzo, Florence, Bologna, Ferrara, Padua, Venice, Verona, Milan, over the Alps by Mount St. Bernard, Geneva, and the Jura, back into France;

The space of time being,
From October 1828, to September 1829.

CONTAINING

A description of the country, of the principal cities and their most striking curiosities; of the climate, soil, agriculture, horticulture; of the prices of provisions and labour; and of the dresses and conditions of the people;

AND ALSO

An account of the laws and customs, civil and religious, and of the morals and demeanour of the inhabitants, in the several States.

By **JAMES P. COBBETT.**

Price 12s.

A GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY
OF ENGLAND AND WALES;

CONTAINING

The names, in Alphabetical Order, of all the Counties, with their several Subdivisions, into Hundreds, Lathes, Rapes, Wapentakes, Wards, or Divisions; and an Account of the Distribution of the Counties into Circuits, Dioceses, and Parliamentary Divisions.

ALSO,

The names (under that of each County respectively), in Alphabetical Order, of all the Cities, Boroughs, Market Towns, Villages, Hamlets, and Tithings, with the Distance of each from London, or from the nearest Market Town, and with the Population, and other interesting particulars relating to each; besides which there are

MAPS;

First, one of the whole country, showing the local situation of the Counties relatively to each other; and, then, each County is also preceded by a Map, showing, in the same manner, the local situation of the Cities, Boroughs, and Market Towns.

FOUR TABLES

Are added; first, a Statistical Table of all the Counties, and then three Tables, showing the new Divisions and Distributions enacted by the Reform-Law of 4th June, 1832.

Price 6s. a new edition of the
ENGLISH GARDENER,
OR,

A TREATISE

On the Situation, Soil, Enclosing and Laying-Out of Kitchen Gardens; on the Making and Managing of Hot-beds and Green-Houses; and on the Propagation and Cultivation of all sorts of Kitchen-Garden Plants, and of Fruit-Trees whether of the Garden or the Orchard.

AND ALSO,

On the Formation of Shrubberies and Flower-Gardens; and on the Propagation and Cultivation of the several sorts of Shrubs and Flowers;

CONCLUDING WITH

A KALENDAR,

Giving instructions relative to the Sowings, Plantings, Prunings, and other labours, to be performed in the Gardens, in each Month of the Year.

By **WILLIAM COBBETT.**

MISS EDGEWORTH'S WORKS.

With Superb Embellishments, in 18 Volumes.

THE TALES and NOVELS of MARIA EDGEWORTH. Complete in Eighteen Volumes, price 5s. each, handsomely bound in water-lined cloth, and lettered. The Illustrations drawn by W. Harvey, and engraved in the first style of excellence by Goodall, C. Ro's, Goodyear, H. Robinson, Finden, Bacon, Euglehart, &c.

This elegant Edition corresponds in size and illustration with Byron, Crabbe, and Scott's works; and must be a desirable acquisition to all libraries. As a present for youth it is unexceptionable; and for the drawing-room table no work can be more appropriate.

The Edition contains the following, any portion of which may be had separately, price 5s. each volume, viz:

CASTLE RACKRENT and IRISH BULLS, one volume.

MORAL TALES, two volumes.

POPULAR TALES, two volumes.

TALES of FASHIONABLE LIFE, and **MODERN GRISELDA,** five volumes.

BELINDA, two volumes.

LEONORA, and LETTERS for LITERARY LADIES, one volume.

PATRONAGE, three volumes.

HARRINGTON, one volume.

ORMOND, one volume.

London: Baldwin and Cradock; and other Proprietors.

MORISON'S PILLS.

Cure of Asthma.

To Mr. J. Borlase.

SIR.—For nearly four years past I have been afflicted with a severe Asthma. I need not say that the nature of this disease is such as to deny all peace to the sufferer. I was advised to try Morison's Pills. I applied to Mr. James Menown, your worthy and intelligent Agent in Downpatrick, who advised me strongly to give the medicine a trial. I did so, and followed his instructions closely; and I have only to add that 13s. 9d. worth of the pills has so completely removed the complaint that I can now breathe as freely as any man in the county Down! You may publish this if you please: it may be of use to both you and my neighbours.

I am, sir, &c,

JOHN M'CAUSLAND.

Near Killyleagh,
20. August, 1834.

Cure of Inflammation of the Bowels.

I, William Smith, of Duffield Bank, in the county of Derby, stone-getter, hearing there is a case now pending at York Assizes against Mr. Webb, agent for Morison's Medicines, who now stands committed for trial on a charge of manslaughter, for administering Morison's Pills, do hereby certify that I, about the 15. of November, 1832, was attacked with a severe inflammation of the bowels, when Mr. Thornberry, of Duffield, (my club doctor), was called in to attend me. He took one quart of blood from me immediately, and another quart in the space of twelve hours; and the day after, applied fifteen leeches on my bowels, and the same night sixteen more were applied to the same place. He ordered a warm bath the following day, and the day afterwards he applied a large blister to my bowels, besides administering a quantity of internal medicine; but nothing that he gave me went through me, or operated in any way whatever, only weakened me very much, and my pain was never abated in the least. Mr. Hill, of Derby, surgeon, came and approved of Mr. Thornberry's proceedings, but expressed mine as a hopeless case, without very great care and attention. I had then been getting worse for four or five days, and having heard of the wonderful cures performed by Morison's Pills, I, as a last resource, sent for Mr. Probett, of Derby. He came about eight at night, and stayed with me until nine the next morning. He gave me fifteen of the No. 2 Pills as soon as he arrived, and in two hours afterwards he gave me twenty-two of the same sort. I was continually vomiting, and was purged very much, until five o'clock the next morning; the pain then entirely left me. Mr. Probett then gave me twelve No. 1 pills, which gave me great relief. I took twelve No. 1, and sixteen No. 2, alternately, every night and morning for a week, and then gradually decreased my doses as I gathered strength, and in less than a month's time from Mr. Pro-

bett's first attending me, I was enabled to go regularly to my employment.

WILLIAM SMITH,
Duffield Bank.

Witnesses { Elizabeth Smith
Samuel Ellicock
10. July, 1834.

SIGHT RESTORED, Nervous Head-ache Cured, and Cholera Prevented. Under the Patronage of his late Majesty and the Lords of the Treasury.—Mr. Abernethy used it, and termed it the faculty's friend and nurse's vademecum. Dr. Andrews also recommends it. CURES—Mr. A. Mackintyre, age 65, 3, Silver-street, Golden-square, of gutta serena. Mr. P. Sanderson, 10, Harper-street, Leeds, of cataract. Mr. H. Pluckwell, Tottenham-house, Middlesex, of ophthalmia. Miss S. Englefield, Park-street, Windsor, of nervous head-ache. Testimonials from medical gentlemen and families of the first respectability, proving the above, may be seen at 39, Broad-street, Bloomsbury, and 24, King-street, Long-acre.

The high patronage GRIMSTONE'S EYE-SNUFF has obtained, is a testimonial beyond suspicion. This delightful compound is the most wholesome snuff taken, and is recommended for its benign influence on all who use it. Sold in canisters, at 1s. 3d., 2s. 4d., 4s. 4d., and 8s. each. Look to the signature of the inventor, and the patronage. Sold in every country town.

Just published, price 4s. 6d.

AN ESSAY towards an easy and useful System of LOGIC.

By ROBERT BLAKEY, author of "The History of Moral Science," &c.

London: James Duncau, 37, Paternoster-row.

CHEAP CLOTHING FOR THE SEASON,

AT

SWAIN AND CO.'s, Tailors, 93, Fleet-street, near the avenue leading to St. Bride's church.

FOR CASH ONLY.

	£.	s.	d.
A Suit of Superfine Clothes.....	4	18	0
Ditto, Blue or Black.....	5	10	0
Ditto, Imperial Saxony cloth	6	0	0
Petersham Great-coat	3	3	0
A Suit of Livery.....	4	10	0

And every other article equally cheap.

I recommend Messrs. Swain and Co. as very good and punctual tradesmen, whom I have long employed with great satisfaction. WM. COBBETT.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.



TO

SIR ROBERT PEEL.

LETTER III.

What you will do with the Church and with the Dissenters in England.

SIR,—The very putting of this question argues *revolution* near at hand. It is useless, and childish, and foolish, to attempt to mince the matter. A revolution has been gradually going on from the year 1797, to the present day; and the thing to be desired is, and the thing to be worked for, to prevent the revolution from being unjust and sanguinary; and to accomplish this so desirable an object, to take care now to do nothing unjust, and especially nothing insulting and cruel, towards the great body of the people. You have in the newspaper press, several men possessed of great knowledge, and of great powers of writing; but, in attending to these men, you should bear in mind, that though they know what is right and would, if left to themselves, say what is right, their business is to go no further than they find that you intend to go, and they keep disguised from you that which they themselves see, and that which they well know must come to pass. Therefore, they talk of our "*revolutionary designs*," as if we meant something very nearly approaching to a dissolution of society, and a return to a state, in which there would be no law, but the law of the strongest.

Now, then, sir, *what is revolution?*

[Printed by W. Cobbett, Johnson's-court.]

If it have any meaning at all, besides that of being synonymous with change, it means a doing away, a casting aside, of the long-settled laws of the country, which have become dear to the people from traditionary circumstances, which every one knows has most wonderful weight with the *Commons*, as they were formerly called, and not the "*lower orders*," as they are called by the impudent wretches who live upon the fruit of their toil. Well, then, this being revolution, who is there that has done so much in the revolutionizing way as yourself? You have not only demolished three hundred ancient acts of Parliament, or somewhat ancient acts; but have made a pretty good gap in the common law. You have set aside the trial by jury in innumerable instances: you have transferred the power of the judge, in many instances, to the hands of the magistrates, who are appointed by the crown, and removeable at its pleasure; and you have hereby made the much-boasted-of *independence of the judges*, a despicable farce. Where the judges inflict one penalty, your magistrates inflict fifty. You have made that which was petty larceny, grand larceny; you have made civil trespass, where the poor are concerned, to be misdemeanour; you have made that which was misdemeanour to be felony; you have allotted transportation for seven years, on the fiat of the magistrates, without appeal, instead of a penalty of five pounds.

A volume would not even briefly describe the various revolutionary acts, of which you yourself have been the author. And you have at last introduced the *Porto Rico*, English horror of which is recorded even in the noisy and boasting songs of the *Commons*. What, then, and after having done all this yourself, after the people having seen you abolish, one by one, all the laws calculated for their protection, and which they held to be so dear to them, are you to wonder that the constitution

(that is to say the *whole body of the laws and usages* of the kingdom) is not revered as much as it used to be; are you to wonder, if the people see less danger in getting rid of the rest of it? No, no; this is no matter of wonder; you now see the effects of your revolutionizing measures; and if you be wise, you will set at work at once to *retrace your steps*; and if you do not do this, I know what will be your fate, though I do not choose to describe it.

Before I enter upon my subject, I will just mention *three things*. There was a mode of punishment existing in England, of very ancient standing, and of very frequent use; I mean the pillory; and certainly, a better mode of punishment never was invented. A *lord*, however, was sentenced to the pillory for an alleged fraud. Other men of high rank had been found guilty of crimes that shall be nameless. The pillory was abolished by act of Parliament, as far as related to all crimes except *perjury*! That is one of the three. The next is: the law, as old as England itself, sentenced the *self-murderer*, and very wisely, very justly, so sentenced him, to be buried in cross-roads, with a stake driven down through his body. A *lord* cut his own throat and killed himself. A jury, in Kent, did, indeed, find him to have been iusane, though he was active in fulfilling the offices of the three Secretaries of State at the very moment when he cut his throat; and, therefore, the cross-road burial did not take place. It was avoided, however, by a very narrow squeak; and this law, this part of the law of *felu de se*, was, and I believe on your motion, soon afterwards repealed by act of Parliament! The third instance has a mixture of ridiculousness that makes it diverting. The VAGRANT ACT, which, in some shape or another, had always existed in England; and which had always described as *vagrants*, *play-actors* and *play-actresses*, and had very properly so described them: this act at last saw a considerable number of peeresses and mothers of peers, who had been *play-actresses*; and who, of course, had a good time of their lives been vagrants in

the eye of the law. At last, however, here came a Duchess, whom I had seen upon the boards many a time, after paying three shillings. This was too much to bear; the old Vagrant Act was repealed, and another brought in, *omitting the mention of play-actors and play-actresses*! Here then is another batch of revolutionary doings.

Now, sir, have you adopted the idea, that these things are not seen through by the working people? If you have, you are the most deceived of all mankind. By your talk everlasting about the "*intelligence*" of the country, one would really imagine, that you thought those in smock-frocks and leather aprons paid no attention to things of this sort. I would bet my life, that the first hundred weavers you will go to in Lancashire; the first hundred hedgers and ditchers and ploughmen in any of the agricultural counties; the first hundred citizens in any of the towns except London, know more about all these laws and these revolutionary alterations, than nineteen twentieths of the members of the two Houses of Parliament know about them, if you leave out the lawyers; and if a list were made out of the changes which you have made injurious to the liberties and rights of the Commons, it would frighten even yourself. In London, the objects which attract the attention of the working people are too numerous, and of a nature too heterogeneous, and afford them too much amusement, to suffer them to fix their attention on these changes, and to make a due estimate of the intention, as well as the effect, of them. It is not the "*intelligence*" of the wretches of the Stock Exchange, or of the heroes of the Lumber Troop, or the association of *Codgers*, or of Odd Fellows: it is there that GROTE, and his like, can safely practise their deceptive generalities. It is amongst the men who really work where that *intelligence* exists which bad government has to fear. However, this you will not believe, until it be too late; but, believe it or not, this is the greatest of all the difficulties which you have to encounter; because here you have the quiet and judicious good sense,

constantly at work against you; and you have no earthly means of counter-acting it, even in the smallest degree.

Well, then, that which you are called upon to do with regard to the church of England and the Dissenters, *is revolution*; but it is not so much revolution as that which you have made, without consulting the people, and against their will. It is a very great error to suppose, that none but the Dissenters want any change with regard to the church. Even if that were so, they would be fully entitled to the change; but, if the church people were attached to the church, if the church people approved of the present distribution of the tithes and other church property; if they were content to let things remain as they are, you might set the claims of the Dissenters at defiance, though those claims are so clearly just. You have said, in your manifesto, that you shall be ready to correct *every abuse* in the church. I think you qualified this by adding, *every proved abuse*. Now, you do not say what sort of proof you will want; but, a short glance at the *present state of this church* may serve to suggest to us something with regard to this sort of proof. You know, then, or ought to know, that there are in England and Wales, 13,542 parishes, that these have (very unjustly towards the people) been moulded into 10,421 benefices; that there are 258 of these benefices, which have *no churches at all*, the churches having been suffered to fall down; that there is no pretence that any Divine Service is ever performed in those parishes; but that the parsons still receive all the tithes, great and small, and all the offerings, of those parishes. Might I not stop here and ask, whether this church ought to be suffered to exist any longer? Is not this an *abuse*? Is not this proved by returns laid before the Parliament by the bishops themselves? And will you *correct* this abuse? Never, as long as you live, except with the aid of that *pressure from without*, which you seem to dislike so very much.

However, this is a mere drop in the

ocean of abuses which this church exhibits to the world. If my eyes do not deceive me, I read in Statesman STANLEY's speech to the people of North Lancashire, *that it is clear that the clergy of the church of England do not receive enough*; and that they ought to have *something more*, out of the pockets of the people, of course. Does Statesman STANLEY know, that out of the 10,421 benefices, there are 3,503, which, on average, do not yield the *incumbent of each eighty pounds a year*? What! *three thousand five hundred and three* benefices in this horrible state! The poor incumbents cannot, I suppose, induce the ungodly and grudging people to yield them the tithes and oblations of their parishes. Oh, no, sir! it is not thus. The people are not ungodly, and would fain yield their tithes and oblations to the parsons of their parishes; but, sir, the superior clergy; the bishops, deans, archdeacons, prebendaries, and the like, come and take away the tithes and oblations, and would leave the poor parson to starve, literally to starve, if he did not hire himself as a journeyman, and perform, as it is called, Divine Service in three or four parishes in the same day. Besides this, however, there is the monstrous, the flagrant, the diabolical, proceeding of augmenting the income of these small livings, *out of the taxes*, fifteen hundred thousand pounds of which was voted while you were in power; to this source is added, what is called "*Queen Anne's Bounty*"! Just as if she ever had any thing to give, just as if she ever had enough to buy a smock, except what she received out of taxes raised upon the English people. The truth is, that she gave up a part of the crown revenue, called "*tenths and first fruits*"; she bountifully gave up this to augment the "*small livings*"; but the Parliament of that day gave her twice the sum which she gave, out of the taxes raised upon this laborious, cajoled, cozened, and humbugged, people; some of whom still believe, that this Queen gave the parsons something that was her own, and got nothing in exchange for it. Not so, *my constituents*, however, who laughed, ready to fall off

their chairs, when I explained to them the nature of this jugglery.

But, sir, the "*small livings*"; "*too little*," as Statesman STANLEY describes it. What does he mean by "*small livings*"; and what do the jugglers of Queen Anne's Bounty-affair mean by "*small livings*"? The parish of HURSTBOURNE PRIORS united with MARYBOURNE, into one benefice, lying in the north of Hampshire, is one of these small livings. The parish of HURSTBOURNE TARRANT, united with the parish of DEAN, and adjoining the former union, is another of these small livings. I know these four parishes pretty well; the incumbents of them get a mere trifle besides what they receive out of the Queen Anne's Bounty-tax. I should think that there were ten thousand acres of land in each union, which, at four shillings an acre, would amount to two thousand pounds a year; and the bishop's return states the income, augmented by the taxes and all, to be under a hundred and fifty pounds. Well, then, where do the two thousand pounds go to; where do they go to, I say? They go, in the case of one of the unions, to my knowledge, and in the case of both, according to my belief, to the notorious pension-eater, JOHN KING, who was so long under-secretary to Lord GRENVILLE; who has a retired pension of two thousand pounds a year, and, over and above that, a pension settled on his wife for her life! But, you will exclaim, how came KING in possession of the revenues of these benefices: it was surely the devil, that thus took away the incomes of the parsons, and gave them to KING! Not quite, sir: the revenues were given to him by the Dean and Chapter of SALISBURY; but, say you, why should they give it to KING? Why, because KING gives them some money for it. In short, they are the proprietors, and they give him a *lease*. KING, and the Dean and Chapter, pocket the revenue between them; and the people of these parishes are compelled to put up with a miserable curate, who makes some of them walk three or four miles to church. Instead of, in some cases, a hundred yards: *meeting-houses* rise up;

and the church and the parson are suffered to carry on religion by themselves.

Now, then, sir, if these facts be true; and if I prove them to be true, before any committee that the House of Commons shall appoint, will Statesman STANLEY say, that the church has *too little* in these instances? Will you say, if I prove the thing to be true, that this is not a "*proved abuse*"; and, if you do allow it to be a *proved abuse*, will you *correct it*? You no more dare attempt to correct it, than you dare seize a rattle-snake by the gills. The Dean and Chapter have got KING's money: will you make KING vacate the lease, and the Dean and Chapter disgorge that which KING has given them to swallow; or will you quash all the rights at once, and place the advowsons in the gift of the King, where they ought always to have been. KING will cry "*robbery*" and "*rapine*"; the holy men at SALISBURY will cry "*sacrilege*"; and, without the potent assistance of the "*pressure from without*"; that thing which you seem most to abhor of all things in the world, the very mention of this matter will swamp you, and make you glad, like the hero of the Poor-law Bill, to hide yourself amongst the gabbling HOMMES DE LETTRES at PARIS. Nothing but sight would save you from the unquenchable fury of this corporation of tithe-selling ecclesiastics. However, if things should come to this pass with you, I beg leave to recommend *Pennsylvania*, in preference to France, where the *canal-shares* (you know what I mean) may serve as a resource, and may make you smile at the misadventure of HURSTBOURNE TARRANT and HURSTBOURNE PRIORS.

You will please to observe, that there are nearly one-half, if not fully one-half of the livings of England, in somewhat this state; and will you *correct this abuse*? There are several livings which do not, on an average, yield the incumbent ten pounds a year; and what are you to do, unless you can make the superior clergy disgorge? These superior clergy are the peers themselves; the sons, brothers, and relations of peers, or of baronets, and other great landowners;

and how are you to get these revenues out of their clutches? The great parish of LEEK, in Staffordshire, with a population of 5,200 people, and containing 10,000 acres of land, or, perhaps more, presented a petition, complaining, that their parish yielded three or four thousand a year in tithes and oblations, which was all taken away by a Mr. TYRRELL, a member for the county of Suffolk, while their miserable parson had not above thirty or forty pounds a year. Sir OSWALD MOSELEY presented this petition from the parish of Leek, during the session before the last, complaining of this intolerable abuse; and backing the complaint with his own opinion. Lord WILLIAM LENNOX, with the warmth of generous youth, joined to his pious regard for the established religion, expressed his hope, that "*a reformed Parliament would not suffer such abuses to exist a moment longer.*" Up got Mr. TYRRELL, and in a very subdued tone, endeavoured to *defend himself*. He told us in very mild language, that the tithes and other ecclesiastical revenues of LEEK were his property; that they formed a part of his income, and of the means of suitably providing for his family; that this property had not been purchased by him, but by his father, or grandfather, I forget which. "Purchased," said some one, "Who can have the right of selling it to you?" I do not know any thing about the *right*, said Mr. TYRRELL; but I know that it was a long lease purchased by my ancestors, of the *Dean and Chapter of Lichfield*! That closed up the mouths of us all: we had just been at prayers before. What a set of such holy men had done could not be wrong; therefore, the parish of LEEK and their poor parson were left to their fate: the meeting-houses were left to be crowded, and the church to be abandoned!

Now, sir, is not here a *proved abuse*? Yet, before you even *talk* of correcting it, go and snatch the mangled lamb that you see in the jaws of the tiger; take the deadly viper in your hand; or, worse still, show yourself unable to discover merit enough in the works of an author to induce you to advise him

to print it! In the latter case prepare yourself for toes, claws, tongue, and teeth; but, even all these are nothing to what you would have to face, if you were even to hint at the justice of causing the holy men of LICHFIELD to disgorge. No, Sir ROBERT PEEL, you cannot redress these abuses, monstrous as they are, without the irresistible "*pressure from without*" at your back.

But is this all; and while the people are called upon to pay taxes to relieve the poorer clergy of the church, two, three, four, or five, really distinct benefices, of one sort or another, are heaped upon the peers, their relations, the baronets, their relations, the great landowners, their relations, and the tutors and dependants of them all. Nor does this distribution of church-property confine itself to *male* relations and dependants. I know a great man, who was never married, but who had the good luck to have two daughters; two parsons the good luck to marry them; and then each parson to have the good luck to get a good living! I will not allude to *another mode* by which women work in the affairs of the church. I believe you know, sir, that, according to the canons of the church, no bastard could be admitted into holy orders. If the church be to stand, let her stand upon truth: if you will talk of her *prescriptive* rights, let us talk of her *prescriptive* duties. You know well to what an extent abuses exist, sir; I will bring you the proof of them; then we shall see whether you be prepared to fulfil your promise of redressing.

The *non-residence* is the natural effect of the afore-mentioned abuses. To what extent it exists, the bishops have told us. According to their acknowledgment, more than one half of the incumbents are absent from their livings, even where they have two or three livings. But, we have these facts, which are a great deal better than any assertions of the bishops. You know that the law requires that *tythe-houses* shall be kept in. Now, then, out of the 10 there are 2,626 where the *tythe-houses* have been suffered to

and disappear; and there are 2,183 in which the parsonage-houses are unfit to live in. This shows how barefaced, how profligate, the abandonment of the church has been by its pastors. In my "*Legacy to Parsons*," which I shall publish; if I live, before the session of Parliament be over, I shall give a history of their abandonment of the church; of the acts that they procured to be passed to authorize them to non-reside, and to become farmers and traffickers for gain; but I cannot refrain from mentioning here, the bold, the brazen, non-residence of a Dr. KNOTT, who, with three parochial livings in the church, and with one prebend, *had been residing at Rome several years!* This brazen conduct may be rare, as far as I know: I happen to know this instance, because one of my sons saw the fellow at Rome.

And, are we to be called "*Revolutionists*," "*Destructives*," and the devil, joined by the Tories and the detestable Whigs, know what! Are we thus to be called and reviled, because we are resolved (and resolved, sir, we are!) to put an end to thus carrying away the fruits of the earth, and the fruit of our labour, to be squandered in every species of debauchery, amongst the worst, the very worst, of man and womankind? Are we to be called "*Destructives*," because we are resolved to destroy that which is destroying our country; are we to call this a "holy religion," and to call these "reverend gentlemen," who thus rob the fields and the gardens and the woods of England, and squander the proceeds in the indulgence of the most hateful and impious of passions and pursuits? Do we not recollect with what constant care our forefathers prevented their country from being robbed by non-resident ecclesiastics; and are we to submit to see it robbed ten thousand times more than ever was attempted before; and to be called "*Destructives*," because we wish now to put an end to the robbery? The Parliament has the power, and the King has the power, to prevent this at once. They often have, and may again, to-morrow, prevent *arbitrary*

from going abroad, though they take away nothing but their own limbs and their capacity to labour; and have they not then the power to prevent this monstrous abuse of taking the revenues of the parishes, and spending them at Rome?

It would be not acting justly towards you not to say, that I believe that you lament the existence of this abuse: your character; your manners; the deportment of your whole life, show that you must hold these debauched villains in abhorrence; and that you lament that the church which you wish to uphold has thus rendered itself hateful to the people. But, sir, can you *correct this abuse?* With the "pressure from without" at your back you may; but without that pressure, the mere expression of a wish to do it would blot you out as a Minister for ever. Perhaps, sir, you imagine, that nothing but the "*intelligence of the country*" can perceive this abuse; and that that intelligence, anxious to remain in quiet possession of its property; and not being sure of the effect of a stir to correct these abuses, will let the abuses quietly go on; and that thus they will continue without difficulty to you. What; you think, then, that the working part of the community cannot possibly understand how *non-residence of the clergy can affect them?* Upon this subject suffer me to relate you an anecdote, which you, and Statesman STANLEY, who seems to be steering and veering, either to come up with you, broadside by broadside, or else to hoist his pendant as commodore of the squadron. In the parish of BILLINGTON in North Hampshire, there lived two young men, named JOSEPH and ROBERT MASON, one about twenty-five and the other about twenty-eight, who were condemned to death, but finally to transportation for life, by Judge VAUGHAN, (of whom I shall say more another time), who was one of the judges at the special assizes, which was one of the "*vigorous*," measures of the "*vigorous*" old GALT. The father of these young men died when they were young boys. He left his widow in the occupation of

about an acre of ground, which was rented of a gentleman in the neighbourhood. The great and constant labour of the boys enabled the mother to bring them, and three other children, I believe, two, I know, well up, without ever receiving any relief from the parish. They became renowned as skilful and most able labourers. They were esteemed and admired by all who knew them, and particularly by the employers of the neighbourhood. When the riots took place in 1830, they joined the rioters in the business of demanding a rise of wages; and when they were reproached with this by the judge, upon the score of their not being in want, their answer was, that, in the first place, they went to exert their influence to prevent violent acts; and that, if they were not in want themselves, they knew that their poor neighbours were, and that it would have been base in them to hang back merely because they were not themselves hungry. When the trial came on they were indicted for HIGH-WAY ROBBERY, JOSEPH having been with a body of men who got *five pounds* to drink, from Sir THOMAS BARING's bailiff; and ROBERT having been with a body of men who got *five shillings* to drink, from a parson of the name of JOLLIFFE. I think that there were two indictments against JOSEPH, and I know that there were three indictments against ROBERT, so that they might be sure to have them. There were many others, who had acted in a violent manner; but, the one great object, in that part of the country, seemed to be to get rid of these two men. There are fifty persons to swear, that ROBERT MASON stood out in the road while the five shillings were got from the parson, and that he never touched the money or tasted of the liquor. Mr. WICKHAM, the lord of the manor; Mr. WICKHAM, his son, a great farmer in the parish; other individuals in the neighbourhood, of the most respectable description, gave them both a most excellent character for honesty, sobriety, and respectful deportment, and said that they were the most industrious, and very best, labourers in the whole county. What,

then, was there so peculiar belonging to these two young men? What could have pointed two excellent young men like these out for the utmost severity in the punishment of so trifling an offence? The answer to this question is the moral of my narrative; and it will, if you attend to it, make you see that the intelligence of the country is not confined to the coffee-houses of London.

Early in 1830 the labourers of several parishes met at a hamlet called SUTTON SCORNEY. Some one or other of them drew up a petition to the King, complaining of the hardship of their lives; stating, amongst other things, the *great injury* to them from the dean and chapter of WINCHESTER taking away all the revenue (amounting to fifteen hundred pounds a year) of the adjoining parish of Barton Stacy, while there was nobody in the parish but a curate with sixty pounds a year. Now, sir, JOSEPH MASON went on foot, and carried this petition to BRIGHTON; where, according to the modern graciousness of our Government, the petition was not received; but the contents of it were soon made known to the parsons in the neighbourhood, and especially to the swarm of them at WINCHESTER!

So much for JOSEPH; and now for ROBERT. One of the curates in that cluster of little parishes was an IRISHMAN, and, of course, of the right vigorous school. He got, one day, into conversation with ROBERT MASON, during which, MASON uttered some invectives against those who took away the fruits of the earth, and left the labourers so little to eat. Upon which the parson observed, "In my country the people live entirely upon potatoes and a little salt." MASON said, "You don't live so, sir." "No," said the parson, "but I *could* live so." "Yes," said MASON, "and so *could* I; but I do not see why I *should*, while God has sent all this barley and wheat (pointing to some stacks), and all these pigs and sheep and oxen, all which have arisen partly out of my labour."

Now, sir, I take upon me to vouch for the correctness of these facts. The pleadings of DANMAN and of WILDE,

and the sentence of VAUGHAN, condemned these two young men to death, and transported them for life, leaving their widowed mother, their sisters, the wife and child of JOSEPH, and the half of that whole county to deplore their fate. Yes, sir, the working people know well how they are injured by this diversion of the revenues of the church; and you may be assured, that they as heartily detest all this mass of abuses, as much as I detest them myself.

What, then, are all these abuses to be corrected by a commutation of tithes; by turning the tithes into a sort of rent-charge? What, will you make a mill pay the commutation, for instance, if floods or winds come and sweep the mill away? And, at the end of a thousand years, is it to be contended, that tithes are *injurious to agriculture*; and that *rent is not*. The moment you commute tithes away goes every principle upon which they are demanded. However, a compulsory commutation of tithes would, if attempted to be adopted, destroy the fabric of this great thing at once.

As to the Dissenters, you talk of relieving them from their "*grievances*." Why, sir, they have but one grievance: and that is, being compelled to contribute towards a clergy and a church which they abhor; and it is deception, and fraud, and nonsense, and impudence, and every thing despicable to talk of relieving them by any other means than a separation of the church from the state; that is to say, repeal all the laws establishing this church, and giving it its revenue and authority. To the church-people might be given the churches and the church-yards, the parsonage-houses, and the ancient glebes, though they are by no means entitled to them as matter of equity, any more than the Dissenters are. The tithes ought to be commuted into a tax upon land to be paid to the state; and all persons of every creed ought to pay their religious teachers by voluntary contribution.

Short of this there will be continual strife and turmoil; and, terrific as it may, at first sight, appear to you, you

will find, that any other course will, at last, in all human probability, lead to an end, which, with regard to the clergy of the church, may be a great deal worse than that which is here contemplated. The abuses cannot be corrected. You say that it would be absurdity to think of governing without having public opinion with you; and I here, as to this matter, lay before you that which is the opinion of ninety-nine hundredths of the people of England. In my "*LEGACY TO DISSENTERS*" I shall show how there came to be an established church; how some of the people came to be called Dissenters; and that the Dissenters have as perfect a right to tithes, the universities, to public schools, to all charitable foundations, to the edifices of the churches, and the church-yards, as the church-people have; and that there ought now to take place, a separation of the church and state; and this I shall do, not by loose assertions, but by a reference to the laws of God, and the laws of England. For, sir, the Poor-law Bill has driven my mind back to the origin of things; it has taught me what I never knew before: urged on by that last desperate blow at the rights of the working people, I have now inquired into all rights; and it is my duty to make the result of that inquiry known to the people; in order that they may know that they have law on their side, as well as reason and justice.

I remain, Sir,

Your most obedient

And most humble servant,

WM. COBBETT.

POSTSCRIPT.—Sir,—I have just read in your newspapers, and especially in the *Times*, a discussion as to some "*bill*," which you have actually prepared for making a church reform! Good God! Twenty-four years ago, any man who should have said in print that this church needed reforming, would have been torn to atoms, by Attorney-General, by magistrate or by somebody. There were several persons who were punished for irreverent behaviour to clergymen, whose arrogance, at that time, surpassed any that the world ever witnessed.

Strange alteration ; strange revolution ; and made, too, not by us, whom you call republicans and levellers, but by yourselves.

There are two or three things which have tended to bring the church down in the estimation of the working people ; and you will please to observe, that those very working people were the only real and stanch friends that the church ever had. The working people paid little attention to the acts of Parliament passed to stay, and finally to quash, the informations against the non-resident parsons. Those most revolutionary laws the working people perceived little about ; though it will now be my duty, since the passing of the Poor-law Bill, to make them clearly understand the nature of that memorable transaction. They understood something, however, about the curious scenes of 1792 and 1793. The parsons had been teaching them, ever since they were born, that the Roman Catholic religion was idolatrous and damnable ; and that it was a pious act in Protestants to destroy that damnable religion if they could. When, therefore, the people heard the church clergy running about open-mouthed, and representing the French people as so many devils for overturning this Roman Catholic religion, they thought it very queer ; especially when they saw the Romish priests coming over from France and embraced by these same Protestant parsons as so many persecuted saints ; and still more, when they saw pensions given to these foreign Romish priests to be paid by the Protestant people of England !

At last, after many years of most insolent conduct towards the people, came the DEAD BODY BILL, defended most loudly by one bishop, and not condemned by the rest. Now, this bill authorised hospital-keepers, hired overseers and the like, to dispose of the dead bodies of poor people, if unclaimed by relations, for dissection ! This was something that every man could understand ; and it was at once declaring, that the *service of the burial of the dead* might be dispensed with, without any

hurt to the souls of the deceased or to the religion of the living. Next after Lord Radnor, the Bishop of London defended this bill ; and the bishops and the clergy all suffered it to pass without one single word of notice by them, while they were taking fees all over the kingdom for saying the burial-service and for the interment of the dead. The people naturally said, " If the bodies of the poor can be taken and sold to be chopped up, without any injury to their souls, why the church-yards ; why the burial-service ; why the church ; why any thing at all belonging to it ? " This was a heavy blow at the church in the minds of the people ; and, the silence of the clergy upon the subject, was, in my opinion, quite sufficient to bring forth a proposition in Parliament, to repeal this church altogether. Every parson of a parish is said to have "*cure of souls*." Great care of souls he must have, who would suffer the bodies of his parishioners to be chopped up, and to be deprived of Christian burial, only because they were excessively poor.

This was one of those preparatory blows, which have at last brought those who call themselves the supporters of the church to put forth schemes for the pulling of it down : for, sir, a pulling down it is, you will please to observe, disfigure the thing how you may. You feel that the money-monster will not suffer it to stand as it is any longer. But, what a thing is here ! Waterloo's hero was to give us peace and safety for the remainder of our lives. We were told that we had only to beat Buonaparte, and to live in peace and security for ever after. Thirty-four millions of our money, spent in one campaign, did beat him ; and here we are now, beginning a revolution of our own accord ! and everlasting outcry do we hear against any attempt to injure the institutions of the country, and here are you yourself, with a bill prepared, they say, to pull down this institution ; there being but one so great in the kingdom, and so difficult to pull down. Ah ! but this is no matter of choice with you : you see that the money-monster will have it ; and you are trying beforehand

to make a sacrifice that will satisfy that monster, and still preserve the thing. You cannot do this : so here are you, at last, doing those very things for which you have been reviling and punishing other men on a charge of wishing to do. Strange sight to behold : the result of the long and bloody war to prevent revolution in England, a debt which is producing that very revolution ! When your bill comes forward, I shall be able to see what it is ; but, certain I am, that the wisest course for you to pursue would be, at once to move for a repeal and an abolition of the church ; for, to these it will certainly come, if you seriously attempt to introduce any of the measures, which your partizans assert it is your intention to introduce.

P.S. 2.—Sir,—One cannot take up a newspaper without seeing in some one column or other, some proof of the frightful abuses in the church. In the *London Gazette* of Friday the 30. of January, I read the following, under the head of *bankrupts* : “THE REVEREND Thomas Fisher, Kingston-upon-Hull ; the Reverend JOHN FISHER, Higham-upon-the-Hill, Leicestershire ; and MARY SIMMONDS, of Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Leicestershire ; BANKERS.” Now, sir, this can hardly be a lie. These two persons are bankrupt bankers, or the Government *Gazette* is the basest libeller upon the face of the earth. Will you allow this to be a “*proved abuse*” ? If you will not, we may despair of your reforming intention. Here is the law violated in the most daring manner. The statute law forbids the clergy of the church to be traffickers, or dealers of any sort. This law was very shamefully impaired by the act of 1802 ; and at the request of the persons themselves. That act allowed them to be renting farmers, which they were strictly forbidden to be before. By a good twist of construction, it allowed them to buy and sell *acres* ; and cattle-jobbers they have been ; and are, to a most prodigious extent

But, still, it did not allow them to become traders ; to become traffickers. Here we see, however, that in the broad and open day, the Bishops of York and of Lincoln allow these men to be traffickers of the very vilest sort ; that is to say, to be by profession, usurers ; lenders of money, and taking an increase thereon. Well, now, what will you do with this ; can you correct this abuse ? Never, unless you repeal the church itself. If this statement be true, these two men are liable to penalties under the statute, still ; and they have been liable to excommunication, from the first day that they became bankers. What benefices these men may have, I know not ; but, this I do know, that they have stood openly proclaimed bankers, under the very noses of their bishops ; and, if all this be true, do you persuade yourself that you will bring the people of England back to look up with reverence to this church ; that you will bring the people of England back to look upon holiness as inseparable from the clerical character of the church parsons ? Every one will suppose that this is no rare instance ; and, indeed, at the time of the panic in 1825, the newspapers told us that there was a BISHOP, standing behind the counter of a banking-house at Cambridge, helping to pay the customers over the counter. I have no list of country bankers by me ; or I should find a good deal of information in that list. But, in short, the money-monster has drawn all within his vortex ; church, nobility, every thing is interwoven or confounded with this monster. General destruction will most likely be the end ; but every thing else will fall before the money-monster himself comes down.

I have now (3. Feb.) seen the *Gazette* itself ; and, I find, that the two parsons and the woman are really bankrupt bankers, and that their creditors are to meet on the 16. of February and on the 13. of March, at twelve o'clock, at Ashby-de-la-Zouch. Thus, then, here is a case for excommunication, or else, lie upon your laws, or the execution of them.

TO THE
EDITOR OF THE STANDARD.

King's Norton, 1. Feb. 1835.

SIR,—I have laughed a good deal at your *friendship* (for some time past) for that villanous paper, which I, for more than twenty years, have called the "Bloody Old Times." Is it possible, sir, that you could look at the conduct of that paper, from the turning out of the Ministry *until after the Berkshire election was safe*, without perceiving that the approach of that election was not entirely unconnected with that which you read with so much applause in the Bloody?

The principle of that paper has been, during the thirty-four years that I have known it, *to make money*; and to make money, it must have *readers*. It manifestly lost readers during the time that I have been speaking of; but it got a quiet election, and that was worth a great deal. NOW, you will see that paper gently *wear ship*; which you know, sir, means *coming round*, without any of that pulling and hauling and rattling and noise, occasioned by *tackling ship*. In wearing ship, the sails all remain up; and a landsman does not know that any *change of course* is taking place; though, when the operation is completed, the course is actually changed from one point of the compass to the opposite point.

Men of bright talent are not always the quickest-sighted in perceiving the duplicity of others. But, sir, do let me call your attention, now, to certain parts of this sanguinary old thing of the 29. and 30. instant. You know that she professes *staunch adherence to the church*, and calls all those *destructives, republicans, and rebels*, whom she accuses of desires to *destroy the church*. The Bloody, when she is going to wear or to tack, begins by *letters from correspondents*; whom she makes break the ice. Then she observes upon the letters thus sent her; and, by the means of these feelers, comes, at last, to her full swing of popular outcry.

In the two papers before mentioned, she has the following: A "correspondent"

proposes *to augment perpetual curacies and other small livings, out of the lay-impropriatorships of the several parishes in which these small livings are!* Here you know, sir, there is a proposition for the taking away of men's lay estates, and transferring them to the clergy. One would imagine that such a fierce virago, who is ready to dart with her claws at your eyes, if you so much as hint at a breach of "*national faith*;" a she-devil that is ready to bite you if you hint at any thing that amounts to what she calls a violation of the *sacredness of property*: one would think that such a cerberus would have flown at this "correspondent" and torn him to atoms. Not she, indeed; on the contrary, she observes, upon his proposal, that though, after this property has been bought and sold so many times, we cannot actually go back and lay our claws upon it "*in toto*"; still, we may take into consideration the *conditions* of the original grant; for that, those conditions must necessarily have descended from one proprietor to another; and that we may, so far, *revive the dormant claim* upon the the tithes, &c. as to take out of them a sufficiency for the maintenance of the poor incumbents!

Is not that good! where will you find a radical to go beyond that? Here is a direct justification of a proposition *to take away*; that is to say, to confiscate, in amount, at the discretion of the Government, the property of lay-impropriators.

In the same papers, a "*correspondent*" *complains*, that the Times has proposed to allow the bishops *too much*; complains that the Times would allow them 5,000*l.* a year each; and this "*correspondent*" thinks that 2,500*l.* would be quite enough.

In the same papers another "*correspondent*" announces that a *prebendary of Westminster is dead*; and thereupon recommends the appropriation of his income (1,200*l.* a year) *to augment the incomes of some six poor incumbents*; and he says that this will furnish us with the *test* of Sir Robert Peel's *sincerity*! Now, sir, do mark the per-

fidy of this ! It is very likely, and most likely, that the editor of the *Times* is as ignorant as a horse with regard to most matters ; but he must know, that Sir Robert Peel has no more rightful power to meddle with this twelve hundred pounds a year, than he has to take the money out of your till, and to shoot you through the head into the bargain : he must know that another prebendary must be preferred, unless the ecclesiastical law be set at defiance ; and he must know, that the income of the prebendary cannot be touched without an act of Parliament for the purpose.

In the same papers there is an article *laughing* at Lord STANLEY, for his quitting the Ministry on the ground of its being unconstitutional to alienate church property ; seeing that such alienation is taking place every day "*upon the continent*"; seeing that it is done in France, in Germany, in Belgium, Spain ; and seeing that Portugal is *actually now paying off her national debt by a confiscation of part of the church property* !

And this is *your ally*, sir, is it ; your able coadjutor, in defending the *institutions of the country* ? You will tell me that this last article is merely copied from the *Caledonian Mercury* ; and that the other articles, about the lay-impropriations and the bishops and the prebendary, are from "*correspondents*" ! This is very true, sir ; but, the serious question for you to put to yourself is this : "Should I have put these correspondences "*and this Caledonian article into the "Standard*" ? This is the question for you to put to yourself ; and the answer which your mind will instantly suggest will show you at once the double face and the perfidy of this paper.

Oh no, sir ! you have the battle to fight, and it is mercy to you to tell you to reckon this foul and villanous old paper as amongst the worst of your enemies ; whose hostility will become more and more venomous, and more and more unrelenting, as the danger to your cause becomes greater and greater. *Ma* you know how to deal with ; you know the worst at once ; but with this devil you are never safe, except you at

once reckon it amongst your most treacherous of foes, and deal with it accordingly. The whole of these articles that I have here mentioned are perfidious, most execrably foul and vile ; but the insinuation as to Sir Robert Peel's "*sincerity*" deserves blows with cudgel or cow-kin. The wretch who wrote that passage must know that he has no power in this case, any more than you or I have ; yet the wretch knows that the *mass of the public*, without taking time to think, will conclude *that he has the power*, and will think him *insincere* in his professions for church reform, unless he act upon that power.

It is impossible for me to believe that you wish to add to the difficulties of the Minister ; and if you wish to avoid this, I beg leave to suggest to you the necessity of abstaining from proposing to him to do things *which he has not the power to do*. I have seen many things of this sort recommended to him ; and I never shall be so unreasonable as to blame him for not attending to such recommendations. To do the things which I see suggested to him, by writers who call themselves his friends, is much about as easy as for him to bring down the stars from the sky ! He *can* repeal the *malt-tax* and the all-disturbing *Poor-law Bill*. These he *can* do, not only with ease but with safety, and amidst the applause of a whole nation. But he *cannot* even *touch* the church, without the greatest care, and without a whole people in *good-humour*. Ours is the most *curious* Government in the world. The *PEOPLE*, the *real* people, the formidable *millions*, who, *in the end*, are always the *settlers* of every great national dispute ; *this* *peopla* petition for a *PARLIAMENTARY REFORM* ; and "*pour cause*," for *cause assigned*. And what was *that cause* ? What was the *great cause* ? why, that the *taxes should be taken off the necessaries of life*. This was the *great ground* of all the petitions for *REFORM*. Well, now, the *Parliament is reformed* : but, instead of its doing what we wanted the reform for, it sets to work to "*reform the church*" ; to repeal the "*courtesy of England*" ; to *free the negroes at our*

expense; to act on the "*spirit of the age*"; to hatch a scheme for "*elevating our character*," by making us live on "*COARSER FOOD*." And, it wonders, that we are *still discontented*! Perverse devils we must be, when "*vigorous*" old Grey, pursuing full tilt the spirit of the age, sends three hundred chopsticks into transportation (the greater part for life!) in one year; and sends the Dorsetshire labourers to the same doom, for merely assembling to contrive how they shall get better wages; but obstinately refuses to repeal the malt-tax; and, when the vote for the repeal of a part of it has been obtained, threatens to leave the Ministry if we do not rescind the vote! Perverse vagabonds, not to be content to see ourselves destined to a coarser sort of food! Perverse vagabonds, still to be discontented, though we have got this reform; and though we see the questions mooted whether the House of Lords shall be reformed, and whether the bishops shall be turned out of it; senseless vagabonds, when we see all this work of the "*spirit of the age*" going on, still to prefer to it all, THE LIBERTY TO TURN OUR BARLEY INTO BEER, AND TO PICK THE HOPS WHICH GOD ALMIGHTY SENDS UP THROUGH OUR OWN HEDGES!

Sir, there are two descriptions of rulers: one who tells you flat and plain, that he will govern you by force; and make you subsist to that which he pleases. Another, that pretends to liberality of sentiment; but who goes on, step by step, till he extracts the last particle of marrow from your bones; deluding you all the while with the sweet sounds of *liberality*, *mental freedom*, and the devil knows what else to be found in the vocabulary of his jargon. I hate both these; but I know what to do with the former: the latter I detest the most, because in him the basest hypocrisy is joined to the cruellest tyranny. If one can believe what is now running through the newspapers, Sir Robert Peel expects to pacify the discontented part of the nation, by beginning with a church reform. Now, sir, I will not allow that there is any reason to believe that I do not under-

stand this matter as well as Sir Robert Peel does; and I undertake to say, that if he could accomplish that which the people would call a church reform, not one single particle of contentment would he give to the millions of his Majesty's subjects, unless he accompanied the measure with a lightening of their burdens. It is my duty to consider *how my constituents would be affected by the church reform*. The reform which the Minister proposes, or is said to propose, would do my constituents no good at all. Even suppose he could make John King and the dean and chapter of Salisbury give up the whole of the tithes of the four parishes, Hurstbourne-Priors, Marybourne, Hurstbourne-Tarrant and Dean: if he could cause these tithes to be taken from the dean and chapter and given to the incumbents; and if this sort of church revolution could be effected all over the kingdom; even if the pluralities could be swept away, and, in short the church brought into the state in which it ought to be in respect of its revenues, including a forcible transfer of lay-tithes: you are aware of the effect of all this upon the laws of property in general, I suppose; but, sir, if it could all be done, *what good would it do to my constituents at Oldham?* Nay, *repeal the church altogether*; and what good would even that do them? Why, it would do them some good indirectly; it would ease them of some *rates*; it would remove the unjust distinction between church-people and dissenters. But, sir, now mark; would this affect the *fifty thousand* persons in the borough of Oldham? Would they all *feel* any benefit from it? But, take off the malt-tax, and every man *feels* a good effect immediately. Perhaps *two hundred pounds a day*, throughout the whole year, is something like the sum paid by the working people of Oldham on account of this tax!

Ah, sir, it is quite right that there should be a reform of the church; quite right that the new laws should be abolished in many instances, and the old laws restored; but, sir, if Sir Robert Peel thinks that he can make his way smooth by church reforms or any other

reforms without a repeal of this most abominable tax, he is the most deceived of men that ever lived in this world. He is beginning at the wrong end: he should first have *the millions in good humour* with him; and, never will he have them in good humour until this tax be repealed, which repeal would, by-the-by, cause the monstrous Poor-law Bill to tumble to pieces of itself. I repeat to you here what I said in a former letter, that the *people*, properly so called, *never prayed for an innovation*; never prayed for any thing inconsistent with the ancient laws and constitution of the country. The charge against them of wanting revolution and republicanism is false and foul: to what lengths they may be driven by scornful and cruel treatment, I know not; but, these charges against them are basely false, and I assert that for the revolutionary measures which are now going on, and which have for some years been going on, they never prayed; they never wished; but they have prayed and have wished for the rights, liberties, and laws, which their forefathers enjoyed. The law tells us that "the laws of England are the birthright of Englishmen." If, then, you abrogate those laws, as I can show that they have been abrogated in hundreds of instances within the last thirty years: if you abrogate these laws, you take away our birthright; and, shall we be deemed traitors worthy of death, because we demand the restoration of this birthright? What is meant by the laws of England being our birthright? Why, that all the laws made for our protection *are to remain*. This is what it means, if it mean any thing; and, if I can show you one hundred distinct instances in which those laws have been abrogated, will you say that I am a traitor, because I use my utmost endeavours to cause them to be restored?

I am sorry to have troubled you at such length; but, I could not help giving you the *scolding* contained in the former part of the letter; and, if I have been led into remarks which you deem unworthy of the attention of your readers, I have only to beg your pardon for

giving you the trouble of reading what I have written; for, I am sure I shall not think it all wonderful if you were afraid, even to give currency, though accompanied with your disavowal, to what I have here said about *the terrible virago*, whose claws every peaceable man must desire to keep out of his hair.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient,
And most humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

TO

SIR JAMES GRAHAM, BART.

SIR,—I have not been for a long time so agreeably diverted as by the report of your speech at your re-election in Cumberland; and especially by that part of it in which you give your constituents an account of your conduct with regard to "*church reform*," and in which you state to them your opinions relative to the making of such reform. You do not deny, it seems, the right of the Parliament, "in the abstract," to *distribute* the property of the church; and yet, somehow or other, you still puzzle your brains upon the subject. I cannot, for the life of me, make out what course you mean to steer now. I have tripped up your doctrine about the unalienable nature of church property, and you blunder about, not knowing very well what to say about the matter. I should like to hear you and your colleague Lord Stanley, explain yourselves in the House of Commons upon this point; and to give us something like common sense reasons for your having quitted the Ministry at the time that you did.

But, sir, the most interesting part of your speech is the plan of reform for the *English church*! This is a thumper: this will bring you all to your bearings: you found your constituents clamorous for something great to be done with this church; and, you yourself, to say the truth, told them that you were not disposed to do a little. You told them

that you would apply to the English church in substance that which you had done to the Irish church; that there ought to be a resident minister in every parish with sufficient income; that you were ready to take from those who had too much for doing little, and give to those who had too little for doing much; that it might be proper to retain the services of the cathedral, but that their sinecures were indefensible; that the twelve golden stalls of Durham were useless; that the deaneries held by bishops were entirely indefensible; that these were nuisances that must be *abated* without loss of time, in order to preserve the fabric from ruin; that the number of prebends ought to be diminished, in order to augment the small livings; that the translation of bishops must be put an end to; that the incomes of some of the bishops were too large; that the *tenures* of church property ought to be altered; that he would reform the church in the spirit of an *attached friend*, believing that it was a church that preached the *true gospel*!

There, now: if any man can find me a prettier set of propositions than this, one of a more really revolutionary cast, I beg him to find it me right away, or ever after hold his tongue. After this I hope we shall hear no more about "*destructives*"; about ultra-Radicals and republicans. How much better it would be for you at once to join me in proposing to repeal the whole church altogether, and to resume the whole of its property for the use of the nation!

To be sure, the idea of taking from one living and giving to another, is so beautiful a thought; forgetting that you are taking from the *advowson* as well as from the benefice; and that this *advowson* is as much a freehold as any part of your estate is a freehold. The twelve golden prebendaries of Durham will, I dare say, be exceedingly obliged to you for your kind intentions; but, sir, do not be too sure, that they will acquiesce in your notion of the *uselessness* of these prebends; and be not exceedingly surprised if some one or more of them were to tell you, in print, pretty quickly, that you cannot prove that a golden pre-

bendary is a bit more useless than a *golden landlord*. Stop! have you read the "*LEGACY TO LABOURERS*"? I would send you one, if I knew how, without putting you to expense; but I should not wonder if some golden prebendary were to do it for me, and were to refer you to Letters II. and III., in order to check, a little, this bouncing talk about the uselessness of prebendal stalls, and teach you to feel that lordships of manors and lands in fee hang upon hooks quite as slender as those which hold up the cathedral estates, seeing that all come from the same source; that all are held under the same superior lord, and that that superior lord is such in behalf of the whole nation. Pray read this "*Legacy to Labourers*"; and you will talk about church reform in future, with a little more caution.

Your brilliant colleague STANLEY, who is now dignified with the title of Lord Rector of Glasgow, seems to be a good deal eaten up with religion, which may account for the surprising mess of nonsense which he poured out at Glasgow. This brilliant gentleman appears to me to be disposed to act with a very select party; namely, *himself*; for I perceive that you take uncommon pains to disclaim being at all under his control or appertaining at all to his fellowship. This is certainly wise, on your part; for, to have followed his fortunes, who cannot, with his former professions move one single step in the way of church reform, would have been downright madness. Besides, the ridicule which would have fallen upon a *couple* of you; a party of *two*: this would have been intolerable.

You told your constituents that the incomes of some of the bishops were *too large*. Indeed! And do you think, now, that there is any man living who will say that the income of the Bishop of Durham (perhaps 40,000*l.* a year) is, from its largeness, any more injurious to the country, than the income of the Earl of Durham, which may be of about the same amount; and, which would be curious enough, the greater part of the income of the latter, *very*

likely proceeds from the profits of a lease which he holds of the former. I do not know that this is the case, and I never heard that it was the case; but I think it very likely. It is very well known, that the Marquis of Londonderry is the holder of very great coal-estates in the county of Durham; but you are not to be told, I suppose, that he holds these estates as *tenant* of the bishop or the prebendaries of Durham, to whom, I was told, he *paid a fine a few years ago* (in one year) *of more than a hundred thousand pounds.* I may be in error as to the *sum*, and perhaps greatly in error. I speak from recollection of a hasty verbal statement made to me; but, if I were sure of my *sum*, I would pledge myself for the whole of the fact, because I know that my information was perfect.

So you see, sir, it is no joke to talk about the taking and the applying of this property. In some cases it is let and underlet several times; and is it not the same with great tithes all over the kingdom? You very often find great tithes collected by the fourth, fifth, or sixth under-tenant! In the service of which you were lately at the head, a celebrated phrase is "*Steady she goes*"! that is to say, take care what you are about; look well out a-head; watch the breakers and even the ripples; have your eye upon the clouds as well as upon the waves; *land's a-head!* Admirable caution; and, if you do not adopt such caution now, if you rattle on about uselessness of golden prebends, you will, when it is too late, call out for a slow and steady motion.

If you were an accurate observer, you would be astounded at what you yourself now utter. Why, only a twelve-month ago, the people never heard of these things that you are now laying bare. I mean the main body of the people; and will not those in Hampshire now ask what their prebendaries should have their fortunes for, why they should not be as "*useless*" as the prebendaries of Durham? These matters must now be discussed. There must be now motions made about them, and speeches made about them, and amend-

ments made about them. The whole thing must be laid bare; and it is impossible to believe that it can be put to rights without consequences of which you and Lord Stanley appear to have no more idea than if you were two children in the cradle. Sir Robert Peel thinks he can go so far, and then stop. Never was man more deceived in this world. He will be pushed along, in spite of his teeth; and the end will be a great deal worse than if he were to come to my scheme at once.

I perceive, that one of your constituents interrupted you by calling out, "*What do you say of the Poor-law Bill?*" To this you gave no answer; but, shirked away to a defence of your conduct with regard to the Pension List. You tell us, that you were all a perfectly unanimous Ministry, until Mr. Ward's motion was made: then you were perfectly unanimous in two things; first, the rejection of the numerous petitions in favour of the poor Dorsetshire labourers; and, second, in hatching and contriving, along with Brougham and the Scotch fellows; and in bringing in and pushing on, the Poor-law Bill. Why, then, did you not answer the man that called out to you and asked you for an account of your conduct with regard to this bill; a bill avowedly intended by the instructions given to the barrister who drew the bill, to reduce the people of England to a coarser sort of food, and manifestly tending to take the wages from the labourer, put them into the pocket of the landlord, and to bring the English working people down to the horrible state of the working people in Ireland. This is the thing that will *work you*; it has totally changed my ultimate views; and it would totally change the ultimate views of the people! This bill sends us back to inquire into the nature and origin of property; especially property in land. A denial of the rights of the poor, urges us to inquire into the rights of the rich. The poor man has just as much right to inquire what right you have to your estate as you have to challenge his right to relief in case of need out of that estate. In this inquiry we find that there are

other rights besides those of inheritance and of purchase; and we find that you are neither the creator of your estate nor the holder of it, as a gift from God; and the golden prebendaries will tell you, that they have just the same title to their prebends, that you have to your estate; and they will refer you to the "Legacy to Labourers" for the law. You proposed, in 1827, to take thirty per cent. from the interest of the fundholders, against which I protested, unless you first swept away the pensions and sinecures and dead-weight. But, now, how does the thing stand. You deny that the labourers have any right or any claim upon the land. The debt was contracted to defend the land. No part of it, therefore, was contracted for the labourers; and yet you make them pay the larger part of the interest. The fundholders have a mortgage, they say, upon all the property in the country. Let them enter up their mortgage: they can have no mortgage upon a man's limbs. Oh, no; the lands and the houses they have the mortgage upon; and, let them seize the lands and the houses. The labour they cannot seize. And, thus, at last, the poisoned chalice comes to be served up to your own lips. The Poor-law Bill sticking up there with TWO-THOUSAND-A-YEAR LEWIS and PENNY-A-LINE CHADWICK and STURGES BOURNE, have created all those new views and this new way of thinking; and let it be remembered of you, sir, that you were one of the authors of this bill. This bill will embitter every swallow that the Minister has to take: his draughts were bitter enough before; but this bill will add ten-fold bitterness; and that it may, as long as it shall exist, be the torment of all its inventors and upholders, is the prayer of

Your most obedient

And most humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

CHOOSING A SPEAKER.

THE two following letters *will not* speak for themselves, without this addition, that a specimen of quibbling and shuffling and false pretences so glaring, my eyes never yet alighted on. Perhaps the reader does not know, that for many years, this Mr. Abercromby *was actually the steward of the Duke of Bedford*. I do not wish to speak disparagingly of Mr. Abercromby; but, good God! are we, even before we meet, to have a Speaker shuffled on upon us in this manner! I shall say no more about it now; because it is impossible for me to know whom the Ministers will propose; but, this I know, that all the flesh shall be taken from my bones with hot pincers, rather than I will vote power and emolument of any sort or in any shape into the hands of any one of those men who hatched and urged on the Poor-law Amendment Bill; and further, it does not seem to me to be very decent in the new House of Commons, in which the King is to meet his people, that that people shall give him a direct slap in the face, by choosing for their Speaker one of the very men whom more than one-half of his people, and more than three-fourths of his people thanked him for dismissing from his councils and presence. In these two letters, I think I smell *abbey-lands* and *crown-lands* both, and Poor-law Amendment Bill I know I smell; and I know that the Devil shall carry me away alive, before I give my vote for a man who belonged to a Ministry who told us that we must *not listen to our feelings* when we were passing a law affecting the poorer people.

"Woburn Abbey, 27. Jan. 1835.

"MY DEAR ABERCROMBY,—I was
"very sorry to find, from the different
"communications which I have had
"with you, that you were so unwilling
"to comply with the desire of many
"members of the House of Commons,
"that you should be proposed for the
"chair at the meeting of the new Par-
"liament.

"After you had declined, however, I

"should have been myself reluctant to
 "press on you a proposition which I
 "found personally unacceptable. But
 "when I tell you that I have been urged
 "from various quarters, and in the
 "strongest terms, to place before you
 "the earnest wishes, and general con-
 "currence of those with whom you
 "have been connected in public life,
 "that you should allow yourself to be
 "put in nomination for the chair, I
 "trust you will reconsider your decision.
 "Above all, I think you will be in-
 "fluenced by the argument I have to
 "state, that they view the present elec-
 "tion of a Speaker as a question not
 "solely of individual preference, but of
 "public principle; and they are con-
 "vinced that in order to try this ques-
 "tion with the utmost advantage, it is
 "of great importance that you should
 "not decline this high honour, if the
 "House should be willing to confer
 "it upon you.

"I remain, ever your's most faithfully,
 "J. RUSSELL."

"The Right Hon. J. Abercromby."

"Fenton's Hotel, 29. Jan. 1835.

"MY DEAR LORD JOHN,—My earnest
 "desire to decline the honour of being
 "proposed as a candidate for the chair,
 "on the meeting of the new Parliament,
 "has been so often and so strongly ex-
 "pressed to you and to others, that I was
 "in hopes that it would have been
 "acquiesced in.

"However painful it would have
 "been to me to maintain my own
 "opinion in opposition to that of so
 "many of my friends, I should have
 "adhered to it if the approaching con-
 "test had involved only a question of
 "personal preference: as I am now
 "aware that the governing motive of
 "those who wish me to alter my de-
 "cision is a desire to vindicate a public
 "principle, which they think it is their
 "duty as members of the House of
 "Commons to maintain, I feel that the
 "indulgence of my own wishes would
 "subject me to the charge of obstinacy,
 "or of selfishness; and therefore if the

"choice should fall on me I shall be
 "ready to perform the duties of the
 "office to the best of my ability.

"I remain yours,

"Very truly and faithfully,

"J. ABERCROMBY."

"The Right Hon. Lord John Russell."

It is impossible to read these two let-
 ters, without thinking of Cromwell and
 his godly associates. What pains is
 required to make James dismiss his self-
 denial! One would think that his the
 writers had been seeking the Lord for
 a long while before they arrived at this
 conclusion. General Whitelocke wrote
 a long letter of advice to Cromwell, that
 he should shut himself up in a *dark*
room, and seek the Lord without light.
 Whether those two writers shut them-
 selves up in dark rooms, or not, I
 cannot say; but, certain it is, that the
 correspondence is of a perfectly Crom-
 wellian character.

INTENSE BANK.

My readers will remember, that I,
 from the very out-set, scoffed at the
 idea of a new Irish Bank; and that I
 was not to be deterred by my very great
 and sincere reluctance to do or say any
 thing tending to thwart any of the
 operations of Mr. O'Connell. But, it
 was so flagrant a thing, to pretend to
 make the whole of the community
 bankers; to pretend that there was to
 be a profit arising from this banking,
 and that the whole of the community
 was to *share in that profit*; when a man
 must have been an idiot not to perceive
 that for there to be a *profit*, the whole
 of the community must have paid that
 which constituted that profit. I said I
 would go over to Dublin; and there
 publicly face the projectors of this
 scheme. I did so, and one of the pro-
 jectors appeared upon the boards to
 answer me. How he answered, the
 people of Dublin will well recollect.

I am not supposing that any writings
 or speechings of mine had any effect in
 causing this scheme to fail. It has

failed, however ; and, if it has produced mortification to Mr. O'Connell, the fault has not been mine. It was madness to suppose, that Ireland wanted an additional supply of paper-money ; or, rather, that it could bear that additional supply, when the Bank of England was compelled to be lessening its quantity ; and when Irish wheat was selling at from 17s. to 20s. a barrel. It was raving madness, especially when we saw that the United States were gradually moving on towards a gold and silver currency. I cannot say that I am sorry for the disappointment of any of the parties ; besides, that it is a great deal better for them that the scheme should be blowed up at once.

I cannot conclude without expressing, as far as I am able, my extreme satisfaction at the proceedings of the President of the United States, and of his sensible countrymen, who have pronounced the death of the Bank of the United States, which they, in the way of reproach, call, the "British Bank." They have already got five millions sterling in gold, in circulation in their country, which gold never was in circulation there before, since the first settlement of the country. The President has chopped down the Bank of the United States ; and it is stated in the newspapers of that country, that the State legislatures have resolved to put an end to chartered banks altogether, and in the meanwhile to put an end to notes of small amount. What a sensible people ! First to choose the wise, upright and brave President ; next to stand by that President in his bold measures for securing their country from a scourge greater than that ever afflicted any nation, this great kingdom excepted ! And, can Sir Robert Peel seriously look at this ; and hope to be able, or wish to be able, to continue the existence of this scourge in England ! One would think it impossible. At any rate, he *cannot do it*, and the very attempt will bury him, his Ministry and perhaps even this ancient form of Government, in ruins.

"BLUE LION."

FROM the great civility of my letters to Mr. Edward L. Bulwer, who is now a member for Lincoln again, I expected, long ago, that he would have accepted of my offer to cause a visit to be paid to Sussex, in order to unravel the strange story about the "*Sussex boor*," whose manners formed a contrast so disgraceful to the people of England, with the manners which Mr. Bulwer had observed to prevail amongst the polite and tender-hearted peasantry of Normandy.

The allegation of Mr. Bulwer was this ; that, riding through Normandy, one sweet summer evening on a Sunday, he heard some peasants invite another to go with them to the public-house ; and that this peasant said : "No, thank ye, I must go and take my wife and children to the guingette, to give them a little amusement, *dear souls*." And that, the next Sunday, as he was rambling by a cottage in Sussex, the "*BOOR*" came out, and speaking to a big boy who was swinging upon a gate, said, "You sees to the sow, Jim, there's a good un ; for I bes a going to the Blue Lion, to get rid of my missus and the brats, rot them."

Now, I gave it as my opinion, that this was a foul slander on the working people of Sussex. The verification was difficult, other than that which must proceed from the bare word of Mr. Bulwer. There was, indeed, the internal evidence to guide us ; and I observed, that the dramatic probabilities had been neglected. But, there was the *Blue Lion* ! Sussex is a wide space. It is fifty miles long, and, on an average, perhaps, thirty miles wide. A labourer with a wife and children and a sow might be found almost anywhere ; but a "*Blue Lion*" there must be, and a *Blue Lion* is not every where to be found. Mr. Bulwer could doubtless take us to the cottage where he saw and heard the boor ; but for the boor to say, that he was going to the Blue Lion, there must be a *Blue Lion* in the county of Sussex. Mr. Bulwer's recollection of all the facts must be very

perfect; and he can take us at once to the cottage, no doubt; but, being there, we must begin to inquire for the Blue Lion; and, if we cannot find a sign of the Blue Lion within five miles at the farthest, of the cottage, we shall begin seriously to doubt, whether Mr. Bulwer may not have been lost in a poetic reverie when he wrote this passage, so disgraceful to the character of the English working people.

I shall, in a week or two, be at perfect leisure to go into Sussex; and, if Mr. Bulwer will go with me, show me the cottage, and verify the fact as to the Blue Lion, I shall be satisfied as to the truth of his story; and shall only have to lament, that one single instance of such a "boor" can be found amongst the gentle and kind and neat and clean and every way excellent people of Sussex.

This would at all times have been a point of great importance with me; but, it is particularly so when we have to fight in the last ditch for the rights of this laborious and calumniated people; and when our war is against bands of scaly Scotch vagabonds of hell-born souls and hell-featured faces, hired and set on by the greediest and basest and most cowardly of all mankind.

ELECTIONS FOR SURREY.

IN East Surrey, a Tory as they call him, has supplanted the gentleman that I always called "*the Church of Sardis*," which the Scripture describes as neither hot nor cold, but so nauseous and insipid as to be "spewed" out of the mouth. I do not know what the Tory may be, but I do know well, that I cannot think him a worse member of Parliament than I thought Mr. Briscoe; and if he be *one thing* or the *other* he will be better; for, we shall know what he is. Mr. Briscoe was a great *tickler*: he thought he should be able always to tickle; but the people are not always in the humour to be tickled; and as he

was for the Poor-law Bill and not for the repeal of the malt-tax, the change cannot be for the worse. He seems to have told a very pitiful story after his defeat: wondered why he was dismissed, And I wonder why there were not present one hundred men to tell him why.

In West Surrey, the scene has been curious. Mr. Barclay, who is called a Tory, has taken the place of Mr. Leech, who declined standing again. The people of this division of the county appear to me, though they are my neighbours, to be the very stupidest of all the people in the whole kingdom. Their mouths are open in every town and village against the Poor-law Bill, and for a repeal of the malt-tax; and they have placed Denison at the head of the poll, though he opposed a repeal of the malt-tax; though he supported every clause of the Poor-law Bill by his vote, and in one case, by his speech, and though he particularly supported that clause which renders the parishes liable to be taxed to send the working men out of the country. I do not know Mr. Long, nor have I ever heard any thing for or against him; but, he has been beaten only for want of a frank and bold declaration that he detested the conduct of Denison; and that he was determined to act on precisely opposite principles. He has been beaten by being content to come under the wing of this poor-law man and friend of the malt-tax. Why, Mr. Leech, whose place he was to supply, not only voted against the Poor-law Bill, but spoke against it in the most powerful manner. Mr. Leech voted for a repeal of the whole of the malt-tax. If Mr. Long meant to succeed, why did he not come and stand in the shoes of Mr. Leech; why did he not contrast his principles with those of Denison, instead of coming slinking under the gaberline of that man. I do not know what Mr. Barclay is; but I know well that he should have had my vote rather than the giving of that vote to Denison; or, rather, than the giving of it to Mr. Long, unless Mr. Long separated himself distinctly from Denison. The only thing that I saw worthy of the

county of Surrey at the late election, was the conduct of Mr. HENRY DRUMMOND, who made a most excellent, eloquent, a most sensible speech, in calling upon the members to make their declarations relative to the Poor-law Bill. This call could not be answered by Denison; and it does not appear to have been answered by Long; and, therefore, though we had the strong recommendation of Mr. Leech in favour of Mr. Long; and though that had great weight with me, I must confess that Mr. Long's not having answered the call of Mr. Drummond, together with his snuggling round Denison, made me rather glad than sorry to find, that the Tory, be he what he might, had beaten him. It is not the word Reform that sensible people now look at: they want acts: they want deeds; and, when they saw that Mr. Long promised them nothing better than Denison had done, what reason had they to care; why should they displease any man in order to show their preference to Long before Barclay. There are a great number of old election-hacks; stupid talkers about their *party*. Denison has long had these in his train, and it is not easy to prevent others from following these bell-wethers. Thus it is that Denison has kept his post in spite of his conduct. If Mr. Long had meant to be a member, he should have set out with determined hostility to Denison; should have portrayed all his conduct strongly; should have *fought him*, and not the Tory. The word "Reformer" had lost its charm. The people had had enough of "Reformers." Instead of this, Mr. Long expected to drop in under the wing of Denison. In short, Mr. Long's fate was a perfectly natural one, unless he had pursued the course that I had pointed out: he wanted either the knowledge or the courage to do that, and therefore he has failed; but, the people of the county have to console themselves, that however bad the Tory may be, he cannot do worse than support the Poor-law Bill and vote against the repeal of the malt-tax, both of which they have, in fact, approved of, in their re-choosing of Denison. I say, they have *approved* of the Poor-law

Bill, and of a refusal to repeal the malt-tax: they have approved of these, in their re-choosing of Denison; and as a body of electors, I present them with my hearty contempt accordingly.

Just published, price 1s. 4d. bound in leather,

COBBETT'S
LEGACY TO LABOURERS,

OR,

What is the Right which the Lords, Barons, and 'Squires, have to the Lands of England?

In Six Letters, addressed to the Working People of England.

WITH A

DEDICATION TO SIR ROBERT PEEL, BART.

By WILLIAM COBBETT, M.P.

FOR OLDHAM.

CONTENTS.

Dedication to Sir ROBERT PEEL; setting the reasons for writing the book, and also the reasons for dedicating it to him.

Letter I. How came some men to have a greater right to parcels of land than any other men have to the same land?

Letter II. What right have English landlords to the lands? How came they in possession of them? Of what nature is their title?

Letter III. Is their right to the land *absolute*? Is the land now their *own*? or, are they still *holders* under a superior?

Letter IV. Have they *dominion* in their lands? Or do they lawfully possess only the *use* of them? Can they do *what they like* with their lands?

Letter V. Can they *use* them so as to drive the natives from them?

Letter VI. Can they *use* them so as to cause the natives to *perish* of hunger, or of cold?

AMERICAN PAPER-MONEY WORKS.

(From the *New York Evening Post*, 16, Dec.)

We take from the "New York American" of Monday last, the following :

"The financial agency of the United States will be wholly undertaken by Messrs. N.M. Rothschild and Co., on and after the 1. of January next. *Messrs Baring and Co. are the present agents.* Some disputes of no great importance are said to have led to this change.

"The above paragraph is from the London "Morning Herald." We were prepared by the language of the Treasury Report, for a change in the Paris bankers of the United States, Messrs. Hottinguer and Co., but had not heard of any intimation that the London bankers, the Barings, who have been the financial agents of the United States for more than thirty years, were in default. The "wondrous five," however, as the brothers Rothschild are sometimes called, have, it seems, superseded them—perhaps because the Barings are also the agents of the Bank of the United States, perhaps because the Rothschilds are also the bankers of Metternich. Who knows?"

"The "American" seems to admit the justness of displacing Messrs. Hottinguer and Co., as the bankers of the Government in Paris. Probably, when the editors know that these gentlemen acted *under the orders of the Barings*, to whom the Bank sent the French bill, and who sold and received the money for the same in London, and who it is reported, wrote Hottinguer and Co., *not to let the bill come back to them*, they will admit that *the Barings have not been dealt unjustly with by the Government.*

We know of no "disputes" which led the Government to change the London and Paris bankers. But we believe the real cause to be, the conduct of those agents, who, in place of stepping forward to protect the credit of the Government, colluded with the Bank to enable it to trump up a claim for damages against the Government, upon

which pretext the Bank has made a seizure of the public money.

We cannot see how the Government could continue longer to employ such unfaithful agents, after the evidence which it had that their duty to it was overlooked in their devotion to the *money power.*

It is true that *the Barings have been the bankers of the Government for more than thirty years.* Who composed the firm during the most of that period? Where are *Francis, Henry, and Alexander Baring*? Retired from the concern, and withdrawn their fortunes from it. Who compose the firm at present? *Two or three young men named Baring*, with an American, *named Bates*, at the head.

We are well satisfied, that in the selection which has been made of new bankers, in case circumstances should ever require it, they will be ready to step forward to protect the credit of the Government abroad, and save it from a claim for damages and a seizure of its money by a haughty corporation.

(For the *Evening Post*.)

NECESSITY FOR THE IMMEDIATE SUPPRESSION OF SMALL NOTES.

If any unprejudiced person will take the trouble to consider for one moment the manner in which paper-money becomes extensively circulated, I think he cannot fail to perceive that the circulation of small bills is an evil of immense magnitude, which calls for the immediate action of our legislature. A more favourable time cannot possibly be selected than the present. It is a time of general confidence and prosperity; the banks are under little apprehension of being called upon for large specie payments; and they are anxious to loan their money and freely discount the paper of all who give them tolerable security. Unless something is done, therefore, to prevent over-issues the worst consequences of a promissory currency will soon be realized; and an apology will be formed for establishment of some new mammoth

institution on the ground of a necessity for "keeping the State banks in check."

In all mercantile communities there are some men, of little means and less judgment, who are in a great hurry to grow rich and anxious to make an imposing show of business. In times like the present two such men will make an exchange of notes to any given amount (say 2,000 dollars); have them dis-

counted in different banks, and thus obtain between them the sum of 4,000 dollars, which they immediately invest in some extravagant speculations. Thus their credit becomes a part of the circulating medium. In process of time these exchanged notes become due, and both the drawers are formally notified that their notes are payable on a certain day; they therefore make another exchange of notes, again offer them for discount, and, if money is still abundant, they are again accommodated. In this manner a large amount of their promises are kept in circulation as long as there continues to be no extra demand for specie payments; the banks in the meanwhile realise interest on a batch of mere rags, which have no intrinsic value, and which have been called into a temporary existence by the folly of crack-brained speculators, who use them only to derange the regular routine of business, in the hope of profiting by the operation.

Such instances as this I have supposed are innumerable, and continue to multiply daily, while times are good and money plenty. The inevitable consequences of this extension of credit are, that extravagant speculations are entered into with avidity by persons who have every thing to gain and nothing to lose; an unnatural impulse is given to our market; a desire to extend their business, according to their "facilities," becomes general among merchants; and thus an artificial demand is created for all kinds of merchandize, which of course advance in price as the excitement increases.

These are facts which are now apparent to every merchant who will turn his thoughts to the contemplation of the subject; and it requires no great

degree of penetration to foresee that the same causes will continue to operate (unless checked by timely legislation), until prices become so high that excessive importations will be made, and specie will take the place of domestic produce in payment for them. Then our banks will be compelled to withhold their accommodations, our markets will be overstocked, and we shall again endure all the evils which we suffered last spring and winter, from a sudden (and in this case necessary) contraction of the quantity of money afloat. A corresponding reduction of prices, to the standard which will be warranted by the actual and natural demand for consumption or exportation, will inevitably take place.

These are some of the evil consequences certain to result from the present state of our money-market, unless something occurs to check the anxiety of our banks to loan money. I know of nothing which can check that anxiety, but the prompt action of our Legislature in the suppression of small notes. I am a trader, Mr. Editor, and since I have been in the habit of receiving money from country merchants, I do not recollect of ever seeing such a large proportion of small bank-bills as are now circulating. They are continually pouring in upon us from all parts of the country in such quantities, and under such circumstances, as to justify a belief that some country merchants receive their bank accommodations, on condition of circulating their small bills in this city. It is a great and growing evil, and it is earnestly to be hoped that our legislators will not so far disregard the popular voice recently and clearly expressed, or disappoint the just expectations of those who have contended for a sound currency, as to delay adopting a measure which the public good most imperiously demands.

A PLEBEIAN.

FALL OF JUDAS;

OR,

GOD'S VENGEANCE AGAINST BRIBERY

"Now, this man purchased a field with the reward of iniquity; and, falling headlong, he burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out."—*Acts, ch. 1, ver. 18.*

[Concluded from page 297.]

It is a poor excuse for a man to say, that he does not offend the *laws*, in a case like this. How many injuries can men commit against their neighbours, and yet keep within the verge of any laws that man can devise! If I, having the power to do an act to serve my neighbour, or my country (for they are the same), *fail* to do that act, in consequence of any *expectation*, or *hope*, or even *wish*, that some *benefit* will arise to me from this failure in my duty, I am my own briber, my motive is corrupt, and I am not entitled to exemption from the vengeance due to bribery. My conduct tends, and it has in view, to benefit myself at the expense of my neighbour. *Oppression* of my neighbour is the natural, and even the known consequence of my conduct; and, throughout the Scriptures, we find *bribery* and *oppression* inseparable associates. "Who have I *oppressed*? From whose hand have I *taken a bribe*?" says the righteous SAMUEL. "The upright man," says ISAIAH, "despiseth the *gain of oppression*, he shaketh his hands from the *holding of bribes*." AMOS says that the *bribers* "afflict the just, and turn aside the poor in the gate from their right." DAVID joins *bribery* and *cruelty* together as necessary companions. And this it certainly is, take the world throughout. Where there is bribery, there you will find oppression; and the extent of the latter is invariably in due proportion to the extent of the former. Reason tells us, that it must be thus; for, who is to pay the wages of iniquity? Who is to remunerate the bribed for his perfidy? Who is to pay the price of his soul? *Not the bribers*; for, in that case, he could not gain by the transaction. He

must throw the burden of *payment* on somebody else. He does, indeed, drive the bargain, make the purchase of the corrupt soul, advance the money or make the promise; but, it is from somebody else that the payment is *finally* to come: the means to compensate the mercenary seller is to come out of the fruit of the sweat of *other men's brows*. The crafty and greedy wretch, who expends a pound in bribery, does it with a view of gaining a thousandfold; and, to effect this, oppress somebody he necessarily must. Indeed, nine times out of ten, a bribe is neither more nor less than the *purchase money of the power to oppress*.

When, therefore, we behold men selling, under any shape whatever, this power, we are bound to hold them in abhorrence, to hold no intercourse with them; to mark them out as reprobate, and to do all that in us lies to impede their course. Our duty towards God demands that we shun such wretches as we would flee from the plague; and our duty towards our neighbour demands, that we use our utmost endeavours to detect them and brand them with infamy. Their gain is the loss of good men: their prosperity spreads misery over the land: their enjoyment is a nation's curse.

And, what has the taker of a bribe to offer in the way of *excuse* for his conduct? What justification, what apology has he to offer for receiving the wages of iniquity; for selling to another *the power to oppress his neighbours*? What subterfuge has Satan suggested to him wherewith to quiet his conscience, and to make him believe, that God's vengeance will not overtake him, though so distinctly and emphatically pronounced upon his guilty head? Where can he find a refuge from that shame which pursues him like his shadow? How does he find the assurance to hold up his head and to walk erect in the presence of other men?

After having in vain sought for loopholes in religion and morality; after having exhausted all the resources of chicanery, the wretch guilty of bribery resorts to the old, stale, hacknied ex-

cuse, that *others do the same* ! What, then, and because others rob and murder, will you rob and murder ? For, these you might do with a conscience not more foul than that which permits you to bribe or be bribed. *Others* ? who are those *others* ? They are men as well as you, and no more ; and, doubtless, they appeal to your example, as you do to theirs ; and thus whole crowds of thieves and manslayers might find a justification in the fact that each has followed the example of all the rest. The augmentation of the number of bribers or of bribed does by no means diminish the guilt and infamy of the individuals. If the briber were to collect and range the base takers of bribes into companies and regiments ; were to draw them up in rank and file, two deep or ten deep ; were to go from rank to rank and from file to file with his muster-roll and his purse in his hand ; were to dole out to every individual the sum agreed upon as the price of his corruption ; would the portion of infamy appertaining to each of the soul-selling band be diminished by his being thus ranged and thus paid amongst numerous associates ? Would not all his own share of shame and sin still adhere as firmly as it would were he paid in a corner, or if the bribe found its way into his hand through a hole in a wall, or from the hand of a briber, dressed in masquerade, or hidden behind a curtain ?

And, as to bribers, do they, who have given the price of power to oppress, injure, rob, insult, domineer over their neighbours ; do they shift off any part of their crime by congregating ; by getting together in a crowd ? On the contrary, their power of oppressing and robbing being augmented, by collecting the individual portions of it into a mass, a phalanx of bribers is of a character still more detestable, if possible, than that of an individual briber. As long, indeed, as they were in divan ; as far as would relate to their intercommunication, they might keep each other in countenance, like the members of a banditti or those of a brothel. As towards each other, they would be guilty

of no wrong-doing : but, as towards the rest of mankind ; or towards the laws and ordinances of God, the guilt of each individual would remain to him for his possession, though none of his associates were to think the worse of him for it, and though the crime itself were as notorious as the sun at noon-day.

In vain does the wretch, guilty of bribery, seek shelter from infamy in the example of *ages*. Murderers seek such shelter in vain. That there have always been bribers in the world we know from history ; but, we also know, that this is no justification of the briber, or bribe-taker of the present day. It needs must be, says St. PAUL, that offences will come ; but woe be unto him by whom the offence cometh. That bribery was in practice in the days of Samuel we have on record that cannot err ; but in the Book of Job we are told, that "*fire shall consume the tabernacles of bribery* ;" and, if we allow most largely for figurativeness of expression here, the words must mean, that it is the will of God, that bribery shall be punished, as far as man has the power of punishment, in the most severe and signal manner. We find in Holy Writ, no apology, no excuse, no mitigation, as to this atrocious offence. We find no attempt on the part of the bribers or bribe-takers to justify their conduct on the plea that there had *always been* bribery in the world ; and, when the bribing wretches of the present day can find a justification in the antiquity of the crime, the murderer will find a justification in the example of Cain, and the malignant persecutors in the example of the devil himself.

But, we must not discuss this subject without a remark or two upon the *duties of society* with regard to the wretches abandoned to this detestable and oppression-creating crime. We see clearly the will of God as to bribers and bribe-takers ; but, we ourselves are to act in accordance with that will. We cannot, indeed, cause fire to consume the tabernacles of bribery ; but, we can do, and ought to do, many things, with regard to the guilty and odious wretches, which we but too often leave undone. It is

our duty not to give countenance, on any account, to bribers, or bribe-takers, even silently, much less ought we to give a sort of sanction to their crime by treating them, or speaking of them, with respect.

The Psalmist has clearly taught us our first duty with regard to these corrupt wretches: "Gather not my soul with sinners, nor my life with bloody men, in whose hands is mischief, and whose right hand is full of bribes." We are, then, at the very least, to keep aloof from them. We are not to associate with them. We are, every one of us according to his power, to set a mark of reprobation upon them. We are to warn our children, our brethren, our friends and neighbours against an intercourse so clearly tending to a contamination, as well as so manifestly offensive to God. To associate with these wretches; to live with them as with other men; to treat them as it is our duty to treat the innocent and virtuous, is to be guilty of self-abasement, and, which is worse, to give countenance to a sin, mischievous to society and marked out as an object of the wrath of God. We are warned, and with great propriety, not to associate with drunkards, with thieves and with murderers; but, it may be safely asserted, that associating with these, not excepting even the latter, is less dangerous, that is to say, leads to less evil in the end, than associating with the children of bribery; for, here the seeds of the most deadly corruption are sowed, and their fruit consists of every evil with which mankind can be afflicted. Oppression is the immediate consequence of bribery; oppression produces misery; and misery every species of crime. Fathers, if you would see your children virtuous and happy, keep them far away from the tabernacles of bribery; teach them to loathe the wretch, who has purchased the soul of another, or sold his own. Judas was a perjurer and traitor as well as a taker of bribes; and, what Judas was, such is every man guilty of bribery.

Nor is our hatred and contempt of the briber, or the taker of bribes, to be con-

fined, in their effects, to merely aloof from men so abandoned to work iniquity. To know of treason against our earthly sovereign, and not to endeavour to bring punishment on the traitor, is, in the eye of the law, an offence punishable even with death. To know of an act of murder, and not to denounce the murderer, is, in the eye of the same law, to be an accessary in his horrid crime. This law is founded in reason, and in justice; for, by screening these malefactors by means of our silence, we give countenance and encouragement to the commission of the crimes of treason and murder. Does it become us, then, to be silent in the case of bribery known to us? Does it become us to give, in this way, countenance and encouragement to a crime, which, though not equal to treason or murder in point of horridness, surpasses them both in ultimate evil, seeing that it necessarily leads to the overthrow of civil society, and to the involving of the community in miseries and crimes? This does not become us. It is, on the contrary, a duty imperative upon us, to detect, expose, reprobate, and execrate, as far as our knowledge of the facts go, all who are abandoned to this detestable offence; this cause of all minor corruptions; this dry-rot of states; this destroyer of all morality and happiness, private and public; this "*the accursed thing*," which, until it be cast forth from the camp, leaves a moment's repose to none but the base trafficker in bribes.

In such a case, however, our indignation and reprobation are not sufficient, if we have more at our command. "A corrupt tree," says our Saviour (Matthew, c. vii. v. 17.) "bringeth forth evil fruit"; and, in v. 19, he says, "every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is *hewn down* and cast into the fire." Something more, therefore, than words, something more than wishes, is necessary, in such a case. Precisely what we ought to do must depend upon our own capacity as well as upon the nature of the circumstances, and the occasion. But, apprised, as we are, of the magnitude of the evil; knowing as we do the consequence of the

erime ; tasting as all men must of the bitter fruit whenever this tree of corruption flourishes, it must be the bounden duty of every man to employ all the means in his power to hew it down, or to tear it up by the roots. His duty to the community of which he is a member ; his duty to those children to whom he has given life, and over whose morals and welfare nature bids him keep constant watch ; and, above all, his duty to God, who has given him the earth to inherit, and reason to be his guide, command him to labour with all his heart, with all his soul and his strength in the destruction of this baneful tree.

What must we think them, if there be men found in the world, endowed with more than an ordinary portion of mental power, capable of using that power, and that, too, with indefatigable zeal, in justifying, and even eulogizing, the hateful crime, the commission of which brought degradation on the sons of the pious and revered SAMUEL, and which God has said shall bring fire to consume the tabernacles of the criminals ? But, thus it is that bribery works its way. It purchases first the power of oppressing ; it obtains the "gain of oppressions" ; and with that gain it purchases defenders of itself. In its progress it corrodes and poisons all that ought to contribute to the safety and happiness of man. It perverts the judgment ; it enfeebles the public mind ; it gives predominance to ignorance and fraud ; it lays the foundation of that total ruin, which must, sooner, or later, fall upon the community.

Yet, worse, more wicked, more testable, even than such openly prostitute abusers of their mental faculties, are those, who assume the garb of godliness for the purpose of abetting, and covertly profiting in, the commission of acts of bribery. This is the very tip-top twig of the tree of iniquity. Here, if to be found on earth, is real *blasphemy*. Here is a settled design to do injury to man and to make a mockery of God. Many and horrid are the acts of wickedness committed in the world ; acts in defiance of all law human and divine ; but, in his whole course, does the sun

cast his rays upon a wretch so detestable as he, who, with the Bible in his hand, and with piety on his lips, undeviatingly pursues through life the path of oppression, practised through the means of bribery ; who coolly and with inward delight enjoys the fruits of his corruption ; and, dying, bequeaths his hypocrisy as an inheritance to his children ? SAMUEL's sons were abashed, and skulked from their high office : even Iscariot had some compunction ; but, the habitual, the hypocritical briber, or bribe-taker, becomes, in time, wholly bereft of conscience : fire may consume his tabernacle ; he may fall headlong ; his bowels may tumble forth ; but remorse, even at his latest gasp, finds no way to his filthy soul. Like Judas he goes to his "proper place," where he finds, that, though hypocrisy gave him impunity with man, there is a God to inflict vengeance on bribery.

From the LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 30, 1835.

INSOLVENTS.

CRISP, J., Sydney-alley, Leicester-square, hosier.
DORRINGTON, J., Fordingbridge, Hampshire, plumber.
SMITH, A. H., Newcastle-upon-Tyne and North Shields, grocer.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

MORGAN, T., Eginge, Herefordshire, timber-merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

BATCHELOR, W., Portsmouth, grocer.
BOND, S., Westmoreland-street, Marybone, wine-merchant.
COLLINS, J., St. Swithin's, Worcestershire, linen-draper.
CLARKE, W. H., Castle-court, Budge-row, wine-merchant.
FISHER, Rev. T., Kingston-upon-Hull, Rev. J. Fisher, Higham-on-the-Hill, Leicester-shire, and Mary Simmonds, Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Leicestershire, bankers.
FORSTER, G., Stourbridge, Worcestershire, spade-manufacturer.
FOSTER, J. B., Lower-road, Islington, brick-maker, and Baywater, publican.

HARLEY, P., New-street, Newington, baker.
HAVERS, H., Hadleigh, Suffolk, linen-draper.
JACKSON, W., Macclesfield, Cheshire, silk-manufacturer.
JENNINGS, T. and T., Brompton-grove, Kensington, livery-stable-keepers.
JOHNSON, R., Ryker, Northumberland, merchant.
STUART, J. F. D., River-street, Pentonville, coal-merchant.
WALKER, T., Fort-street, Spitalfields, silk-manufacturer.
WILLIAMSON, H. W., Balsham, Cambridgeshire, horse-dealer.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 3.

INSOLVENT.

WYBROW, T., New-cut, Lambeth, grocer.

BANKRUPTS.

BENNETT, D., A bion-house, Walcot, Somersetshire, spirit-merchant.
CALLOW, J., St. John-street, Clerkenwell, victualler.
CRISP, J., Sidney-alley, Leicester-square, hosier.
GOUGH, R., Newbury, Berkshire, corn-factor.
HARBEN, H., High-street, Bloomsbury, cheesemonger.
KAIN, G. J., Blackheath-park, Kent, coal-merchant.
LANGHOKNE, W., Throgmorton-street, stock-broker.
MARTIN, J., Steel-yard, Upper Thames-st., wine-merchant.
OLDHAM, J., Friday-street, laceman.
PAGE, J., Hayes-court, Greek-street, Soho, newspaper-vender.
PHILLIPS, M. A., Dorset-square, St. Mary-bunne, schoolmistress.
SMITH, T., Stroud, Gloucestershire, china and earthenware-dealer.
TUCK, G., Cleveland-street, Fitzroy-square, grocer.
WOOD, J., Hatfield-street, Stamford-street, Blackfriars-road, flannel-dealer.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Feb. 2.—Though the supplies of Wheat from Essex, Kent, and Suffolk, have been on a moderate scale, yet the dampness of the weather having rendered most of the samples out of condition, the millers were very reluctant purchasers, taking only the few samples of fine dry quality, which were offering at the rates of last Monday, while all other descriptions hang on hand, though a decline of fully 1s. per quarter would have been submitted to. In bonded Wheat nothing transacting.

The arrivals of Barley have not been large,

still the trade ruled extremely heavy, and though an extra parcel of Chevalier for seed may have obtained the currency of this day week, yet the general runs of this quality, as well as other malting qualities, with distilling and grinding sorts, were fully 1s. per quarter lower. Barley in bond met, likewise, little inquiry, and the rapid advance of prices in Holstein and Denmark, precludes, for the present, much further speculation in the article.

Not much passing in the malt trade, and prices remain unaltered.

The extensive supply of Oats, principally from Ireland, has depressed the trade, and purchasers and dealers holding off the market, caused prices to recede 6d. to 1s. per quarter, and at the close of the day, little progress had been made in effecting a clearance.

Beans dull, but prices nominally unaltered.

White Peas were in very limited request, and might have been bought cheaper. Gray Peas, except for seed, 1s. lower. Maple for sowing are fully as dear.

The Flour trade extremely languid, and though the manufacture of the article in the country is much impeded from the want of rain and wind, yet ship qualities remain in a very depressed state.

Wheat, English, White, new....	42s. to 54s.
Old	48s. to 52s.
Red, new.....	3s. to 44s.
Old	40s. to 41s.
Lincolnshire, red	36s. to 42s.
White	42s. to 44s.
Yorkshire, red	36s. to 42s.
White	42s. to 44s.
Northumberl. & Berwick	38s. to 41s.
Fine white	40s. to 44s.
Dundee & choice Scotch	43s. to 44s.
Irish, red, good.....	32s. to 34s.
White	36s. to 42s.
Rye,	30s. to 34s.
New.....	34s. to 36s.
Barley, English, grinding	26s. to 28s.
Distilling.....	28s. to 32s.
Malting	32s. to 34s.
Chevalier	36s. to 42s.
Malt	44s. to 54s.
Fine new.....	56s. to 64s.
Beans, Tick, new	33s. to 35s.
Old	56s. to 38s.
Harrow, new.....	35s. to 37s.
Old	36s. to 40s.
Peas, White, English	36s. to 38s.
Foreign	35s. to 37s.
Gray or Hog	36s. to 38s.
Maples.....	39s. to 41s.
Oats, Poland.....	23s. to 26s.
Lincolnshire, short small	23s. to 24s.
Lincolnshire, feed	21s. to 22s.
Yorkshire, feed.....	22s. to 23s.
Black.....	23s. to 24s.
Northumberland and Berwick Potato, new.....	24s. to 26s.

Old.....	—s. to —s.
Angus, new	24s. to 25s.
Old.....	—s. to —s.
Banff and Aberdeen, com-	
mou new	24s. to 25s.
Old.....	—s. to —s.
Potato	25s. to 26s.
Old.....	—s. to —s.
Irish Potato, new.....	22s. to 23s.
Old.....	—s. to —s.
Feed, new light	20s. to 21s.
Black, new	21s. to 22s.
Foreign feed.....	22s. to 24s.
Danish & Pomeranian, old	20s. to 21s.
Petersburgh, Riga, &c....	22s. to 23s.
Foreign, in bond, feed....	12s. to 14s.
Brew	16s. to 18s.

PROVISIONS.

Butter, Dorset.....	40s. to 42s. per cwt.
— Cambridge	40s. to —s.
— York	38s. to —s.
Cheese, Dble. Gloucester	48s. to 62s.
— Single ditto....	41s. to 48s.
— Cheshire.....	54s. to 74s.
— Derby	56s. to 60s.
Hams, Westmoreland..	50s. to 60s.
— Cumberland ...	50s. to 60s.

SMITHFIELD, February 2.

This day's supply of Beasts, Sheep, and Porkers, was moderately good; its supply of Calves rather limited. Prime small Pork was in steady demand, at an advance of from 2d. to 4d. per stone; with Beef, Mutton, and Veal, trade was, owing to advanced prices being for each stiffly demanded, dull, at Friday's quotations.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. } Fri. Sat. Mon. Tues. Wed. Thur.	
Cons. Ann. } 92½ 92½ 92½ 91½ 91½ 92½	

COBBETT-LIBRARY.

Fourth Edition.

COBBETT'S Spelling-Book.

(Price 2s.)

Containing, besides all the usual matter of such a book, a clear and concise

INTRODUCTION TO ENGLISH GRAMMAR.

This I have written by way of

A Stepping-Stone to my own Grammar;

such a thing having been frequently suggested to me by Teachers as necessary.

1. ENGLISH GRAMMAR.—Of this work one hundred thousand copies have now been published. This is a duodecimo volume, and the price is 3s: bound in boards.

2. TULL'S HORSE-HOEING HUSBANDRY; or, a Treatise on the Principles of Tillage and Vegetation. With an Introduction, by WM. COBBETT. 8vo. Price 15s.

3. THE EMIGRANT'S GUIDE. Just now Published, under this Title, a little Volume, containing Ten Letters, addressed to English Tax-payers. A new edition, with a Postscript, containing an account of the Prices of Houses and Land, recently obtained from America by Mr. Cobbett. Price 2s. 6d. in bds.

4. THE WOODLANDS; or, a Treatise on the preparing of the ground for planting; on the planting, on the cultivating, on the pruning, and on the cutting down, of Forest Trees and Underwoods. Price 14s. bound in boards.

5. YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA.—The Price of this book, in good print and on fine paper, is 5s.

6. FRENCH GRAMMAR; or, Plain Instructions for the Learning of French. Price, bound in boards, 5s.

7. COTTAGE ECONOMY.—I wrote this Work professedly for the use of the labouring and middling classes of the English nation. I made myself acquainted with the best and simplest modes of making beer and bread, and these I made it as plain as, I believe, words could make it. Also of the keeping of Cows, Pigs, Bees, and Poultry, matters which I understood as well as any body could, and in all their details. It includes my writing, also on the Straw Plait. A Duodecimo Volume. Price 2s. 6d.

8. MARTENS'S LAW OF NATIONS.—This is the Book which was the foundation of all the knowledge that I have ever possessed relative to public law. The Price is 17s., and the manner of its execution is I think, such as to make it fit for the Library of any Gentleman.

9. MR. JAMES PAUL COBBETT'S RIDE OF EIGHT HUNDRED MILES IN FRANCE. Second Edition. Price 2s. 6d.

10. A TREATISE ON COBBETT'S CORN; containing Instructions for Propagating and Cultivating the Plant, and for Harvesting and Preserving the Crop; and also an account of the several uses to which the Produce is applied. Price 5s.

11. LETTERS FROM FRANCE; containing Observations made in that Country during a Residence of Two Months in the South, and Three Months at Paris. By JOHN M. COBBETT. Price 4s. in boards.

12. SERMONS.—There are twelve of these, in one volume, on the following subjects: 1. Hypocrisy and Cruelty; 2. Drunkenness; 3. Bribery; 4. Oppression; 5. Unjust Judges; 6. The Sluggard; 7. The Murderer; 8. The Gamester; 9. Public Robbery; 10. The Unnatural Mother; 11. The Sin of Forbidding Marriage; 12. On the Duties of Parsons, and on the Institution and Object of Tithes. Price 3s. 6d. bound in boards.

A Thirteenth Sermon, entitled "GOOD FRIDAY; or, The Murder of Jesus Christ by the Jews." Price 6d.

13. PROTESTANT "REFORMATION" in England and Ireland, showing how that event has impoverished and degraded the main body of the people in those countries. Two volumes, bound in boards. The Price of the first volume is 4s. 6d. The Price of the second volume 3s. 6d.

A NEW FRENCH AND ENGLISH DICTIONARY.

In two parts. Part I. French and English.—Part II. English and French. By WILLIAM COBBETT, M.P. for Oldham.—Price 12s.

THE CURSE OF

PAPER MONEY AND BANKING,

Or, a short History of Banking in the United States of America, with an account of its ruinous effects on Landowners, Farmers, Traders, and on all the industrious classes of the community.

By W. M. GOUVENOR, of Philadelphia, in 1833. To which is prefixed an Introduction by Wm. Cobbett, M.P. for Oldham. Price 4s. 11. Pall-mall, Fleet-street, and all Book-sellers.

Price 12s.

A GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF ENGLAND AND WALES;

CONTAINING

The names, in Alphabetical Order, of all the Counties, with their several Subdivisions, into Hundreds, Lathes, Rapes, Wapentakes, Wards, or Divisions; and an Account of the Distribution of the Counties into Circuits, Dioceses, and Parliamentary Divisions.

ALSO,

The names (under that of each County respectively), in Alphabetical Order, of all the Cities, Boroughs, Market Towns, Villages, Hamlets, and Tithings, with the Distance of each from London, or from the nearest Market Town, and with the Population, and other interesting particulars relating to each; besides which there are

MAPS;

First, one of the whole country, showing the local situation of the Counties relatively to each other; and, then, each County is also preceded by a Map, showing, in the same manner, the local situation of the Cities, Boroughs, and Market Towns.

FOUR TABLES

Are added; first, a Statistical Table of all the Counties, and then three Tables, showing the new Divisions and Distributions enacted by the Reform-Law of 4th June, 1832.

JOURNAL OF A TOUR IN ITALY,

AND ALSO IN PART OF

FRANCE AND SWITZERLAND;

The route being

From Paris, through Lyons, to Marseilles, and, thence, to Nice, Genoa, Pisa, Florence, Rome, Naples, and Mount Vesuvius;

AND

By Rome, Terni, Perugia, Arezzo, Florence, Bologna, Ferrara, Padua, Venice, Verona, Milau, over the Alps by Mount St. Bernard, Geneva, and the Jura, back into France;

The space of time being,
From October 1828, to September 1829.

CONTAINING

A description of the country, of the principal cities and their most striking curiosities; of the climate, soil, agriculture, horticulture, and products; of the prices of provisions and labour; and of the dresses and conditions of the people;

AND ALSO

An account of the laws and customs, civil and religious, and of the morals and demeanour of the inhabitants, in the several States.

By JAMES P. COBBETT.

Price 6s. a new edition of the

Just Published,

ENGLISH GARDENER,

OR,

A TREATISE

On the Situation, Soil, Enclosing and Laying-Out of Kitchen Gardens; on the Making and Managing of Hot-beds and Green-Houses; and on the Propagation and Cultivation of all sorts of Kitchen-Garden Plants, and of Fruit-Trees whether of the Garden or the Orchard.

AND ALSO,

On the Formation of Shrubberies and Flower-Gardens; and on the Propagation and Cultivation of the several sorts of Shrubs and Flowers;

CONCLUDING WITH

A KALENDAR,

Giving instructions relative to the Sowings, Plantings, Prunings, and other labours, to be performed in the Gardens, in each Month of the Year.

By WILLIAM COBBETT.

Just published, price 4d.,

NATIONAL REGENERATION.

1. Letter from Mr. Fitton to Mr. Fielden.
2. Letter from Mr. Fielden to Mr. Fitton.
3. Letter from Mr. Holt to Mr. Fielden.

Which Letters contain a development of all the principles and all the views connected with this important change in the manufacturing affairs of the country.

Just published, price 4d.

MR. COBBETT'S SPEECH.

AND THE

**OTHER SPEECHES ON HIS MOTION
FOR AN ABOLITION OF THE MALT-
TAX.**

LIFE OF GENERAL JACKSON,

President of America: with an interesting frontispiece; and an exact likeness of the President. Price 3s. bds.

Just published, price 2s.,

FOUR LETTERS

TO THE

HON. JOHN STUART WORTLEY,

In answer to his "Brief Inquiry into the true award of an Equitable Adjustment between the nation and its creditors."—By WILLIAM COBBETT, M.P. for Oldham.

Just published,

PRACTICAL EXERCISES:

WITH

**A KEY TO COBBETT'S FRENCH
GRAMMAR.**

By J. P. Cobbett. Price Two Shillings.

ADDRESS TO THE PUBLIC.

IT is with feelings of no ordinary satisfaction, and with the proudest emotions of gratitude, that the proprietors and original inventors of the Macassar Oil, presume to offer their annual tribute of thanks to a liberal and enlightened public for the unprecedented and munificent patronage with which they have been honoured. Many years have elapsed since

ROWLAND'S MACASSAR OIL

Was first introduced to the notice of the Public, and each revolving year has produced renewed testimonials of its pre-eminent virtues; and increasing popularity has surpassed the most sanguine expectations of the Proprietors. It can excite little surprise that an article so highly appreciated by the Public should be fraudulently imitated; but the Proprietors are happy to state every attempt to injure or curtail the sale of that article has proved abortive, owing to the discernment and liberal conduct of a generous public. A. Rowland and Son cannot close this address without again making their grateful acknowledgments for the favours conferred upon them, humbly soliciting a continuance of the patronage with which they have been so highly honoured.—20, Hatton-garden, Jan. 1, 1835.

This Oil has been for many years universally admired, and is the best and cheapest article for nourishing the Hair, preventing its falling off or turning grey to the latest period of life; promotes a luxuriant growth on the balddest places; renders hair that is harsh and dry as soft as silk; produces strong and lasting curls, which damp weather or exercise cannot effect; in fine, it gives a most fascinating appearance to the Hair of Ladies, Gentlemen, and Children. It also produces, Whiskers, Eyebrows, &c.

Notice.—The lowest price of the Original Macassar Oil, is 3s. 6d. per bottle. The label has the words "Rowland's Macassar Oil," and between those words are the same words minutely and curiously engraved twenty-four times, also the name and address in red, on lacor-work.

A. ROWLAND and SON, 20, Hatton-garden.
Counter-signed ALEX. ROWLAND.

ROWLAND'S KALYDOR,

Possesses Properties of surprising Energy, in realising delicate White Neck, Hands, and Arms, and imparting a beautiful juvenile Bloom to the Complexion. Its soothing and ameliorating Properties immediately allay the smarting Irritability of the Skin produced by Cold Winds or Damp Atmosphere; assuages Inflammations; it heals harsh and rough Skin; removes cutaneous Eruptions, and produces a beautiful Complexion; it affords soothing Relief to Ladies nursing their Offspring, in healing Soreness of the Breast.

Gentlemen after Shaving will find it allay the smarting Pain, and renders the Skin smooth and pleasant.—Sold in Half Pints, at 4s. 6d. each, and Pints at 8s. 6d. each, by the Proprietors as above, and by all respectable Perfumers and Medicine Venders.

SIGHT RESTORED, Nervous Head-ache Cured, and Cholera Prevented. Under the Patronage of his late Majesty and the Lords of the Treasury.—Mr. Abernethy used it, and termed it the faculty's friend and nurse's vademecum. Dr. Andrews also recommends it. Cures—Mr. A. Mackintyre, age 65, 3, Silver-street, Golden-square, of gutta serena. Mr. P. Sanderson, 10, Harper-street, Leeds, of cataract. Mr. H. Pluckwell, Tottenham-house, Middlesex, of ophthalmia. Miss S. Englefield, Park-street, Windsor, of nervous head-ache. Testimonials from medical gentlemen and families of the first respectability, proving the above, may be seen at 39, Broad-street, Bloomsbury, and 24, King-street, Long-acre.

The high patronage GRIMSTONE'S EYE-SNUFF has obtained, is a testimonial beyond suspicion. This delightful compound is the most wholesome stuff taken, and is recommended for its benign influence on all who use it. Sold in canisters, at 1s. 3d., 2s. 4d., 4s. 4d., and 8s. each. Look to the signature of the inventor, and the patronage. Sold in every country town.

MORISON'S MEDICINES.

Cure of Small-pox.

To Mr. Alexander Keay, Agent for Cupar-Angus.

SIR,—The late trial at York, and the sentence on Mr. Webb, agent there, have caused me to give a statement of my case. It is as follows: I have had an attack of small-pox of the worst kind, and I am now quite recovered. I used Mr. Morison's Medicines, and I am not poisoned, as you may believe by this declaration being from, Sir,

Your humble servant,

Sept., 1834.

JOHN SMALL.

Cure of Confluent Small-pox.

To Mr. Alexander Keay, Agent for Cupar-Angus.

SIR,—I hereby give you a simple statement of my case. About two months ago I suffered by an attack of confluent small-pox, and the marks on my body are evidences of the severity of the attack. I used Mr. Morison's Medicines liberally, and nothing else. I am now recovered, and at my usual employment.

I am, sir, yours truly,

DAVID SMALL.

Kettins, 10, September, 1834.

Cure of Small-pox.

To Mr. Alexander Keay, Agent for Cupar-Angus.

SIR,—As the present is a time when opinions and speculation begin and end with the rising and setting of the sun, I consider the man as unworthy of the name who will not come boldly forward in defence of what he conceives to be the truth. The sentence on Mr. Webb is a paradox not to be accounted for on any principle of justice with which I am acquainted, and I will not meddle with it; but in direct opposition to the opinion of the evidence by the jury, I affirm on my own experience, that Mr. Morison's medicines are not only safe, but salutary and efficacious, as I have found in different instances, as well as in small-pox, of which I lately had an attack, but I am quite recovered by the blessing of God, on these simple means. The mode of treatment by the faculty in general is absurd and contradictory. Try this thing and that thing, and when we have done so we are just where we began. The taking of blood, too, has proved fatal in different instances to my knowledge; and the medicines, as they are called, which they use, are worse than worthless. I speak from experience and without fear of contradiction. I have found benefit from a single dose of the Universals.

I am, Sir, yours truly,

WILLIAM HUNTER.

Kettins, September 1834.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 87.—No. 7.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 14TH, 1835.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



TO CORRESPONDENTS.

I BEG that ALL letters to me, from whatever quarter, and on whatever subject, may be now directed to BOLT-COURT, during the Session of Parliament. If directed to Farnham, they will not reach me for weeks, perhaps.

TO

SIR ROBERT PEEL.

LETTER IV.

King's Norton, 4. Feb. 1835.

SIR,

Instead of a letter addressed immediately to you, I have chosen, in this instance, to address a letter to the President of the United States of America; which letter I here subjoin for your perusal. You will perceive that I have been endeavouring to describe to him the various workings of the MONEY-MONSTER in England; and, in addition to what I have said to him, I will here observe to you, on the effects of the money-monster in the crippling and debasing of a nation in regard to its foreign relations, that it is this monster which is now compelling the French, in spite of their bluster, to eat their words and yield to the American republic; that it is this monster

[Printed by W. Cobbett, Johnson's-court.]

which now makes England appear not to perceive that Russia has taken possession of Turkey; and that it is this monster which will destroy every thing within its reach, if you have not the courage, like the President of America, to seize it by the throat, and to strangle it.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient,
And most humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

On the destructive effects of Funds, and of Paper-money in England, France, and America.

King's Norton, 5. Feb. 1835.

SIR,

I do myself the honour; and I well consider the meaning of these words before I use them: I do myself the *very great honour* to send to you for your acceptance, a copy of a little book which I have just written and published, called, "A Legacy to Labourers." To you, sir, who are a lawyer, as well as the greatest statesman and the greatest military commander of this age, I need say nothing in explanation of the principles, of the facts, and of the arguments contained in this little book. You will perceive, from the dedication prefixed to it, the provocation which drew it forth, and the natural tendency of the work with regard to effects. But, it may not be useless to inform you, that, of all the things that I ever pub-

H

lished; and you can recollect publications from my pen more than forty years ago, you being a member of Congress in Philadelphia when I was there so bravely fighting single-handed the battles of England, in defiance of the censures of you all, whether just or unjust: it may not be without utility for me to inform you, that of all the works that I ever published, this, in point of effect, appears to be the greatest. An edition of five thousand copies has been able to stand the demand for only about twenty days; and I have not the smallest doubt that, before twelve months are over our heads, this work will have been read, and its principles adopted, by one million of Englishmen and Scotchmen; I having great doubt whether any effort of mine or of any body else can cause it to be read by any considerable portion of the people of unhappy Ireland, whose lot I have just beheld with my own eyes; and with regard to whom, the only consolation I have is, that the oppressions of Ireland sent you forth to do the famous things which you have done, and the still more famous things which are in reserve for you to do.

I pray you to receive this little book, Sir, as the fruit of the best talents, the most sedulous industry, and the most ardent zeal which I ever possessed: I beg you to receive it as the thing which I possess the most worthy of being presented to you, as the greatest benefactor of mankind whom I have ever known.

Before I proceed into the other most interesting matters relating to England, let me stop to congratulate the sensible and brave people of the United States

on the steps which their faithful representative has taken with regard to that very sincere personage, the citizen-king of France. I was in hopes that the vanity of the "*grande nation*" would have urged them on to resist, till an American squadron had spoken to them in language to cause the quarrel to be remembered. I see that, according to their usual custom, after suitable gabblings and *pestings*, and other outcries, against your *rondeur* and your *manière brusque*, they have thought it prudent to hear the account afresh, and to determine that they were mistaken; in fact, to have adopted the *parti sage*, which is always to avoid blows. Yes, sir, a million sterling, in solid crown pieces, in your chests at Washington, will be a great deal better than for them to be left in France for the citizen-king and his Bourse to gamble with.

And now, sir, for the situation of this kingdom. You have read of the change of Ministry; a great deal you have read about Whig and Tory, about *Conservatives* and *Destructives*; and you will find that the tenour of the whole talk of the factions is, a *preservation of the institutions of the country*. You have too much knowledge of the causes which have been at work to express wonder that these institutions should be in danger, after a twenty-two years glorious and successful war to uphold them. You know these causes too well to ask how it is that those institutions can be in danger, after a war which has swept away all our old enemies, and at the end of a peace of twenty long years. You will not ask what it is that can have produced the present dif-

faculties and dangers ; for you well know the nature and tendency of **PUBLIC DEBTS AND PAPER-MONEY**. You know that we must be convulsed ; you know that there must be revolution in effect, though there may not be in name ; you know, in short, that the state must destroy the money-monster, or that the money-monster will destroy the state.

These things, in substance, you know ; but, it may amuse you to be informed of the curious and surprising manner in which the money-monster is working. Every thing that you see of a revolutionary character is produced, not by the "*spirit of the age*" as that at once weak and vigorous old man, Lord Grey called it ; weak towards the money-monster, vigorous towards the working-people ; every thing that you see of this character is produced, not by the "*spirit of the age*," but by the *money-monster*. Wheat is now sold at five shillings the bushel, where it would have been sold at seven, had it not been for your wise movements. Great numbers of farmers are ruined, singly by this operation. Yes, one single little movement of yours has plunged the whole of the pecuniary affairs of this kingdom into a state of embarrassment inexpressible. Your movements, however, while they oppress all men of real estate, and all the industrious classes, fatten the money-monster ; give him seven shillings, while before he had five ; that is to say, cause a bushel of wheat to be sold, and two shillings worth more, in order to get him that which he got out of one bushel of wheat two years ago. This cripples the farmer : he must either

pay less rent or less wages. The landlord wants the rent ; the labourer will be paid ; to deduct from his wages is the great and manifest tendency of that Poor-law Bill, of which I have treated in the little book. So that you will perceive, it is the money-monster that is at work here ; for, let who will perish he survives. The landlords dare not touch a hair of his head, and that, too, for reasons which will occur to you without their being pointed out, especially when you shall have read my series of letters to Sir Robert Peel. Thus all the community is plunged into turmoil, by this attempt to get at the wages. It will naturally be asked, why the Government hatched this new and extraordinary measure, making so great an addition to all its other difficulties ; why they could not suffer to remain laws of two hundred years standing ; laws which were the real glory of England ; laws under which such an industrious people had been created or had been reared up. Ah, sir ! but the money-monster wanted that which this industrious people had in return for their labour. It was not a thing sought by the Government, but a thing hatched at the suggestion of the money-monster, by a nest of brutal Scotch vagabonds, who would starve and skin half mankind in order to procure the means of living in idleness themselves. I beseech you to read the *Dedication* to the "*Legacy to Labourers*." You will see there the real causes of this desperate act.

In the meanwhile, the money-monster is pushing on in other directions. Remember, Sir, I,

told you that the money-monster had got into his possession the far greater part of the small estates of this kingdom. FORTESCUE tells you, you know, that there was, in every village or hamlet, one, at least, of those men called *Frankeleyns*, that is to say, something more than a *yeoman*; a man with a considerable mansion, and independent estate in land; these formed the natural magistracy of the people. If you look into SPELMAN, you will find that this was still the case in the reign of King JAMES the FIRST. The moment the money-monster was created, he necessarily began to swallow up these *Frankeleyns*; and by degrees he has swallowed them up, to the last man. If you were here, and would accompany me, I would take you down a single vale, in the beautiful county of Wilts, and I would there show you, in the length of thirty miles, and, on the average, a breadth of five miles, the ruins, or the former site, of more than twenty gentlemen's mansions, all which contained families holding in hereditary right, when George the Third came to the throne. A very respectable gentleman of Buckinghamshire told me last winter, that in that county, in a diameter of twenty miles, including the fine vale of Aylesbury, every little gentleman was extinguished; that there was not left one man except himself, in that whole space, capable of acting as a magistrate, except clergymen! I state this to you, sir, in the face of all England; and you will gather from these facts, that those who used to be called "*the country gentlemen*" of England are annihilated.

I told you, in that former letter, that the great estates still resisted, generally speaking; but that they must go after the rest, unless a stop were put to the progress of the money-monster. I told you, that his all-disturbing and devouring snout had been in some degree arrested by *entailed park-walls*; by walls round the closes of the cathedrals, round bishops' palaces and parks, and round the walls of colleges and the like. Alas, sir! if you look at our present projects and proceedings, you will find that the monster is making great progress in getting his snout under all these now. He is beginning to shake them; and the clergy are all flitting about and squalling, like a congregation of crows (lodged by prescriptive right in the tip-tops of your lofty pines), when the fatal axe of Jonathan begins to sound at the stems.

You, sir, who are a *lawyer*, as well soldier and statesman, know very well the nature of church property in England: you know that it is interwoven with every acre of land, of whatever tenure, in the whole kingdom. You are too good a judge of these things not to know, that if once this property be touched, in any shape whatsoever, unless by a general sweeping measure that would make a distinct line of demarcation, the touch will extend itself, directly or indirectly, to every estate in the country. You will know that it is impossible to make a law to take away the value, or part of the value, of an advowson, without causing the same principle to be applied to the holdings of bishops, deans and chapters, and colleges. You will know that you cannot

touch these without extending the touch to lay-tithes; and you will know that these cannot be touched without proceeding upon a principle which would resume the abbey-lands, and place them at the disposal of the state. And, sir, that I am not talking of things here which are mere matters of imagination, let me beg you to observe, that it is confidently stated in his own papers, that the Minister means to meddle with advowsons, and with the property of deans and chapters.

Pray stop with me here, sir, to admire the inscrutable ways of Providence! You well remember that the long and bloody war against the republicans of France was undertaken, expressly and avowedly, *to prevent the overthrow of the church, particularly in England.* There were the other avowed objects of preserving the throne and the hereditary nobility; but more particularly the church, the heads of which were ten thousand times more clamorous for war than any body else; and objected to make peace even when all the rest of the nation would have consented to peace. You must have been here, sir, to have an idea of the exultation and of the outrageous insolence of the parsons, when Napoleon had been put down. Alas! when they were thinking that they had made sure of themselves and their property for ever, they forgot that *debt*; they forgot that *money-monster* to whom they had been obliged to apply for aid during the war, and who was destined finally to swallow them up.

It is this **MONSTER** which makes them shake. You cannot, sir,

unless you were here, feel sufficient surprise at this now universal clamour for "*church reform*," and especially for a doing something or another with *tithes*, as being things *so injurious to agriculture*! Why, sir, tithes have existed a thousand years in England. Agriculture has flourished during that thousand years. Agriculture was all prosperity and all boast for the twenty years preceding the passing of Peel's Bill. What, sir, have we forgotten the Holkham sheep-shearings, at which sovereign princes, and now and then an aristocratical fool from America were guests. Have we forgotten the Woburn sheep-shearings! Have we forgotten the cattle-shows, the wool-shows, the prizes of all sorts! Have we forgotten the endless improvements in agriculture! Have we forgotten the boast of the late Mr. Curwen (member for Cumberland), who said that he saw five hundred farmers assembled at a sheep-shearing at Holkham, each on an average worth ten thousand pounds! It was one of the boasts of those who dinned "prosperity" in our ears, that the tenants of Mr. COKE (of Holkham) lived in elegant dwellings, replete with modern conveniences, and this, too, while they paid rents, perhaps, *five hundred per cent.* greater than his ancestor received. This was only a specimen of the whole country; we saw the farmers rise into wealth in every quarter. *Threshing-machines* were universally in vogue; the flail was thrown aside; these threshing-machines frequently being made to work with eight horse power or more, to thresh out two or three loads of wheat in a day, and to cost, sometimes, nearly five hundred pounds. The "*turkey husbandry*," *foxtail*, at the same time; *mangel wurzel* husbandry next; together with both "*artificial grasses*" of every species known to *LINNAUS* adopted; sown or planted on almost every farm in England; machinery endless for the multitudinous modes of carrying into effect all the new theories in agriculture; and inventions for

Does constantly occupying the thoughts of noblemen, gentlemen, and farmers, at their meetings and clubs.

and in their correspondences. The style and port of the farmers (the class of persons more immediately affected by this state of things) changed from that of plain men to that of dandies; their denomination from that of *husbandmen* to that of "*agriculturalists*"; the new-fangled inventions, speculations, and theories put in practice on their farms, dignified by the term "*experiments*," instead of being derided with the old English word "*maggots*." In short, all was glory, gladness, and splendour with those who touched the land, as proprietor or occupier; to be convinced of which, one need only open any of the volumes of the *EDINBURGH REVIEW* and other publications, which were in great repute amongst the landlords of ENGLAND during the period to which I allude; and, as a specimen of their language, permit me, sir, to give you one passage from the "*philosophical*" work which I have named, and which I take from No. IX. of its lucubrations, at page 204, being written in the year 1805, at which time the agricultural "*prosperity*" was by no means at its height. The passage is as follows:

"The commerce and manufactures of this island conceal, in some measure, its AGRICULTURAL GRANDEUR: of which we may not, perhaps, obtain a full view, unless their splendid superstructure of present prosperity, mouldering away, from the fragility of the materials, or shattered by external violence, shall expose the strength and extent of the base on which it is rested." Sycophantic as this was, addressed to such a class of readers; stupid and hollow as it was, coming from the "*philosophers*" and from "*modern Athens*," these terms were neither false nor figurative, for the sycophant *coined words to exaggerate* the appearance of the prosperity which he beheld; it was, sir, really and literally, "*agricultural grandeur*," for twenty years or thereabouts; but, notwithstanding all this "*agricultural grandeur*," you will observe, sir, that *even during all this time the nation was in a state of poverty, whether in kind or in composition, and frequently prac-*

tised with more rigidity, not to say greediness, than they had ever been before. And, with all this, and not a single whisper ever heard against tithes; not a single whisper ever heard about tithes being injurious to agriculture! This, therefore, is now a false pretence. It is the money-monster that is working to get hold of the amount of these tithes: and this you will see very clearly when you have had time duly to reflect upon the subject.

Then, with regard to the other parts of "*church reform*," what are they? Why, the benefices are of greatly unequal amount; there is a great deal of non-residence of the clergy; there are a great many shameful pluralities; there is a monstrous swallowing up by deans and chapters; the working clergy are starved, while the aristocratical clergy wallow in wealth, and carry away the revenues of the parishes, to be spent at Bath, Brighton, Cheltenham, London, Paris, and Rome. Now this is all very true; but it was equally true twenty or thirty years ago. I complained of these things thirty years ago, but did any one attend to me? Yes, and my remonstrances upon this subject formed a grand item in the motives for persecuting me. Not one single writer could I ever find to join me: nay, as to the grand complaint, *non-residence*, there was a law to prevent it, and to expose the parties to heavy penalties upon infractions *qui tam*. A gentleman brought hundreds of actions against the clergy, and carried some of them on to conviction in the Court of King's Bench. An *ex post facto* law was passed to stay the actions, and, finally, to quash them, and to repeal the law inflicting the fine for *non-residence*! And, the gentleman who had informed against these delinquent parsons, so far from receiving public applause and commiseration, was reviled as a Jacobin and republican!

Strange that, all at once, we should now have been seized with so anxious a desire about the regular and efficient administration of the church! Strange, sir, that the bishops and all the dignified clergy should be so

anxious for this "church reform." Strange that the Minister who is the "friend of the church," *par excellence*, should himself intend to propose to us, even to touch the *property* of the church, in order to cause a speedy restoration of the diligent and *bliss* administration of religious rites, in the church of England?

Ah, sir! you will not be deceived by these pretences, any more than I am: you will see the silent snout of the money-monster, smelling about, first at the cathedrals, next at the bishops' palaces, next swinging it round over the clerical tithe; *in order to insure the payment of his interest*. You remember very well, sir, that it was just thus in substance in France, in 1789 and 1790. That it was not Louis the Sixteenth, but Louis the Fourteenth and Fifteenth, who, by the debts which they had contracted, finally produced the revolution in France. Look at their proceedings in France. Brienne, Calonne, Neckar; several others, every one with his project for finding the means of paying the interest of the debt. There were no means without flying at the church. Burke, if you recollect, remonstrated with the assemblies; talked of *the title of the church being preferable to the title of the fundholders*; foretold that the *people* would derive no benefit from giving the property of the church to those who were called the creditors of the state. He pleaded in vain: the money-monster pushed on; finally devoured all; and, I beg you to reflect, that this monster has, through all the series of revolutions that have taken place; through all the confiscations and all the rivers of blood, still maintained his predominance, and that at this moment, the French people, after a quarter of a century of deeds of valour, the bare relation of the facts of which would in any other age have been deemed fabulous; that this acute, this brave, this determined people, are now a set of base slaves, creeping about in fear; every where seeing a fundholder bayonet (under the guise of National Guard) pointed at their breast; and

under the sacred name of liberty, crouching to a "citizen King," who is the chief of the fundholder band!

I beg you to contemplate this picture. The present Ministry in England would fain uphold the church; but, they cannot; and, their apparently voluntary offer to reform the church, is, in fact, a measure forced upon them by the money-monster, who, indeed, rules all in reality, and who will continue to rule through all times and circumstances, unless the people of England shall be more wise than the people of France have been. It is so flagrantly unjust to continue to pay this monster in a currency of sterling gold, that one cannot account for it, until one takes a closer view of the state and number and description of those who are called the "*public creditors*," the facts relating to which, I beg leave to point out to your particular attention, seeing that they may serve as a clue to the unravelling of a matter which appears at first blush, altogether unaccountable.

Sir, we speak always of the fundholders as a great mass of persons wholly dependant upon the good-will of the Government for their existence: we speak of them as widows, orphans, and retired old people; helpless mortals, to take away whose incomes would be an act of excessive cruelty. We never seem to perceive who and what the fundholders really are. It is difficult to come at, and they will take care that it shall be difficult to come at, an exact account of the number of the fundholders of each class, and of the proportions of dividends received amongst them. However, the following, which is an estimate made upon the Bank return for 1833, this is to say, the year before the Whigs came into power, is not far from giving the truth; and if you look well at it, you will cease to wonder that it is almost at the risk of one's life that one proposes to take one farthing from the interest of this debt; even though that may be necessary to the preservation of the independence of the country. (The whole number of fundholders 275,639

Of these, those who receive interest under the sum of two hundred pounds a year	250,816
Those who receive interest under a thousand pounds a year	22,934
Those who receive interest under four thousand a year	1,937
The rest	152
	<hr/> 275,839

I estimate that, in the aggregate, the two hundred and fifty thousand, eight hundred and sixteen receive above	9,000,000
The twenty-two thousand nine hundred and thirty-four receive	8,500,000
The nineteen hundred and thirty-seven receive	3,500,000
And, the hundred and fifty-two have all the rest	9,000,000
	<hr/> £ 30,000,000

Now, with regard to the correctness of this estimate, I do not pretend to be *exact*, for it is impossible, at present, for me to arrive at the exact truth. The statement will appear, at first sight, almost incredible; but it is the nearest guess at the real state of the case that I have been able to make. The sums which I have placed against the three first classes are the greatest that I think can possibly be allowed, in estimating the average sums *really received* by the several classes enumerated in the Bank Return; and, in stating the sums in round numbers, I have stated them *over* in the three numerous classes, and *under* in favour of the small class. As to this said Bank Return, if we were to take

the average sum received by the individuals of each class, as ascertained by the average between the highest and lowest dividend placed against it, then we should find that the two hundred and fifty thousand fundholders received *twenty-five millions of pounds*, and the twenty-two thousand and the nineteen hundred together, *fifty millions of pounds*; consequently, that there would be *seventy-five millions of pounds of yearly interest paid to individuals receiving under four thousand pounds a year*; and so that there must be *forty-five millions a year less than nothing*, out of which to pay those whose annual interest exceeded four thousand pounds, and who, in fact, receive nearly one-third of the whole! And yet, such is the conclusion that any one would naturally draw from this Bank Return, who was wholly uninformed about the matter.

Thus, then, here are a hundred and fifty-two men, who receive, on an average, upwards of fifty thousand pounds a year each, interest out of the taxes. It is utterly impossible that any ancient institution; that any set of laws, securing liberty and securing people's earnings; it is utterly impossible that either of these can exist, in a country where a hundred and fifty-two men have this hold upon the resources of that country. These men are not *seen*; nor are they heard, except in the strange sounds about "national faith" and "public credit," in the uttering of which, Ministers, Parliaments, and Kings are their mouth-pieces. But, sir, look at the natural consequence which must arise, if any one or more of these hundred and fifty-two men were to be **INVESTED WITH POLITICAL POWER!** Think, I beseech you, of the consequence of this; for you do not want to be assured by me, that when once love of interest of money has taken possession of the soul of man, it swallows up every other consideration, whether as to this world or the next. *Church!* what is church, when weighed in the balance against this mountain of gold! *Tithes!* golden

[From Bank Return of 1829.] Receivers of half-yearly dividends, not exceeding 50. 13s.; above 50. and under 100. 17,167; above 100. and under 500. 97,679; above 500. and under 1000. 25,222; above 1000. and under 2000. 15,045; above 2000. and under 3000. 4,812; above 3000. and under 5000. 76; above 5000. and under 10000. 1,301; above 10000. and under 20000. 152.

prebends! of what "use" are these, except for the purpose of paying these men-mountains of gold? Property in land is very sluggish in its influence; it has a variety of dependences, which make it difficult to bring it to bear for the carrying of any given point; but, a round sum, in bags laid down before you of twenty-five thousand pounds every six months, is a lever wherewith to lift a nation, and to twirl it about at your fancy.

You have seen, sir, an account; or you will see it, in the little book which I do myself the honour to send you, of what is called the Poor-law Amendment Bill; you will see that its avowed object was to save the estates of the landlords from being swallowed up. You will see that it has been avowed and professed distinctly, that, in order to effect this, the working people must be reduced to a coarser sort of food. It is the same money-monster that is at work here: he is grasping hold of the land by mortgages innumerable, and almost as general as the land itself: the falling-off of rents endangers the mortgagees. To restore rents, *the wages of labour must be taken, and put into the pocket of the landlord*; and this bill, sir, so very dangerous as it is; so hated as it is, is really and truly, at the bottom, the work of the money-monster: the work of that small number of concentrated and combined men-mountains of gold, which I have represented to you in the above table.

It is the interest, the pressing political and party interest; the interest of the Ministry, of the Tory party; of the King and his family; it is the obvious and pressing interest of all these, that the TAX UPON MALT should be repealed. There is no possible argument against the repeal; and reasons so strong for it, that no man dares enter the lists in argument against it. Yet in spite of all this; in spite of the imminent danger in which the new Ministry is placed; in spite of the certain security which they would derive from the repeal of this tax, we are confidently told in the newspapers, that the Minister will risk even his place and his

power, and leave the King again to the mercy of the Whigs, rather than repeal this tax; his only reason against it being, that without it, he cannot keep "national faith."

Here you have a practical instance of the power of the money-monster. Here you see us just in the track of Neckar and Calonne; and here I am afraid you see the beginnings of an end not very much unlike that which you have seen before. It signifies not what wealth we have. If we had ten times as much as we have, it would all be absorbed by this monster; for it is utterly impossible for any creative power; for any wealth; for any resources, to stand against the power of a hundred and fifty-two men, who receive, in interest, in gold, nine millions of pounds sterling a year.

Sir, the oppressions and sufferings of this country, compared with the freedom and the happiness of the people of America, have frequently been ascribed to the difference in the two Governments; and, certainly, as far as mere economy goes, the people of America have had the advantage. But, Sir, when men ascribe the advantage of the Americans to the absence of a dominant church; to the absence of all the trappings and expenses of royalty; to the absence of a house of hereditary legislators, and to the expenses attendant on their families: when they ascribe your advantages to the absence of these institutions, let them bear in mind, that the ever-damned system of banks and paper-money had brought even your country to the eve of general convulsion, and had very nearly dashed to pieces all the laws of property, and left you to the right of the strongest! Let them recollect that, in the absence of all our trappings and "useless show," this monstrous system had brought bunches of houses in Philadelphia, which had yielded a rent of sixteen hundred dollars a year each, down to a state to be offered three houses for a single bottle of wine! Let them recollect that in such a state had this fraudulent system brought your happy country, that, in one of the states, the Chief Justice recommended a law to be

passed, to disqualify every man possessing land or house from giving that possession in security for loan for mortgage; and for rendering null, every bond, note, deed, or any thing else that he should sign, unless first approved of by a Court of Justice! Let them recollect that a Chief Justice recommended this law, as the only possible means of securing wives and families of landowners against the indiscretion of the fathers and husbands, whom it was found impossible to protect, in any other way, against the arts and frauds of the usurers. Why, sir, it was nonsense to talk of liberty or property after this; and yet this became necessary; and that, too, in a country where every principle of liberty was inculcated, and where the very air and the earth seemed to say, "no one shall ever want here."

In France tithes have long been abolished: there is, in fact, no dominant church; there is no hereditary legislature; the mere titles of nobility are a mockery; the King is elected, and may be turned out any day. There is not one ancient institution, and, consequently, no abuse of such institution left remaining: yet, by the means of this atrocious money-monster system, the people are more degraded and more miserable slaves, than they were under the sway of any of the descendants of St. Louis. It is the Bourgeois that arms the ruffians, called the National Guards, every one of whom carries a bayonet, to compel the people to toil to pay the interest of the debt; and they slaughter them with as little mercy as they would kill rats and mice. You detected your horrible bank in *sabotaging the press*. In France, they do the thing more openly and effectually: *they suffer no man to be a journalist unless he first become a fundholder; and unless he acquire and keep the ownership of stock, on his own exclusive account, to the amount of four thousand eight hundred pounds sterling!*

Before I conclude, sir, give me leave to lay before you a most striking instance, in proof of the fact that the money-monster has completely subdued the nobility and gentry of this kingdom. You know the nature and character of

our long-existing game laws. You know how rigidly they were adhered to; you know, that the game was the pride of the estate; that the exclusive right to pursue and kill it, belonged to the land; and that the qualification to kill game, was the possession of freehold land of the rental of one hundred pounds a year, or of copyhold land of the rental of one hundred and fifty pounds a year; this qualification was a great feather in a man's cap; he was called a "qualified man"; his name with the word "free" upon a ticket tied to game made the possession of it legal by an unqualified person; and, without such certificate it was a crime for any person to have game in their possession. The qualification to kill a hare was equal to the qualification for being a justice of the peace. You must have lived in England forty or fifty years ago, to be able to judge correctly of the vast importance of this matter, which, you will please to observe, was a privilege in continual activity in every village and every hamlet of England and Wales in particular. In short, to uphold this privilege, really occupied more of the attention of the nobility and the gentry, than any other or than all the other ordinary affairs of their lives.

You will perceive, sir, that no amount of interest receivable from the funds would give a man the right of killing or pursuing game. A millionaire, with a gun in his hand and a dog by his side, in a field or a wood, though there by the leave of the owner, was liable to be brought before a justice of the peace, upon his summons; was subjected to the penalty of five pounds; or, in case of refusal to pay, to be sent to jail for three months. He had no defence, unless he could prove that he was a land-owner to the amount before-mentioned.

About twelve or fourteen years ago, the London newspapers (all more or less at the command of the money-monster), began to complain of this exclusive right of killing game, and to represent that *funded property, the funds being, in fact, a mortgage upon all the land, ought to form a qualification, as well as landed*

property. Year after year this complaint on the part of the fundholders grew louder and louder; till at last, the fears of the land-owners made them give way. Still, however, they were too proud to acknowledge the base fears by which they were actuated. They found it difficult to pass a law to put funds upon an equality with land, without putting other personal property upon an equality with land; and they talked upon the subject, two or three years without acting. At last, the clamour of the money-monster growing louder and louder, and the fears of the landlords growing greater and greater, they passed an act, not expressly to allow fundholders to sport; but *to do away with all qualification whatsoever!* An act of cowardice; an act of self-abandonment; an act of self-degradation, never before equalled in this world!

At the same time, and to complete the degradation, they enacted that *game might be sold*; thereby totally repealing the old law, which made it a penalty in any man to sell game, whether qualified to kill it or not! So that, here they are, now, with hardly a single exception, sellers of game; poulterers, traffickers; and you see all the markets of all the great towns in England, with hares, pheasants and partridges for sale, as commonly as fowls, ducks, and geese. Nay, the very lords themselves go out with their keepers and servants, to kill the game for the purpose of selling it; and all the ideas of rank and station, and enjoyment of sport; all these are totally banished from the minds of the people; who, of course, and of necessity, have lost all personal respect for this whole class and description of men, from the duke down to the squire.

At the same time that they made these enactments, they made the law more severe than ever with regard to farmers, tradesmen, and particularly, with regard to labourers, whom they made liable to transportation by justices of the peace for seven years; for those who were punished before with only a penalty of five pounds! Very curious, too, but quite natural, when one reflects, in pro-

portion as the nobility and gentry have thus abused themselves before the money-monster, they have become haughty and severe towards the common people; and have treated them with a degree of scorn and of insolence, which they never experienced from their forefathers; but it is a just and a stubborn people that they have had to deal with; who have repaid them scorn for scorn; disdain for disdain; revenge for severity; and, thus, even here have the workings of this money-monster dislocated society in a great measure; and, caused ill-will and a resort to coercion, instead of that persuasion, and that willing obedience to a sort of natural magistracy, which existed with so much harmony and so much happiness, before the money-monster came to effect this no very unimportant revolution in the Government of England.

In short, sir, it signifies not a straw, what is the form of the Government; what the political, and civil, and municipal institutions; what the laws of a country; what its local advantages; what even the character of a people; what their habits, what their manners, what their virtues: all these signify not a straw, if the monster of paper-money and of funds be suffered to exist: this monster cannot co-exist with liberty, even in appearance: this fact your sensible and brave countrymen have clearly perceived; you have had the wisdom and the resolution to strangle the monster, as far as relates to your own country; and to give him a furious squeeze with regard to all the other countries of the world. For this you have the profound gratitude of every Englishman worthy of the name; but, of no one more than of

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

W. COBBETT

Will be published,

On Saturday, the 14. March,

**COBBETT'S
LEGACY TO PARSONS;**

OR,

Have the Clergy of the Established Church an equitable right to the Tithes, or to any other thing called Church Property, greater than the Dissenters have to the same? And ought there or ought there not, to be a separation of the Church from the State? In Six Letters, addressed to the Hampshire Parsons.

CONTENTS.

1. How came there to be an established Church?
2. How came there to be people called Dissenters?
3. What is the foundation of the domination of the former over the latter?
4. Does the Establishment conduce to religious Instruction?
5. What is the state of the Establishment? and, is it possible to reform it?
6. What is that compound thing, called Church and State? and what would be the effects of a separating of them?

In a neat little volume, bound in leather, price 2s. 6d. same form (but thicker) as *Legacy to Labourers*.

CHURCH REFORM.

In order to be able to keep pace with the discussion, which now MUST take place on this subject, we thought to say something about the divisions of the country, with regard to the church, its revenues and temporalities. This information the reader will find in my

"GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF ENGLAND AND WALES"; a book which every man who writes or speaks on this subject ought to have; and which book I, to my great surprise, was unable to meet with in Ireland, or any where, till I got back to my friend's at King's Norton, near Birmingham. This is the only book that has ever been made, containing an account of EVERY PARISH in the country. The STATISTICAL TABLE at the end of the book, contains what is not to be found in any other fifty volumes! However, my object here is, only to point out the utility of the book, as a companion during the approaching discussions on the subject of "church reform"; and, in order to give a specimen of the utility, I insert here an extract on the *Ecclesiastical Divisions* of England and Wales.

ECCLESIASTICAL DIVISIONS.

Provinces are the grand divisions. There are two of these, that of CANTERBURY and that of YORK, each of which has its ARCHBISHOP. Then these PROVINCES are divided into DIOCESES, each of which has its BISHOP. There are twenty-six dioceses, each of which takes the name of the CITY which is situated within the diocese. Of these twenty-six dioceses, or bishoprics, the two archbishops have one each. They are bishops as well as archbishops; one of them having the bishopric of Canterbury, and the other having the bishopric of York. So that there are but twenty-six archbishops and bishops in the whole. The dioceses are divided into BENEFICES, which generally consist of one PARISH each; but sometimes of two or more, which, since the PROTESTANT REFORMATION, have been "united" by acts of the Parliament. There are, besides these divisions, "archdeaconries" and "rural deaneries;" but though they serve as a pretext for drawing immense sums of money out of the pockets of the people, they are of so little practical use, the people in general do not know, and never have heard, that there are any such institutions in existence; and as to the deans and chapters, with all their

prebendaries, canons, &c., the people know not the meaning of the words, and only know that the persons bearing the names wallow in wealth, derived from tithes and other public property, and render no sort of service in return.

With regard to the *revenues* of the church, and to the distribution of these revenues amongst the different classes of the clergy and lay impropriations; that is a subject foreign to this work, which professes to treat only of the several territorial divisions and subdivisions of the country; but the reader will find, in TABLE No. I., an account of the number of parishes in each county, in which parishes the clergy have suffered the *churches to fall down*, and also an account of the number of parishes in which they have suffered the parsonage-houses to fall down, or to become unfit to live in.

The TABLES exhibit the above-mentioned divisions in the clearest and most satisfactory manner. The FIRST shows what *dioceses* belong to each of the two *provinces* (the dioceses being ranged in alphabetical order), and also shows what *counties* (or parts of counties) belong to each *diocese*. The SECOND contains an alphabetical list of all the counties, and shows what diocese each county is in; or, in cases where the county is distributed between two or more dioceses, it shows what that distribution is. The THIRD contains an alphabetical list of all the dioceses, and shows how many *benefices* and how many *churches* and *chapels* there are in each diocese.

SEEDS.

I HAVE seed for the FIELD and for the GARDEN; as follows:—

FIELD SEEDS.

Cobbett's Corn	
Swedish Turnip	9d. a pound.
Red Mangel Wurzel	9d. a pound.
White Mangel Wurzel	9d. a pound.
Parsnip	8s. a pound.
Early York Cabbage	6s. a pound.
Early Battersea Cabbage	6s. a pound.
Early Dwarf Cabbage	8s. a pound.
Savoy	8s. a pound.

Farmers will be surprised at my making the last five "FIELD SEEDS." All the world knows how rich PARSNIPS are; how much sooner they will fat an ox than *any other thing*, corn of some sort only excepted. "Aye," says the farmer, "but, how am I to get them?" And he says this very *reasonably*; for I tried to *get them* for seven years, and never once had even a *decent* crop. The causes were two. First, that which is a *general cause*, BAD SEED; and I never had good seed, till I saved it myself. This plant bears its seed in heads, shape of a tea-saucer, at the end of long stalks; and these *heads* or *crowns* come out some sooner and some later; so that the first are *ripe* while the last are nearly *green*. If you let them stand till *all* be ripe, the best seed falls. Then the seed will keep good for only *one year*; though, *on the view*, no one can tell old seed from new. SEEDS MEN cannot answer for this. I bought my seed of old Mr. MASON (predecessor of Noble) in Fleet-street; and an honest and better man never lived. Now, I save none but the *early crowns* and fling the rest away, which are always more or less imperfect; and, all that I do not use or sell, the first year, I *throw away*. The other cause of failure is *early sowing*. People generally sow in *February*; and I used to do it. The weeds are up sooner than the plants; and you are plagued to death to set the plants out! I sow in the *third week of April* at *soonest*; before which I have, by ploughing, destroyed the *first crop of weeds*. I sow after the plough; and my parsnips are up, and bold, in a short time, and I have them set out, and not a weed on the ground, in the second week in May. But, will they be *as large* as the *early-sowed ones*? Perhaps not; but the whole crop will be *heavier*, and the roots *better* in quality. Accident generally produces useful discoveries. I sowed, in the year 1832, a piece of parsnips (*bought seed*), to raise plants for seed the next summer. In *June* (mind), I found that there were hardly any plants. A single parsnip in my garden, left by accident, had gone to seed; the early seeds on it were ripe.

I had some ground dug instantly; sowed the seeds, expecting to have plants about the size of my finger; but I knew they would bear seed. They were set out in due time; they were as fine, in point of size, as I almost ever saw; and the very *best* I ever tasted. They were generally four inches over at the crowns, and of proportionate length. Last year I sowed 19. *May*; and finer parsnips never came out of the earth. If sowed early, they are *hard*; there is a sort of *stick*, going down the middle of them; in short, though, perhaps, *larger*, they are not so *good a crop*, even if you get the plants. I *might* have known this long ago; for, I know how much better the *parsnips* and *beets* are in Long Island than they are in England; and they never CAN sow them till *late in April*. And I know what a fine crop of parsnips I had, sowed on the 1. *June*. I am, this year, going to sow five acres. The ground might be got ready in two days; the *manure is in it*; but, I shall not sow till *nearly May*. The ground will have *deep-ploughings*; the weeds will be killed (a crop or two of them), and I shall have a clean field all the summer.—But, now, at what *distances*? On ridges 4 ft. 1 in. $\frac{1}{2}$ apart; and I leave the plants 6 in. in the row! Then, with a *one-horse-plough*, I plough *from and to* the plants, as often as the weeds appear; and, there is the ground clear to sow wheat in, if you like, as soon as the parsnips come off.—But, the *crop*! What can you have with only one *row in four feet*? Why, there are four ridges to a *rod* in width; thirty-three plants in a *rod* of length; 132 plants on each *rod* of ground; on the *acre*, 21,120 plants; which, at only one *pound* each, is within a trifle of TEN TONS of the very richest plant that grows out of the earth; and every man must see, that it is to *understate* the thing prodigiously, to reckon only one *pound* to a plant.—The sowing is the easiest thing in the world. The *ridge* is flattened on the top with a roller: a horse with a little bellows-nosed plough make the drill; you sow the seed by hand; cover it by a light harrow; press it down with the roller, and up come

the plants in the most beautiful manner possible.

As to the CABBAGES, I have written about them before; but, I will do it again shortly. I am *now* feeding cows and pigs on SAVOYS; and I have five acres of my CABBAGES, which will begin to come in loaved, 1st week in May; before the *grass*, and even before the *Lucern*. When my Savoys are gone, *Swedes* and *Mangel Wurzel* carry us on to May. My Cabbage seed has been saved with *care* and *pains*, absolutely indescribable.

MY CORN was a good deal injured by the *wire-worm*; but, that which I have sent to Bolt-court for sale, will show how fine it is nevertheless. In my absence, they have fatted several hogs on it; and, it is the opinion of Mr. DEAN, that one bushel of corn-meal is equal to *two bushels of barley-meal*. The hogs which they killed were so fat, that they ate as they *lay down*! Nice stuff for *tender teeth*! Ah! Those who have not eaten of such would act wisely not to do it; unless they can always keep a *store* of it; for they will long for it all the rest of their lives! And the *sparibs*, then! and the *griskins*! and the *souse*! and the *chines*! all the *lean parts* of these fat hogs! A London "*Pork-chop*" eater can have no more idea of the taste of these, than a devil can have an idea of Paradise! A hog is *not good*, if *young*, any more than a *wether* sheep, or a *buck*; is; and, worse still, if *half fat*.—The *hams* of *really fat* hogs are worth, pound for pound, twice as much as the hams of hogs, not so fat. The fat, at last, works itself into the lean; and it becomes a wholly different thing. The SWEDISH TURNIP SEED and the MANGEL WURZEL SEED are the finest that can possibly be; saved with the greatest care, and from *picked plants*, solid and rich.

GARDEN-SEEDS.

Bags will be ready for sale on the 17. instant.

POSTSCRIPT. — Mr. Simmons, the miller of Bourne Mill, Farnham, has just told me, that the man who keeps the workhouse at Ash has growed,

this year, seven sacks (twenty-eight bushels) of COBBETT-CORN, upon *half a statute acre* of ground, or eighty *rod* or *perch* of sixteen and a-half to the *rod*. I am thus particular, because, when you get to the north of Northamptonshire, no two men (if of north or south) look upon an *acre* as of the same size. WORKHOUSES are generally built on poor, offal, pieces of ground; waste ground. So is this; yet on a piece of poor, sandy, *heath* ground, here is the *fattening for three hogs of sixteen or eighteen score each*; and the meat as good again as if fattened on any other thing than barley-meal; *better* than that; and one bushel laying on twice as much as the same measure of barley! It is impossible, that facts like this should not get about. This is the *greatest benefit ever bestowed upon a nation*; and, I do not take the merit to myself; for my eldest son not only brought the corn to England; but, by dint of importunity, prevailed on me to cultivate it; and, to the importunities of nobody else should I have listened. I, this day, send some bunches of the corn, of both sorts, large and small, to Bolt-court, to be sold there. People, who have a mind to have it, will do well to apply *pretty soon*; for, though *May* is soon enough to plant, it may be all gone long before May. I have just learned, that a farmer, in my own tithing, has grown thirty-four bushels of shelled corn, on 110 *rod* of ground, some part of it totally spoiled by Elm-trees. There is the *fodder*, in those cases, worth 2*l.* an acre, if properly applied. Farmer BERRY will, I suppose, fat three large hogs, besides food for poultry and little pigs. And can the ever-damned, soul-sinking POTATOES stand long in the face of this! A bunch of my seed (*price a shilling*) will plant *twelve rod* of ground *well*; and, it will, on good ground, well managed, produce enough to *fat a hog of sixteen score*. And, can the accursed root; the lazy, the lice-breeding root, *face this*!

According to the best information that I can obtain, it requires to fat a hog of *ten score*, thirty bushels, at the least, of *boiled potatoes*, mixed with four bushels

of what is here called *crammings*; that is to say, the coarsest wheat flour, which, in London, they call *middings*. Now, the potatoes cost 30*s.*, and the *crammings* 20*s.* The hog must be seventy days at the work to make him worthy of the name of "*fat hog*," and here *must* be, at least, thirty-five *cookings*. Can each cooking together with the messings and squeezings, and all the nasty sloppery, and bringing from the heap and *washing*, cost, *fuel* and all, less than 4*d.*? Here, then, is 11*s.* 6*d.* more; making, in the whole, 3*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.* Now, five bushels of my corn, ground into meal, at 5*s.* a bushel (price of *wheat*), and at 4*d.* a bushel for grinding, amount to 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* And, if these five bushels of corn do not put *more meat upon the hog*, than the accursed roots and the *crammings*, I will be doomed to live upon "*lumpers*" henceforth, to my last mouthful! But, besides the *double cost* of the nasty, beastly roots, there is the difference in the *quality* of the meat; and, of that difference he only can judge, who has been long accustomed to eat *corn-fed poultry*; and who has, then, had to eat *poultry fed on boiled potatoes*. People can hardly be made to believe, that the food has such a very great effect. Let them tell me, then, how it is that the *veal*, in America, when the cows eat *garlic*, in the spring, *smells and tastes* so strong of the garlic, that it sells in market (for you smell it in the raw meat) for about *half the price* of veal, proceeding from the milk of cows that have not eaten garlic! But, indeed, the poor and bad quality of potato-fed meat is notorious. The meat is *vapid* in taste; the fat *boils away* into the water; and, in short, it is not worth half, so much, pound for pound. As to *poultry*, the difference is surprising. Mrs. BERRY, my neighbour's wife, fats her fowls upon the corn that her husband raises; and she says, that it surpasses every other species of food; and that her fowls bring the best price at Guildford Market. This I know must be the case; for the poultry in America astonishes, by its superiority, all Europeans; and it is *always* fed upon corn.

Every one, who has been in America, knows how much sweeter the pork is than European pork ; and any one who will feed with *corn*, in England, will know it at once.

Yet, now, notwithstanding all this, and, even when they know it to be all true, almost all the BULL-FROG FARMERS look at the Cobbett-corn with a *very suspicious eye* ! This class of men have long been in hopes of grinding down the English labourers to the *Irish level* ; and they know that they cannot do this *without the aid of the ever-accursed potatoes* ; to which they cling, therefore, as Satan clings to his love of corrupt government. They see how it is that the Irish have been brought to work for 6d. or 4d. a day ; and the insolent, upstart vagabonds would cut the throat of any one who points out any means of preventing the working-people of England, from being brought down to the same abject state. Sir CHARLES WOLSELEY, who knows a great deal of all the Continent of Europe, declares, that in proportion as *potatoes are a common crop*, in that same proportion *the working people are miserable and abject* in every country of the Continent of Europe. The *English* never could have been brought down to the point at which they already are, without the aid of this root of baseness. The *bull-frog farmers* will not, however, *succeed* : they are the *creatures* of the money-monster ; and they will at last be his *food*. They have been the great upholders of corruption and oppression ; the first to pledge their last shilling, and the last drop of their blood, to put down "*revolutionists*" ; and now they are the *forwardest to call for revolution* ! "No : only to get rid of tithes ; that is *all*" ! Ah ! upstart vagabonds ! you do not get off so ! What ! you think you can reduce the labourers to potatoes and rags with one hand ; and pocket the tithes with the other hand ! Oh, no ! if you come to this, *the working people will be the arbiters* ; and, it is not difficult to imagine how they will decide *with regard to you* ; not at all difficult to imagine that they will decide not to

live upon "*lumpers*," and be clad in rags, while you eat beef, and swagger about like new-made lords and ladies. Be *quiet*, then, if you have a grain of sense left. Mind the old epithaph :—

" Lie still, if you wise ;
" You're damn'd if you rise."

You are a *new race* of men, created by loans and paper-money ; you are the *rivals* of the poor landlords, and the *slaves* of the rich ones ; your *stupid pride* has driven the *servants in husbandry* from the farm-houses ; your *greediness* induces you to give them half wages, and your *fears* makes you hate them because their just resentment puts you in peril ; and you *curse me* for that which ought to form a subject of your daily blessing. However, curse or curse not, you will, if you be not knocked on the head before this day four years, see my corn cultivated all over Surrey, at any rate. Aye, and though you may "*hate Cobbett for writing against potatoes*," you must cultivate it too.

Yet the reader will bear in mind, that the two crops of corn, that I have mentioned here, stood on the ground only from *mid-May to November* ! I have one field, in which a crop (beautiful) of my *early cabbages* have succeeded the corn. They will be *loaved and eaten* by 20. May (just before the grass comes) ; and, then follows *another crop of corn*. If some of the cabbages remain uneaten, my distances enable me to plant corn *between*. Why, ten acres of ground, thus used, is worth half a good-sized farm, used in the common way. In another Register I will give an account of the manner in which I *apply* the corn. The *cultivation, &c.* are fully described in my Book on the subject, which any one may have at Bolt-court for 5s.

THE NEW PARLIAMENT.

LIST OF MEMBERS RETURNED FOR ENGLAND AND WALES.

Names of Places.	Names of Members.
Abingdon	T. Duffield
Audover	R. Etwall
Anglesea.....	Sir J. W. Pollen
Arundel	Sir R. Buckley
Ashburton	Lord D. C. Stuart
Ashton-under-Lyne ..	C. Lushington
Aylesbury	C. Hindley
	W. Rickford
	H. Haumer
Banbury	H. W. Tancred
Baronstaple	J. P. B. Chichester
	C. St. J. Fancourt
Bath	General Palmer
	J. A. Roebuck
Beaumaris	Captain F. Paget
Bedfordshire	Lord C. J. F. Russell, Lord Alford
Bedford	Captain F. Polhill
	S. Crawley
Berkshire	J. Walter
	R. Palmer, P. Pusey
Berwick	J. Bradshaw
	Sir R. Doukin
Beverley	H. Burton
	J. W. Hogg
Bewdley	Sir T. Wainington
Birmingham	T. Attwood
	J. Scholefield
Blackburn	W. Turner
	W. Feilden
Bodmin	Major Vivian
	Sir S. Spry
Bolton	W. Bolling
	P. Ainsworth
Boston	W. Brownrigg
	J. Wilks
Bradford	J. Hardy
	E. C. Lister
Brecknockshire.....	Colonel Wood
Brecon	C. M. R. Morgan
Bridgenorth	T. C. Whitmore
	R. Pigott
Bridgewater	G. K. Tynte
	J. T. Leader
Bridport	H. Warburton
	H. Twiss
Brighton.....	Captain Pechell
	I. N. Wigney
Bristol.....	P. J. Miles
	Sir R. Vyvyan
Buckinghamshire.....	Marquis Chandos
	Sir W. Young
	J. B. Fried
Buckingham	Sir H. Verney
	Sir T. Fremantle
Bury St. Edmunds	Earl Jermyn
	Lord C. Fitzroy
Bury (Lancashire)	R. Walker
Calse	Earl of Kerry
Cambridgeshire	Hon. E. T. Yorke
	R. J. Eaton
	R. G. Townley

Cambridge University ..	Rt Hon. M. Sutton
	Rt Hon. H. Goulburn
Cambridge	Right Hon. S. Rice
	G. Pryme
Canterbury	Lord A. Conyngham
	T. Villiers
Cardiff	J. Nicholls
Cardiganshire	W. E. Powell
Cardigan	P. Pryse
Carlisle	P. H. Howard
	J. Marshall
Carmarthenshire	R. Trevor
	Sir J. Williams
Carmarthen	D. Lewis
Carnarvonshire	T. A. Smith
Carnarvon	Colonel Parry
Chatham	Sir J. P. Beresford
Cheltenham	Hon. C. F. Berkeley
Cheshire, S. W	G. B. Wilbraham
	Sir P. G. Egerton
Cheshire, N. E	E. J. Stanley
	T. Egerton
Chester	Lord R. Grosvenor
	J. Jervis
Chichester.....	Lord A. Lennox
	J. A. Smith
Chippenharn	J. Neeld
	H. G. Boldero
Christchurch	G. W. Tapps
Cirencester.....	J. Cripps
	Ld R. E. B. Somerset
Clitheroe	J. Fort
Cockermouth.....	H. A. Aglionby
	F. L. B. Dykes
Colchester	R. Sanderson
	Sir G. B. Smyth
Cornwall, N. E	Sir W. Molesworth
	S. W. Trelawney
Cornwall, S. W	E. W. Pendarves
	Sir C. Lemon
Coventry	W. Williams
	E. Ellice
Cricklade	R. Gordon, J. Neeld
Cumberland, E	Sir J. Graham
	W. Blamire
Cumberland, W	E. Stanley, S. Irton
Dartmouth.....	J. H. Seale
Denbighshire	Sir W. W. Wynn
	Hon. W. Bagot
Denbigh.....	W. Jones
Derbyshire, N	Hon. G. H. Caven-
	dish, T. Gishorue
Derbyshire, S	Sir G. Crewe
	Sir R. Gresley
Derby	E. Strutt
	Hon. — Ponsonby
Devizes	W. Locke
	Sir P. C. H. Durham
Devizes, N	Lord Ennington
	Hon. N. Bellows
Devon, S	Lord John Russell
	Sir J. B. Y. Butler
Devonport	Sir E. Codrington
	Sir G. Grey
Dorchester	Hon. A. H. A. Cooper
	R. Williams

Dorsetshire.....	Lord Ashley H. C. Sturt W. T. Ponsonby	Huntingdonshire	Lord Mandeville J. B. Rooper
Dover	J. M. Fector Sir J. Reid	Huntingdon	Sir F. Pollock Col. J. Peel
Droitwich	W. Barneby	Hythe	S. Majoribanks
Dudley	T. Hawkes	Ipswich	R. Dundas, F. Kelly
Durham, N	Sir H. Williamson H. Lambton	Isle of Wight	Sir R. Simeon
Durham, S.	J. Pease, J. Bowes	Kendal	J. Barham
Durham	Hon. A. Trevor W. C. Harland	Kent, E.	Sir E. Knatchbull J. P. Plumptre
Evesham	Sir C. Cockerell P. Borthwick	Kent, W.	T. L. Hodges Sir W. Geary
Essex, N.	Sir J. Tyrrell A. Baring	Kidderminster	G. R. Phillips
Essex, S.	R. W. H. Dare T. W. Branstoun	Knaresborough	A. Lawson J. Richards
Exeter	Sir W. Follet E. Divett	Lambeth	CTennyson, B. Hawes
Eye	Sir E. Kerrison	Lancashire, N.	Lord Stanley J. W. Patten
Finsbury	T. S. Duncombe T. Wakley	Lancashire, S.	Lord F. Egerton Hon. B. Wilbraham
Flintshire	Hon. E. W. L. Mostyn	Lancaster	T. Greene P. M. Stuart
Flint	Sir S. Glynn	Launceston	Sir H. Hardinge
Frome	T. Sheppard	Leeds	Sir J. Beckett E. Baines
Gateshead	C. Rippon	Leicestershire, N.	Lord R. Manners C. M. Phillips
Glamorganshire	C. R. M. Talbot L. W. Dillwyn	Leicestershire, S.	H. Halford T. E. Turner
Gloucestershire, E.	Hon. A. H. Moreton C. W. Codrington	Leicester	Sergeant Goulburn W. Gladstone
Gloucestershire, W.	Hon. C. G. F. Berkeley Marq. of Worcester	Leominster	Lord Hotham T. Bish
Gloucester	Hon. F. H. Berkeley H. T. Hope	Lewes	Sir C. Blunt T. R. Kemp
Grantham	Hon. A. G. Tolle- mache, G. E. Welby	Lincolnshire (Lindsey) ..	Hon. C. A. Pelham — Corbett
Greenwich	F. Angerstein E. G. Barnard	Lincolnshire (Kesteven) ..	G. J. Heathcote H. Handley
Grimsby	E. Heneage	Lincoln	Col. Sibthorp E. L. Bulwer
Guildford	J. Mangles, B. Wall	Lichfield	Sir G. Anson Sir E. D. Scott
Halifax	C. Wood — Protheroe	Liskeard	C. Buller
Hampshire, N.	C. S. Lefevre J. W. Scott	Liverpool	Lord Sandon W. Ewart
Hampshire, S.	J. W. Fleming H. C. Compton	London	M. Wood, G. Grote, W. Crawford
Harwich	J. C. Herries F. R. Bonham	Ludlow	J. Pattison Lord Clive
Hastings	F. North H. Elphinstone	Lyme Regis	E. L. Charlton W. Pinney
Haverfordwest	W. H. Scourfield	Lymington	J. Stewart W. A. Mackinnon
Helston	Lord J. Townsend	Lynn	Lord Bentinck Sir S. Canning
Herefordshire	K. Hoskins E. T. Foley	Macclesfield	J. Ryle J. Brocklehurst
Hereford	Sir R. Price E. B. Clive	Malden	W. Lewis A. W. Roberts
Hertfordshire	R. Biddulph Lord Grimston	Maldon	Q. Dick, T. B. Lennard
Hertford	A. Smith, R. Alston	Malmesbury	Lord Andover
Hilton	Hon. W. F. Cowper Col. Baillie	Malton	J. C. Ramsden Sir C. C. Pepys
Hoveham	A. Chichester R. H. Hurst	Manchester	P. Thomson M. Phillips
Huddersfield	J. Blackburne	Marlborough	Lord E. Bruce H. B. Baring
Hull	D. Carruthers W. Hutt		

Marlow	Sir W. R. Clayton	Preston	H. Fleetwood
Marybonne	T. P. Williams	Radnorshire	Hon. H. T. Stanley
Merthyr Tydvil.	Sir S. Whalley	Radnor	W. Wilkins
Merionethshire	H. L. Bulwer	Reading	R. Price
Middlesex	J. J. Guest	Reigate	Sergeant Talford
Midhurst	Sir R. W. Vaughan	Richmond	C. Russell
Monmouthshire	G. Byng, J. Hume	Richmond	Viscount Eastnor
Monmouth	W. S. Poyntz	Ripon	G. Vernon
Montgomeryshire	Lord G. H. Somerset	Rochdale	Hon. A. Duncombe
Montgomery	W. A. Williams	Rochester	Hon. S. Dundas.
Morpeth	B. Hall	Rutlandshire	A. Speirs
Newark	C. Wynne	Rye	Sir C. Dalbiac
Newcastle-on-Tyne ...	J. Edwards	Salisbury	J. Pemberton
Newcastle-under-Lyne	Hon. E. G. G. Howard	Salisbury	J. Entwistle
Newport	W. E. Gladstone	Sandwich	R. Bernal
Norfolk, E.	Serjeant Wilde	Scarborough	H. T. Hodges
Norfolk, W.	W. Ord	Sharncliffe	Sir G. Noel
Northamptonshire, N...	Sir M. W. Ridley	Sharncliffe	Sir G. Heathcote
Northamptonshire, S...	I. Peel	Sharncliffe	E. B. Curteis
Northampton	W. H. Miller	Sharncliffe	Hon. E. H. Grimston
Northallerton	W. H. Ord	Sharncliffe	H. G. Ward
Northumberland, N...	J. H. Hawkins	Sharncliffe	J. Halse
Northumberland, S...	E. Wodehouse	Sharncliffe	J. Brotherton
Norwich	Lord Walpole	Sharncliffe	W. Wyndham
Nottinghamshire, N.W.	Sir W. G. H. B. Folkes	Sharncliffe	W. B. Brodie
Nottinghamshire, S.E.	Sir J. Astley	Sharncliffe	S. G. Price
Nottingham	Lord Milton	Sharncliffe	Sir T. Trowbridge
Oldham	Lord Brudenell	Sharncliffe	Sir F. W. Trench
Oxfordshire	W. R. Cartwright	Sharncliffe	Sir J. B. V. Johnstone
Oxford University	Sir C. Knightley	Sharncliffe	J. Parker
Oxford	R. V. Smith, C. Ross	Sharncliffe	J. S. Buckingham
Pembrokeshire	W. B. Wrightson	Sharncliffe	Sir C. M. Burrell
Pembroke	Lord Howick	Sharncliffe	Il D. Goring
Peuryn	Lord Ossulston	Sharncliffe	Sir J. Hanmer
Peterborough	T. W. Beaumont	Sharncliffe	J. C. Pelham
Petersfield	M. Ball	Sharncliffe	Sir R. Hill
Plymouth	Lord Stormont	Sharncliffe	W. O. Gore
Pontefract	R. C. Scarlett	Sharncliffe	Earl of Darlington
Poole	Lord Lumley	Sharncliffe	Hon. R. Clive
Portsmouth	T. Houldsworth	Sharncliffe	L. A. Sandford
	J. E. Denison	Sharncliffe	C. J. K. Tynte
	Earl Lincoln	Sharncliffe	W. G. Langton
	Sir R. Ferguson	Sharncliffe	W. Miles
	Sir J. C. Hobhouse	Sharncliffe	J. B. Hoy
	W. Cobbett	Sharncliffe	A. R. Dottin
	J. Fielden	Sharncliffe	R. Ingham
	Lord Norreys	Sharncliffe	D. W. Harvey
	G. G. Harcourt	Sharncliffe	J. Humphery
	R. Weyland	Sharncliffe	Sir O. Moseley
	T. G. B. Eastcourt	Sharncliffe	E. Buller
	Sir H. Inglis	Sharncliffe	Sir J. Wrottesley
	H. Hughes	Sharncliffe	E. J. Littleton
	D. Maclean	Sharncliffe	H. Goodricks
	Sir J. Owen	Sharncliffe	W. F. Chetwynd
	H. O. Owen	Sharncliffe	T. Chaplin
	J. W. Freshfield	Sharncliffe	G. Finch
	R. M. Rolfe	Sharncliffe	T. Marsland
	J. N. Fawcett	Sharncliffe	H. Marsland
	Sir R. Heron	Sharncliffe	J. Davenport
	H. J. Hector	Sharncliffe	— Heathcote
	J. Collier, T. Bewes	Sharncliffe	P. Scrope, C. R. Fo
	J. Gally	Sharncliffe	J. Bagehaw
	Lord Pollington	Sharncliffe	B. Smith
	Sir J. Byng	Sharncliffe	Lord Henniker
	C. A. Tulk	Sharncliffe	Sir C. B. Vere
	B. Carter	Sharncliffe	H. Wilson
	F. T. Baring	Sharncliffe	Col. Rushbrook

Sunderland	.....	Alderman Thompson
		D. Barclay
Surtey, E	.....	Captain Alsager
		A. W. Beauchamp
Surrey, W	.....	W. J. Denison
		C. Barclay
Sussex, E	.....	Hon. C. C. Cavendish
		H. B. Curteis
Sussex, W	.....	Lord G. Lennox
		Earl of Surrey
Swansea	.....	J. H. Vivian
Tamworth	.....	Sir R. Peel
		W. Y. Peel
Tavistock	.....	Lord W. Russell
		J. Rundle
Taunton	.....	E. B. Bainbridge
		H. Labouchere
Tewksbury	.....	C. H. Tracy
		W. Dowdeswell
Thetford	.....	Earl of Euston
		F. Baring
Thirsk	.....	S. Crompton
Tiverton	.....	J. Heathcoat
		J. Kennedy
Totness	.....	J. Parrott
		Lord Seymour
Tower Hamlets	.....	W. Clay
		S. Lushington
Truro	.....	H. E. Vivian
		W. C. Tooke
Tynemouth	.....	G. F. Young
Wakefield	.....	D. Gaskell
Wallingford	.....	W. S. Blackstone
Walsall	.....	C. S. Forster
Wareham	.....	J. Calcraft
Warrington	.....	J. S. Blackburne
Warwickshire, N	.....	Sir E. Wilmot
		W. S. Dugdale
Warwickshire, S	.....	Sir J. Mordaunt
		E. R. C. Sheldon
Warwick	.....	Sir C. Greville
		E. B. King
Wells	.....	J. L. Lee
		N. R. Colborne
Wenlock	.....	Hon. G. E. H. Forrester, J. M. Gaskell
Westbury	.....	Sir R. Lopez
Westminster	.....	Sir F. Burdett
		De Lacy Evans
Westmoreland	.....	Viscount Lowther
		Hon. H. C. Lowther
Weymouth	.....	T. F. Buxton
		W. W. Bardon
Whitby	.....	A. Chapman
Whitehaven	.....	M. Attwood
Wigan	.....	J. H. Kearsley
		R. Potter
Wilton	.....	J. H. Pennruddocks
Wiltshire, S	.....	Hon. S. Herbert
		J. Bennett
Wiltshire, N	.....	P. Methuen
		W. Long
Winchester	.....	B. East
		W. S. Baring
Windsor	.....	J. Ramsbottom
		Sir J. D. Beauvoir
Wolverhampton	.....	T. Horneley
		C. Villiers

Woodstock	Ld C. H. Churchill
Worcestershire, E.....	E. Holland
	T. H. Cooke
Worcestershire, W	Hon. H. B. Lygon
	Captain Winnington
Worcester	G. R. Robinson
	J. Baillie
Wycombe	Hon. R. J. Smith
	Colonel Grey
Yarmouth	F. Baring
	W. M. Praed
Yorkshire N	Hon. W. Duncombe
	E. S. Cayley
Yorkshire, E.....	P. B. Thompson
	R. Bethell
Yorkshire, W.....	Lord Morpeth
	Sir G. Strickland
York	J. H. Lowther
	Hon. J. C. Dundas

FOR IRELAND.

Antrim	General O'Neil
	Earl of Belfast
Armagh County	Colonel Vernon
	Lord Acheson
Armagh Town	Leonard Dobbin
Athlone	Captain Matthew
Bandon	J. D. Jackson
Belfast	J. E. Tennent
	J. M'Cance
Carlow County	Colonel Bruen
	T. Kavanagh
Carlow Borough	Francis Bruen
Carrickfergus	P. Kirke
Cashel	Sergeant Perrin
Cavan County	John Young
	Henry Maxwell
Clare	W. N. Macnamara
	C. O'Brien
Clonmel	D. Ronayne
Coleraine	Alderman Copeland
Cork County	Feargus O'Connor
	G. S. Barry
Cork City	Colonel Chatterton
	R. Leicester
Donegal	Sir E. Hayes
	Col. Connolly
Downshire	Lord Arthur Hill
	Lord Castlereagh
Downpatrick	D. Kerr
Drogheda	A. C. O'Dwyer
Dublin County	C. Fitzsimon
	G. Evans
Dublin City	Daniel O'Connell
	E. S. Ruthven
Dublin University	Thomas Lefroy
	Frederick Shaw
Dundalk	Sharman Crawford
Dungannon	Hon. C. Knox
Dungarvon	Sergeant O'Longhin
Ennis	Hewitt Bridgman
Enniskillen	Hon. A. H. Cole
Fermagh	General Archdall
	Lord Cole
Galway	T. B. Martin
	J. J. Bodkin

Galway Town	A. H. Lynch
Kerry	M. J. Blake
Kildare	Morgan J. O'Connell
Kilkenny County	F. W. Mullins
Kilkenny City	E. Ruthven, jun.
King's County	R. More O'Ferrall
Kinsale	Hon. Colonel Butler
Leitrim	W. F. Finn
Limerick County	R. Sullivan
Limerick City	Nicholas Fitzsimon
Lisburn	Hon. J. C. Westenan
Londonderry County ..	Colonel Thomas
Londonderry City	Lord Clements
Longford	Samuel White
Louth	Hon. R. Fitzgibbon
Mallow	W. S. O'Brien
Meath	William Roche
Mayo	David Roche
Monaghan	Henry Meynell
Newry	Sir R. Bateson
New Ross	Captain Jones
Portarlington	Sir R. A. Ferguson
Queen's County	Lord Forbes
Roscommon	A. Lefroy
Sligo County	P. Bellew
Sligo Town	M. Bellew
Tipperary	C. D. O. Jephson
Tralee	Henry Grattan
Tyrone	Morgan O'Connell
Waterford County	Sir W. Brabazon
Waterford City	Dominick Brown
Westmeath	E. Lucas
Wexford County	Hon. H. R. Westenan
Wexford Town	D. C. Brady
Wicklow	J. H. Talbot
Youghal	Col. Dawson Damer

FOR SCOTLAND.

Aberdeenshire	Hon. William Gordon
Aberdeen	Alex. Bauperman
Argyleshire	W. Campbell
Ayrshire	R. A. Oswald

Ayr Burghs	Lord J. P. Stuart
Banffshire	Captain G. Ferguson
Berwickshire	Sir H. P. Campbell
Bute	Sir William Rae
Cathnesshire	G. Sinclair
Clackmannan & Kincross	Admiral Adam
Dumbartonshire	A. Dennistoun
Dumfriesshire	J. H. Johnstone
Dumfries Burghs	General Sharpe
Dundee	Sir Henry Parnell
Edinburghshire	Sir George Clerk
Edinburgh	Hon. J. Abercromby
Elginshire	Sir John Campbell
Elgin Burghs	Colonel F. W. Grant
Falkirk Burghs	Colonel Leith Hay
Fife	W. D. Gilton
Forfarshire	Captain Wemyss
Glasgow	Hon. D. G. Hallyburton
Greenock	James Oswald
Haddingtonshire	Colin Dunlop
Haddington Burghs	Robert Wallace
Invernesshire	Robert Ferguson
Inverness Burghs	R. Stewart
Kilmarnock Burghs	Charles Grant
Kincairdie	Cumming Bruce
Kirkcaldy Burghs	John Bowring
Kirkcudbrightshire	General Arbuthnot
Lanarkshire	J. Fergus
Leith	R. C. Fergusson
Linlithgowshire	J. Maxwell
Montrose Burghs	J. A. Murray
Orkney	Sir Alexander Hope
Paisley	P. Chalmers
Peeblesshire	— Balfour
Perthshire	A. G. Speirs
Perth	Sir John Hay
Renfrewshire	Fox Maule
Ross and Cromarty	L. Oliphant
Roxburghshire	Sir M. S. Stewart
St. Andrew's Burghs	S. Mackenzie
Selkirkshire	Lord John Scott
Stirlingshire	Andrew Johnstone
Sutherlandshire	A. Pringle
Wick Burghs	— Forbes
Wigtonshire	Robert Macleod
Wigton Burghs	James Loch
	Sir Andrew Agnew
	J. Mactaggart

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF MEMBERS.

Names of Places.	Names of Members.
Abercromby, James	Ellisburgh
Acheson, Lord	Armagh County
Adam, Admiral	Clackmannanshire
Aglionby, H. A.	Cockermouth
Agnew, Sir Andrew ..	Wigtownshire
Ainsworth, R.	Bolton
Alford, Lord	Bedfordshire
Alston, Rowland	Hertfordshire
Alsager, Captain	East Surrey
Andover, Lord	Malmesbury
Augerstein,	Greenwich
Anson, Sir G.	Lichfield

Arbuthnot, General .. Kincardineshire
 Archdall, General Fermanagh County
 Ashley, Lord Dorsetshire
 Astley, Sir Jacob West Norfolk
 Atwood, Matthias Whitehaven
 Attwood, Thomas Birmingham
 Bagot, Hon. W. Denbighshire
 Bagnshaw, J. Sudbury
 Baillie, J. Worcester
 Bailey, Colonel Honiton
 Bainbridge, C. T. Taunton
 Baines, Edward Leeds
 Balfour, — Orkney
 Bannerman, Alex. Aberdeen
 Barham, J. Kendal
 Barclay, D. Sunderland
 Barclay, C. West Surrey
 Baring Alexander North Essex
 Baring, H. B. Marlborough
 Baring, F. T. Portsmouth
 Baring, W. B. Winchester
 Baring, B. Yarmouth
 Baring, F. Thetford
 Barnard, E. G. Greenwich
 Barneby, — Droitwich
 Barron, H. W. Waterford
 Barry, G. S. Cork County
 Bateson, Sir R. Londonderry County
 Beaucherk, A. W. East Surrey
 Beaumont, T. W. S. Northumberland
 Beckett, Sir J. Leeds
 Belfast, Earl of Antrim County
 Bell, Matthew S. Northumberland
 Bellew, P. Louth County
 Bellew, M. Ditto
 Bentinck, Lord G. .. King's Lynn
 Bennett, John South Wilts
 Beresford, Sir J. P. .. Chatham
 Berkeley, Hon. G. C. G. West Gloucestershire
 Berkeley, Captain M. Gloucester
 Berkeley, Hon. C. F. Cheltenham
 Bernal, Ralph Rochester
 Bethell, Richard E. R. Yorkshire
 Bewes, T. B. Plymouth
 Biddulph, Robert Hereford
 Bish, Thomas Leominster
 Blackburne, Ireland .. Warrington
 Blackburne, J. Huddersfield
 Blackstone, W. S. Wallingford
 Blake, M. J. Galway
 Blamire, W. East Cumberland
 Blunt, Sir Charles .. Lewes
 Bodkin, J. J. Galway County
 Boldero, G. H. Chippenham
 Bolling, Wm. Bolton
 Bonham, F. R. Hatfield
 Borthwick, P. Evesham
 Bowes, John South Durham
 Bowring, J. Kilmarnock
 Brabazon, Sir W. Mayo County
 Brady, D. C. Newry
 Bradshaw, J. Berwick
 Branstons, T. W. South Essex
 Bridgman, Hewitt Ennis
 Bridgman, John Macclesfield
 Brodie, W. S. Salisbury
 Brotherton, Joseph .. Salford
 Brown, Thomas .. Mayo County

Brownrigg, — Boston
 Bruce, Cumming Inverness
 Bruce, Lord A. E. Marlborough
 Brudenell, Lord N. Northamptonshire
 Bruen, Colonel Carlow County
 Bruen, Francis Carlow Borough
 Buckingham, J. S. Sheffield
 Bulkeley, Sir R. B. W. Anglesey
 Buller, Charles Liskeard
 Buller, Sir J. Y. S. Devonshire
 Buller, Edward N. Staffordshire
 Bulwer, H. L. Marylebone
 Bulwer, E. L. D. Lincoln
 Burdett, Sir Francis .. Westminster
 Burdon, W. W. Weymouth
 Burrell, Sir C. W. Shoreham
 Burton, H. Beverley
 Butler, Hon. Col. Kilkenny County
 Buxton, T. Fowell Weymouth
 Byng, George Middlesex
 Byng, Sir J. Poole
 Calcraft, J. H. Wareham
 Campbell, Sir J. Edinburgh
 Campbell, Sir H. P. Berwickshire
 Campbell, W. Argyleshire
 Canuing, Sir S. King's Lynn
 Carruthers, D. Hull
 Carter, J. B. Portsmouth
 Cartwright, W. R. S. Northamptonshire
 Castlereagh, Lord Downshire
 Cave, R. O. Tipperary County
 Cavendish, Hon. G. N. Derbyshire
 Cavendish, Hon. C. C. East Sussex
 Cayley, E. S. N. R. Yorkshire
 Chalmers, P. Montrose
 Chandos, Marquis of .. Bucks
 Chaplin, T. Stamford
 Chapman, M. L. Westminster
 Chapman, Aaron Whitby
 Charleton, Lechmere .. Ludlow
 Chatterton, Col. Cork
 Chetwynd, W. F. Stafford
 Chichester, J. P. B. .. Barnstaple
 Chichester, A. Honiton
 Churchill, Lord C. Woodstock
 Clay, William Tower Hamlets
 Clayton, Sir W. Marlborough
 Clements, Lord Leitrim
 Clerk, Sir G. Edinburgshire
 Clive, Lord Ludlow
 Clive, Hon. R. H. South Salop
 Clive, E. B. Hereford
 Cobbett, William Oldham
 Cockerell, Sir C. Evesham
 Codrington, Sir E. Devonport
 Codrington, C. W. E. Gloucestershire
 Colborne, N. R. Wells
 Cole, Viscount Fermanagh County
 Cole, Hon. A. H. Enniskillen
 Collier, J. Plymouth
 Compton, H. S. Hants
 Conolly, Col. Donegal
 Conyngham, Lord A. .. Canterbury
 Cooke, T. H. E. Worcestershire
 Cooper, E. J. Sligo
 Cooper, Hon. A. H. Dorchester
 Coute, Sir C. Queen's County
 Copeland, Ald. Coleraine

Corbett, T.	Lindsay, Lincolnshire	Fitzgibbon, Hon. R. . .	Limerick County
Corry, Henry	Tyrone	Fitzroy, Lord C. . . .	Bury St. Edmunds
Cowper, Hon. W. . . .	Hertford	Fitzwilliam, Hon. W. .	Malton
Crawford, Wm.	London	Fitzsimon, N.	King's County
Crawford, Sharman . .	Dundalk	Fitzsimon, C.	Dublin County
Crawley, Samuel	Bedford	Fleetwood, P. H. . . .	Preston
Crewe, Sir G.	S. Derbyshire	Fleming, J. W.	South Hants
Cripps, J.	Cirencester	Foley, E. T.	Herefordshire
Crompton, S.	Thirsk	Folkes, Sir W.	West Norfolk
Curteis, H. B.	East Sussex	Follett, Sir W.	Exeter
Curteis, E. B.	Rye	Forbes Lord	Longford County
Dalbiac, Sir C.	Ripon	Forbes, —	Stirlingshire
Damer, Col. D.	Portarlington	Forester, Hon. G. C. W	Wenlock
Dare Hall, R. W. . . .	South Essex	Forster, C. S.	Walsall
Darlington, Earl of . .	South Salop	Fort, T.	Clitheroe
Davenport, J.	Stoke-on-Trent	Fox, Col.	Stroud
Denison, E. J.	S. Nottinghamshire	Freemantle, Sir T. . . .	Buckingham
Denison, W. J.	West Surrey	French, F.	Roscommon
Denuistoun, A.	Dumbartonshire	Freshfield, J. W. . . .	Peiryn
De Beauvoir, Sir J. E.	Windsor	Gaskell, D.	Wakefield
Dick, Q.	Maldon	Gaskell, J. M.	Wenlock
Dillwyn, L. W.	Glamorganshire	Geary, Sir W.	West Kent
Divett, Edward	Exeter	Gillon, W. D.	Falkirk
Dobbin, Leonard	Armagh	Gisborne, T.	N. Derbyshire
Donkin, Sir R. S. . . .	Berwick	Gladstone, T.	Leicester
Dottin, A. R.	Southampton	Gladstone, W. E. . . .	Newark
Dowdeswell, W.	Tewkesbury	Glynne, Sir S.	Flint
Duffield, V. T.	Abingdon	Goodricke, H.	Stafford
Dugdale, W. S.	N. Warwickshire	Gordon, R.	Cricklade
Duncombe, Hon. W. . .	N. R. Yorkshire	Gordon, Hon. W. . . .	Aberdeenshire
Duncombe, T. S. . . .	Finsbury	Gore, W. A.	North Salop
Duncombe, Hon. A. . .	Bassetlaw	Goring, H. D.	Shoreham
Dundas, R. A.	Ipswich	Goulburn, H.	Cambridge University
Dundas, Hon. T. . . .	York	Goulburn, Serj.	Leicester
Dundas, Hon. J. C. . .	Richmond	Graham, Sir J.	E. Cumberland
Dunlop, Colin	Glasgow	Grant, F. W.	Elginshire
Dykes, F. L. B.	Cockermouth	Grant, C.	Invernesshire
East, J. B.	Winchester	Grattan, Henry	Meath
Eastnor, Lord	Reigate	Grattan, James	Wicklow
Eaton, R. J.	Cambridgeshire	Greene, T.	Lancaster
Ebrington, Lord	North Devon	Gresley, Sir R.	S. Derbyshire
Edwards, J.	Montgomery	Greville, Sir C.	Warwick
Egerton, W. T.	North Cheshire	Grey, Sir G.	Devonport
Egerton, Sir P. D. M.	South Cheshire	Grey, Hon. Col.	Wycombe
Egerton, Lord F. . . .	South Lancashire	Grimston, Lord. . . .	Hertfordshire
Ellice, Edward	Coventry	Grimston, Hon. E. H.	St. Albans
Elphinstone, H.	Hastings	Grosvenor, Lord R. . .	Chester
Entwistle, J.	Rochdale	Guest, J. J.	Merthyr Tydvil
Estcourt, T. B.	Oxford University	Gully, John	Pontefract
Etwell, R.	Andover	Haltord, H.	S. Leicestershire
Euston, Earl of	Thetford	Hall, B.	Monmouth
Evans, G.	Dublin County	Hallyburton, Hon. D. G.	Forfarshire
Evans, Colonel	Westminster	Halse, James	St. Ives
Ewart, Wm.	Liverpool	Hamilton, Lord C. . .	Tyrone
Fancourt, C. St. John	Baronstaple	Handley, Henry	Lincolnsh. (Kesteven)
Fazakerly, J. N. . . .	Peterborough	Hasmer, Sir J.	Sbewsbnry
Fector, M.	Dover	Hasmer, H.	Aylesbury
Feilden, Wm.	Blackburn	Harcourt, G. G. . . .	Oxfordshire
Fellows, Hon. N. . . .	North Devonshire	Hardinge, Sir H. . . .	Launceston
Fergus, J.	Kirkcaldy	Harland, W. C.	Durham
Ferguson, Sir R. . . .	Nottingham	Harvey, D. W.	Southwark
Ferguson, Captain G.	Banffshire	Hardy, J.	Bradford
Ferguson, Robert . . .	Haddingtonshire	Hawes, B.	Labeth
Fergusson, R. C. . . .	Kircudbrightshire	Hawkes, T.	Dudley
Ferguson, Sir R. A. . .	Londonderry City	Hawkins, J. H.	Newport
Fielden, John	Oldham	Hay, Sir J.	Peeblesshire
Finch, G.	Stamford	Hay, Col. L.	Elgin
Finn, W. F.	Kilkeany County	Hayes, Sir E.	Donegal

Heathcoat, J.	Tiverton	Lennox, Lord A.	Chichester
Heathcote, G. J.	Lincolnsh. (Kesteven)	Lewis, David	Carmarthenshire
Heathcote, Sir G.	Rutlandshire	Lewis, W.	Maidstone
Heathcote, H.	Stoke-on-Trent	Leycester, R.	Cork
Hector, C.	Petersfield	Lincoln, Earl of.	S Nottinghamshire
Heneage, E.	Great Grimsby	Lister, E. C.	Bradford
Henmker, Lord.	East Suffolk	Littleton, E. J.	S Staffordshire
Herbert, Hon. S.	South Wilts	Lock, J.	Wick
Heron, Sir R.	Peterborough	L. ck, W.	Devizes
Hill, Sir R.	North Salop	Lopez, Sir R.	Westbury
Hindley, C.	Ashton under-Lyne	Long, Walter	North Wilts
Whouse, Sir J. C. ..	Nottingham	Lowther, Lord	Westmoreland
Hodges, T. L.	West Kent	Lowther, Hon. H. C. ..	Ditto
Hodges, T.	Rochester	Lowther, J. H.	York
Hogg, J. W.	Beverley	Lucas, E.	Monaghan
Holland, E.	East Worcestershire	Lumley, Lord	N Nottinghamshire
Hope, Sir A.	Linthgowshire	Lushington, Dr.	Lower Hamlets
Hope, H. T.	Gloucester	Lushington, C.	Ashturton
Hoskins, R.	Herefordshire	Lygon, Hon. C.	W. Worcestershire
Hotham, Lord	Leominster	Lynch, A. H.	Galway
Houldsworth, T.	N Nottinghamshire	Mackenzie, J. S.	Ross and Cromarty
Howard, Ralph	Wicklow County	Mackinnon, W.	Lynington
Howard, P. H.	Carlisle	Macleod, R.	Sutherland
Howard, Hon. E. G. ..	Morpeth	Macleod, D.	Oxford
Mowick Lord.	N. Northumberland	M'Namara, W.	Clare
Hoy, J. B.	Southampton	Mactaggart, J.	Wigton
Hughes, H.	Oxford	Maher, J.	Wexford County
Hume, J.	Middlesex	Mahon, Lord	Hertford
Humphrey, J.	Southwark	M. Joribanks, S.	Hythe
Hurst, R. H.	Horsham	Maudeville, Lord.	Huntingdonshire
Hutt, W.	Hull	Mangles, James.	Guildford
Ingham, R.	South Shields	Manners, Lord R.	N. Leicestershire
Inglis, Sir R.	Oxford University	Marshall, W.	Carlisle
Irton, S.	West Cumberland	Marsland, T.	Stockport
Jackson, J. D.	Baudon	Marsland, H.	Ditto
Jephson, C. D. O.	Mallow	Matthew, Capt.	Athlone
Jermyn, Earl.	Bury St. Edmunds	Maule, Fox.	Perthshire
Jervis, John	Chester	Maxwell, J.	Lanarkshire
Johnstone, J. H.	Dumfriesshire	Maxwell, H.	Cavan County
Johnstone, Sir J.	Scarborough	M'Cance, J.	Belfast
Johnstone, D.	St. Andrew's	Methuen, Paul.	North Wilts
Jones, Captain	Londonderry County	Meynell, H.	Lisbourne
Jones, William	Dunbligh	Miles, P. J.	Bristol
Kavanaugh, T.	Carlow County	Miles, W.	E Somersetshire
Kearsley, J. H.	Wigan	Miller, W. H.	Newcastle-under-Lyne
Kelly, F.	Ipswich	Milton, Lord	N. Northamptonshire
Kemp, T. R.	Lewes	Molesworth, Sir W. ..	E. Cornwall
Kennedy, J.	Tiverton	Mordaunt, Sir J.	S. Warwickshire
Kerr, D.	Dowpatrick	Moreton, Hon. A. H. ..	W. Gloucestershire
Kerrison, Sir E.	Eye	Morgan, C. M. R.	Brecon
Kerry, Earl of.	Calne	Morpeth, Lord	W. R. Yorkshire
King, E. B.	Warwick	Mosley, Sir O.	N. Staffordshire
Kirke, P.	Carrickfergus	Mostyn, Hon. E. W. L.	Flintshire
Knightbull, Sir E.	East Kent	Mullins, F. W.	Kerry
Knightley, Sir C.	S. Northamptonshire	Murray, J. A.	Leith
Knox, Hon. J.	Dungannon	Masgrave, Sir R.	Waterford County
Labouchere, H.	Taunton	Nagle, Sir R.	Westmeath
Lambton, H.	N. Durham	Neeld, J.	Chippinham
Langton, Colonel W. G.	East Somersetshire	Neeld, John	Cricklade
Lawson, A.	Knaresborough	Nicholl, John.	Cardiff
Leader, J. T.	Bridgewater	Noel, Sir G.	Rutlandshire
Lee, J. L.	Wells	Norreys, Lord.	Oxfordshire
Lefevre, C. S.	North Hants	North, Frederick.	Hastings
Leirroy, T.	Dublin University	O'Brien, C.	Clare
Lefroy, A.	Longford	O'Brien, W. S.	Limerick Co.
Lemon, Sir C.	W. Cornwall	O'Connell, D.	Dublin
Lennard, T. B.	Maldon	O'Connell, M. J.	Kerry
Lennox, Lord G.	West Sussex	O'Connell, Morgan ..	Meath

O'Connell, Maurice ..	Tralee	Ramsden, J. C.	Malton
O'Connell, John	Youghal	Reid, Sir J. R.	Dover
O'Connor, Don	Roscommon	Rice, T. S.	Cambridge
O'Connor, Feargus ..	Cork County	Richards, John	Knaresborough
O'Dwyer, A. C.	Drogheda	Rickford, W.	Aylesbury
O'Ferrall, R. M.	Kildare	Ridley, Sir M. W.	Newcastle-on-Tyne
Oliphant, L.	Perth	Rippon, C.	Gateshead
O'Loughlin, Serjeant ..	Dungarvon	Robarts, A. W.	Maidstone
O'Neil, General	Antrim	Robinson, G. W.	Worcester
Ord, W.	Newcastle-on-Tyne	Roche, David	Limerick
Ord, W. H.	Newport	Ruche, W.	Ditto
Ossulston, Lord	N. Northumberland	Roebuck, J. A.	Bath
Oswald, R. A.	Ayrshire	Rolfe, R. M.	Peuryn
Oswald, James	Glasgow	Ronayne, D.	Clonmell
Owen, Sir J.	Pembrokeshire	Rooper, J. B.	Huntingdonshire
Owen, H. O.	Pembroke	Ross, Charles.	Northampton
Paget, Fred. Cap.	Beaumaris	Rundle, J.	Tavistock
Palmer, Robert	Berkshire	Russell, Lord J.	S. Devonshire
Palmer, General	Bath	Russell, Lord C. F. ..	Bedfordshire
Parker, John	Sheffield	Russell, Lord W.	Tavistock
Parrell, Sir H.	Dundee	Russell, Charles	Reading
Parrott, J.	Totness	Rushbrook, Colonel ..	W. Suffolk
Parry, Colonel	Carnarvon	Ruthven, E. S.	Dublin
Patten, J. W.	N. Lancashire	Ruthven, E.	Kildare
Pattison, James	London	Ryle, J.	Macclesfield
Pease, Joseph	S. Durham	Sanderson, R.	Colchester
Pechell, Captain	Brighton	Sandon, Lord	Liverpool
Peel, Sir R.	Tainworth	Sandford, E. A.	W. Somersetshire
Peel, W. Y.	Ditto	Scarlett, R.	Norwich
Peel, Edmund.	Newcastle-und-Lyne	Scholefield, Joshua ..	Birmingham
Peel, Colonel	Huntingdon	Scott, Sir E. D.	Lichfield
Pelham, Hon. C. A.	Lincolush. (Lindsey)	Scott, Lord J.	Roxburghshire
Pelham, J. C.	Shrewsbury	Scott, J. W.	N. Hants
Pemberton, F.	Ripon	Scourfield, W. H.	Haverfordwest
Pendarves, E. W. W. ..	W. Cornwall	Scrope, P.	Stroud
Penruddock, J. H.	Wilton	Seale, J. H.	Dartmouth
Perceval, Colonel	Sligo	Seymour, Lord	Totness
Perrin, Serjeant	Cashel	Sharpe, General	Dumfries
Phillips, C. M.	N. Leicestershire	Shaw, Frederick	Dublin University
Phillips, Mark	Manchester	Shell, R. L.	Tipperary
Phillips, G. R.	Kidderminster	Sheldon, E.	S. Warwickshire
Pigot, R.	Bridgenorth	Sheppard Thomas.	Frome
Pinney, W.	Lyme Regis	Sibthorp, Colonel	Lincoln
Plumtree, J. P.	East Kent	Simeon, Sir R.	Isle of Wight
Polhill, Capt.	Bedford	Sinclair, G.	Caithnesshire
Pollen, Sir J. W.	Andover	Smith, T. A.	Carnarvanshire
Pollington, Lord	Pontefract	Smith, A.	Hertfordshire
Pollock, Sir F.	Huntingdon	Smith, J. A.	Chichester
Ponsonby, Hon. W. F. S.	Dorsetshire	Smith, R. V.	Northampton
Ponsonby, Hon. C.	Derby	Smith, B.	Sudbury
Potter, Richard	Wigan	Smith, Hon. R. J.	Wycombe
Poulter, J.	Shaftesbury	Smith, Sir H.	Colchester
Powell, W. E.	Cardiganshire	Somerset, Lord E.	Cirencester
Power, R.	Waterford County	Somerset, Lord G.	Monmouthshire
Power, J.	Wexford County	Spears, A.	Richmond
Poyntz, W. S.	Midhurst	Spears, A. G.	Paisley
Praed, J. B.	Buckinghamshire	Spry, Sir S.	Bodmin
Praed, W. M.	Yarmouth	Stanley, Lord	N. Lancashire
Price, Sir R.	Herefordshire	Stanley, E. J.	N. Cheshire
Price, R.	Radnor	Stanley, E.	W. Cumberland
Price, S. G.	Sandwich	Stanley, H. T.	Preston
Pringle, A.	Seikirkshire	Stewart, R.	Haddingtonshire
Protheroe, J.	Halifax	Stewart, John S.	Devonshire
Pryme, G.	Cambridge	Stewart, P. M.	Lancaster
Pryse, Pryse	Cardigan	Stewart, J.	Lynton
Pusey, P.	Berkshire	Stormont, Lord	Norwich
Rae, Sir W.	Buteshire	Strickland, G.	W. R. Yorkshire
Ramsbottom, J.	Windsor	Strut, Edward.	Derby

Stuart, Lord D. C. .. Arndel
 Stuart, Lord P. J. Ayr
 Sturt, H. C. Dorsetshire
 Sullivan, R. Kilkenny
 Surrey, Earl of .. W. Sussex
 Sutton, Sir C. M. Cambridge University
 Talbot, J. H. New Ross
 Talbot, C. R. M. Glamorganshire
 Talfourd, Serjeant ... Reading
 Talmash, Hon. A. G. .. Grantham
 Tancred, H. W. Banbury
 Tapps, G. W. Christchurch
 Tennent, J. E. Belfast
 Tenyson, C. Lambeth
 Thomas, Colonel King's County
 Thompson, P. B. E. R. Yorkshire
 Thompson, P. C. Manchester
 Thompson, Alclerman .. Sunderland
 Thorneley, T. Wolverhampton
 Tooke, William Truro
 Townley, R. G. Cambridgeshire
 Townshend, Lord J. .. Helstone
 Tracy, C. H. Tewkesbury
 Trelawny, W. L. S. .. East Cornwall
 Trench, Sir E. Scarborough
 Trevor, Hon. G. R. .. Carmarthenshire
 Trevor, Hon. A. Durham
 Troubridge, Sir T. Sandwich
 Tulk, C. A. Poole
 Turner, Frewin S. Leicestershire
 Turner, W. Blackburn
 Twiss, H. Bridport
 Tynte, C. J. K. W. Somersetshire
 Tynte, C. R. R. Bridgewater
 Tyrell, Sir J. T. N. Essex
 Vaughan, Sir R. W. .. Merionethshire
 Vere, Sir C. B. E. Suffolk
 Verner Colonel Armagh County
 Verney, Sir H. Buckingham
 Veruon, G. H. Bassettlaw
 Vesey Queen's County
 Villiers, F. Canterbury
 Villiers, C. Wolverhampton
 Vivian, J. H. Swansea
 Vivian, Eunis Truro
 Vivian, Major. Bodmin
 Vyvyan, Sir R. R. Bristol
 Wakley, Thomas Finsbury
 Walker, R. Bury
 Walker, C. A. Wexford
 Wall, C. B. Guildford
 Wallace, R. Greenock
 Walpole, Lord East Norfolk
 Walter, John Berkshire
 Warburton, H. Bridport
 Ward, H. G. St. Albans
 Welby, E. G. Grantham
 Wemyss, Capt. Fifeshire
 Wescra, Hon. H. R. .. Monaghan
 Wescra, Hon. J. E. .. King's County
 Weyland, Major Oxfordshire
 Whalley, Sir S. Marybone
 White, Samuel Leitrim County
 Whitmore, T. C. Bournemouth
 Wigney, J. N. Brighton
 Wilbraham, G. S. Cheshire
 Wilbraham, Hon. R. B. S. Lancashire

Wilde, Serjeant Newark
 Wilks, John Boston
 Wilkins, Walter Radnorshire
 Williams, Sir J. Carmarthenshire
 Williams, William .. Coventry
 Williams, Robert Drogheda
 Williams, T. P. Marlborough
 Williams, W. A. Monmouthshire
 Williamson, Sir H. .. N. Durham
 Winnet, Sir L. N. Warwickshire
 Wilson, H. West Suffolk
 Widdington, H. J. .. W. Worcestershire
 Widdington, Sir T. .. Bawdley
 Wodehouse, E. E. Norfolk
 Wood, Colonel Breconshire
 Wood, Alderman London
 Wood, Charles Halifax
 Worcester, Marquis of W. Gloucestershire
 Wrightson, W. B. Northallerton
 Wrottesley, Sir J. S. Staffordshire
 Wyndham, Wadham .. Salisbury
 Wynn, Sir W. W. .. Denbighshire
 Wynn, C. W. W. .. Montgomeryshire
 Wyse, Thomas Waterford
 Yorke, E. T. Cambridgeshire
 Young, Sir W. Buckinghamshire
 Young, G. F. Tyne-mouth
 Young, John Cavan County

From the LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1835.

INSOLVENTS.

ECCLES, W. and J. Stalman, Hatton-garden and Spring-gardens, tailors.
 EDMAND, T., Dunstable, Bedfordshire, straw-hat-manufacturer.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

SMITH, J. D., Norwood, stable-keeper.

BANKRUPTS.

BAKER, W. and T. Little, Basinghall-street and Leadenhall street, woollen-draper.
 BARBER, J., Hungerford-market, victualler.
 BARNES, S. J., Jermyn-street, St. James's, mercer.
 EGGLESTON, J., Manchester, publican.
 GASKELL, T., Bootle, near Liverpool, hotel-keeper.
 LAWES, J., Wick and Abson, Gloucestershire, miller.
 PENNY, W., Bristol, brewer.
 WALKER, J., jun., Leeds, woollen-cloth-manufacturer.
 WEST, H., Aslackton, Norfolk, general-shop-keeper.
 WILLIAMS, K., Aberystwith, Cardiganshire, inn-keeper.
 WILLINGTON, S., jun., Westbury-upon-Trip, Gloucestershire, inn-keeper.
 WILLIS, J., Liverpool, merchant.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 10.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.**LEDGARD, E.,** Mirfield, Yorkshire, seed-crusher.**BANKRUPTS.****CAIRNS, W.,** High-street, Whitechapel, saddler.**MULLINER, J. M.,** Northampton, coach-maker.**OKILL, W.,** Liverpool, share-broker.**POTTER, T.,** Kidderminster, carpet-manufacturer.**SMITH, A. H.,** Newcastle-upon-Tyne, grocer.**STIRLING, R.,** High-street, Poplar, brewer.**WESTON, G.,** Nottingham, joiner.**WETHERELL, P.,** Shouldham, Norfolk, grocer.**WILSON, W.,** Leeds, woollen-draper.**LONDON MARKETS.****MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Feb. 9.**—

During the past week the weather continued so boisterous as to retard our supplies, nevertheless, there was very little animation in the trade, with the exception of a trifling reaction in Oats on Friday.

To-day the fresh arrivals are not large, owing to the continued prevalence of contrary winds: Wheat, nevertheless, met by no means a free sale, and though lower prices are not submitted to for fine and dry samples, all other sorts go off but slowly, at barely as much money.

No alteration in Flour.

Barley, though not over plentiful, does not go off briskly, and, for any samples not very prime, it is difficult to get on at previous rates; the dullness, however, is not sufficient to cause any alteration in the currency. Malt nearly keeps price.

The Oat market is barely supplied, and in consequence holders have been more firm, and have succeeded both on Friday and this day, in obtaining an advance of 6d. per quarter upon the terms of this day's selling; but there is very little disposition to purchase at the advance.

Beans and Hog Peas are fully supported.

Boiling Peas are nominal at previous rates.

Tares meet a steady sale at the quotations.

Wheat, English, White, new....	42s. to 53s.
Old	48s. to 52s.
Red, new.....	32s. to 43s.
Old	40s. to 44s.
Lincolnshire, red	36s. to 42s.
White	42s. to 44s.
Yorkshire, red	36s. to 42s.
White	40s. to 44s.
Northumberl. & Berwick	38s. to 41s.
Fine white	40s. to 42s.
Dundee & choice Scotch	43s. to 44s.
Irish, red, good.....	32s. to 34s.
White	38s. to 42s.

Rye,	30s. to 34s.
New	34s. to 36s.
Barley, English, grinding	26s. to 28s.
Distilling.....	28s. to 32s.
Malt	32s. to 36s.
Chevalier	38s. to 43s.
Malt	44s. to 54s.
Fine new.....	56s. to 64s.
Beans, Tick, new	33s. to 34s.
Old	36s. to 38s.
Harrow, new.....	35s. to 37s.
Old	38s. to 40s.
Peas, White, English	36s. to 38s.
Foreign;	35s. to 36s.
Gray or Hog	36s. to 38s.
Maples.....	38s. to 42s.
Oats, Polands	23s. to 26s.
Lincolnshire, short small	23s. to 24s.
Lincolnshire, feed	21s. to 23s.
Yorkshire, feed.....	22s. to 24s.
Black.....	23s. to 25s.
Northumberland and Berwick Potato, new.....	25s. to 26s.
Old.....	—s. to —s.
Angus, new	24s. to 25s.
Old	—s. to —s.
Barf and Aberdeen, common new	24s. to 25s.
Old	—s. to —s.
Potato	26s. to 27s.
Old.....	—s. to —s.
Irish Potato, new.....	22s. to 23s.
Old.....	—s. to —s.
Feed, new light	20s. to 21s.
Black, new	21s. to 22s.
Foreign feed.....	22s. to 24s.
Danish & Pomeranian, old	20s. to 21s.
Petersburgh, Riga, &c... ..	22s. to 23s.
Foreign, in bond, feed.....	12s. to 14s.
Brew	16s. to 18s.

PROVISIONS.

Butter, Dorset	40s. to 42s. per cwt.
Cambridge	40s. to —s.
York	38s. to —s.
Cheese, Dble. Gloucester	48s. to 61s.
Single ditto....	44s. to 48s.
Cheshire.....	54s. to 74s.
Derby	50s. to 60s.
Hams, Westmoreland..	50s. to 60s.
Cumberland ...	50s. to 60s.

SMITHFIELD, February 9.

This day's supply of Beasts, Sheep, and Calves, was but limited; the supply of Parkers moderately good. Trade, with the primest small Veal, was somewhat brisk, at an advance of from 2d. to 4d. per stone; with the larger and coarser kinds of Veal, as also Beef, Mutton, and Pork, exceedingly dull, at barely Friday's quotations.

About 700 of the Beasts, in about equal numbers of Shorthorns, Herefords, Welsh runts, and Irish Beasts, with about 100 Scotch, were from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and

others of our northern districts; about 1,300, nearly or quite a moiety of which were Scots, the remainder about equal numbers of home-breds. Devons, Shorthorns and Welsh runts, from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridge-shire; about 180, in about equal numbers of Herefords, Devons, and runts, with a few Irish Beasts, from our western and midland districts; about 70 from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, and most of the remainder, including about 50 Towns-end Cows, from the stall-feeders, &c., near London.

A full moiety of the Sheep were new Leicesters, in about equal numbers of the Southdown and white-faced crosses, about a fourth Southdowns; and the remainder about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, and Kentish half-breds, with a very few pens of horned and polled Norfolks, horned Dorsets and Somersetts, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c. So greatly have black-faced sheep multiplied, that on, we believe, almost every Munday of this year, they have composed at least three-fifths of the mutton part of the supply; and so changed is the complexion of some of the breeds, by repeated crosses with the Southdown ram, as to be scarcely distinguishable to even the most experienced salesmen, butchers and graziers, from real Southdowns.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. } Cons. Ann.	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
	92½	92	92	92½	92½	92

COBBETT-LIBRARY.

Fourth Edition.

COBBETT'S Spelling-Book.

(Price 2s.)

Containing, besides all the usual matter of such a book, a clear and concise

INTRODUCTION TO ENGLISH GRAMMAR.

This I have written by way of

A Stepping-Stone to my own Grammar;

such a thing having been frequently suggested to me by Teachers as necessary.

1. ENGLISH GRAMMAR.—Of this work one hundred thousand copies have now been published. This is a duodecimo volume, and the price is 3s. bound in boards.

2. TULL'S HORSE-HOEING HUSBANDRY. or, a Treatise on the Principles of Tillage and Vegetation. With an Introduction, by Wm. Cobbett. 8vo. Price 15s.

3. THE EMIGRANTS' GUIDE.

Just now Published, under this Title, a little Volume, containing Ten Letters, addressed to English Tax-payers. A new edition, with a Postscript, containing an account of the Prices of Houses and Land, recently obtained from America by Mr. Cobbett. Price 2s. 6d. in bds.

4. THE WOODLANDS; or, a Treatise on the preparing of the ground for planting; on the planting, on the cultivating, on the pruning, and on the cutting down, of Forest Trees and Underwoods. Price 14s. bound in boards.

5. YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA.

—The Price of this book, in good print and on fine paper, is 5s.

6. FRENCH GRAMMAR; or, Plain Instructions for the Learning of French. Price, bound in boards, 5s.

7. COTTAGE ECONOMY.

—I wrote this Work professedly for the use of the labouring and middling classes of the English nation. I made myself acquainted with the best and simplest modes of making beer and bread, and these I made it as plain as, I believe, words could make it. Also of the keeping of Cows, Pigs, Bees, and Poultry, matters which I understood as well as any body could, and in all their details. It includes my writing, also on the Straw Plait. A Duodecimo Volume. Price 2s. 6d.

8. MARTENS'S LAW OF NATIONS.

—This is the Book which was the foundation of all the knowledge that I have ever possessed relative to public law. The Price is 17s., and the manner of its execution is I think, such as to make it fit for the Library of any Gentleman.

9. MR. JAMES PAUL COBBETT'S RIDE OF EIGHT HUNDRED MILES IN FRANCE. Second Edition. Price 2s. 6d.

10. A TREATISE ON COBBETT'S CORN;

containing Instructions for Propagating and Cultivating the Plant, and for Harvesting and Preserving the Crop; and also an account of the several uses to which the Produce is applied. Price 5s.

11. LETTERS FROM FRANCE;

containing Observations made in that Country during a Residence of Two Months in the South, and Three Months at Paris. By JOHN M. COBBETT. Price 4s. in boards.

12. SERMONS.—There are twelve of these, in *one* volume, on the following subjects: 1. Hypocrisy and Cruelty; 2. Drunkenness; 3. Bribery; 4. Oppression; 5. Unjust Judges; 6. The Sluggard; 7. The Murderer; 8. The Gamester; 9. Public Robbery; 10. The Unnatural Mother; 11. The Sin of Forbidding Marriage; 12. On the Duties of Parsons, and on the Institution and Object of Tithes. Price 3s. 6d. bound in boards.

A Thirteenth Sermon, entitled "GOOD FRIDAY; or, The Murder of Jesus Christ by the Jews." Price 6d.

13. PROTESTANT "REFORMATION" in England and Ireland, showing how that event has impoverished and degraded the main body of the people in those countries. Two volumes, bound in boards. The Price of the first volume is 4s. 6d. The Price of the second volume 3s. 6d.

A NEW FRENCH AND ENGLISH DICTIONARY.

In two parts. Part I. French and English.—Part II. English and French. By WILLIAM COBBETT, M.P. for Oldham.—Price 12s.

THE CURSE OF

PAPER MONEY AND BANKING,

Or, a short History of Banking in the United States of America, with an account of its ruinous effects on Landowners, Farmers, Traders, and on all the industrious classes of the community.

By W. M. GOUGE, of Philadelphia, in 1833.

To which is prefixed an Introduction by WM. COBBETT, M.P. for Oldham. Price 4s. 11, Bult-court, Fleet-street, and all Booksellers.

Just published, price 4d.,

NATIONAL REGENERATION.

- 1: Letter from Mr. Fitton to Mr. Fielden.
2. Letter from Mr. Fielden to Mr. Fitton.
3. Letter from Mr. Holt to Mr. Fielden.

Which Letters contain a development of all the principles and all the views connected with this important change in the manufacturing affairs of the country.

Just published, price 1s. 4d. bound in leather,

COBBETT'S

LEGACY TO LABOURERS,

OR,

What is the Right which the Lords, Baronets, and 'Squires, have to the Lands of England?

In Six Letters, addressed to the Working People of England.

WITH A

DEDICATION TO SIR ROBERT PEEL, BART.

By WILLIAM COBBETT, M.P.

FOR OLDHAM.

CONTENTS.

Dedication to Sir ROBERT PEEL; stating the reasons for writing the book, and also the reasons for dedicating it to him.

Letter I. How came some men to have a greater right to parcels of land than any other men have to the same land?

Letter II. What right have English landlords to the lands? How came they in possession of them? Of what nature is their title?

Letter III. Is their right to the land *absolute*? Is the land now their own? or, are they still *holders* under a superior?

Letter IV. Have they *dominion* in their lands? Or do they lawfully possess only the *use* of them? Can they do *what they like* with their lands?

Letter V. Can they *use* them so as to drive the natives from them?

Letter VI. Can they *use* them so as to cause the natives to perish of hunger, or of cold?

Just published, price 2s.,

FOUR LETTERS

TO THE

HON. JOHN STUART WORTLEY,

In answer to his "Brief Inquiry into the true award of an Equitable Adjustment between the nation and its creditors."—By WILLIAM COBBETT, M.P. for Oldham.

**JOURNAL
OF
A TOUR IN ITALY,**

AND ALSO IN PART OF

FRANCE AND SWITZERLAND;

The route being

From Paris, through Lyons, to Marseilles, and, thence, to Nice, Genoa, Pisa, Florence, Rome, Naples, and Mount Vesuvius;

AND

By Rome, Terni, Perugia, Arezzo, Florence, Bologna, Ferrara, Padua, Venice, Verona, Milan, over the Alps by Mount St. Bernard, Geneva, and the Jura, back into France;

The space of time being,

From October 1828, to September 1829.

CONTAINING

A description of the country, of the principal cities and their most striking curiosities; of the climate, soil, agriculture, horticulture, and products; of the prices of provisions and labour; and of the dresses and conditions of the people;

AND ALSO

An account of the laws and customs, civil and religious, and of the morals and demeanour of the inhabitants, in the several States.

By JAMES P. COBBETT.

Price 12s.

**A GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY
OF ENGLAND AND WALES;**

CONTAINING

The names, in Alphabetical Order, of all the Counties, with their several Subdivisions, into Hundreds, Lathe, Rapes, Wapentakes, Wards, or Divisions; and an Account of the Distribution of the Counties into Circuits, Dioceses, and Parliamentary Divisions.

ALSO,

The names (under that of each County respectively), in Alphabetical Order, of all the Cities, Boroughs, Market Towns, Villages, Hamlets, and Tithings, with the Distance of each from London, or from the nearest Market Town, and with the Population, and other interesting particulars relating to each; besides which there are

MAPS;

First, one of the whole country, showing the local situation of the Counties relatively to each other; and, then, each County is also preceded by a Map, showing, in the same manner, the local situation of the Cities, Boroughs, and Market Towns.

FOUR TABLES

Are added; first, a Statistical Table of all the Counties, and then three Tables, showing the new Divisions and Distributions enacted by the Reform-Law of 4th June, 1832.

Price 6s. a new edition of the

ENGLISH GARDENER,

OR,

A TREATISE

On the Situation, Soil, Enclosing and Laying-Out of Kitchen Gardens; on the Making and Managing of Hot-beds and Green-Houses; and on the Propagation and Cultivation of all sorts of Kitchen-Garden Plants, and of Fruit-Trees whether of the Garden or the Orchard.

AND ALSO,

On the Formation of Shrubberies and Flower-Gardens; and on the Propagation and Cultivation of the several sorts of Shrubs and Flowers;

CONCLUDING WITH

A KALENDAR,

Giving instructions relative to the Sowings, Plantings, Prunings, and other labours, to be performed in the Gardens, in each Month of the Year.

By WILLIAM COBBETT.

Just published, price 4d.

MR. COBBETT'S SPEECH.

AND THE

**OTHER SPEECHES ON HIS MOTION
FOR AN ABOLITION OF THE MALT-
TAX.**

Just Published,

LIFE OF GENERAL JACKSON,

President of America: with an interesting frontispiece; and an exact likeness of the President. Price 3s. 6ds.

Just published,

PRACTICAL EXERCISES:

WITH

A KEY TO COBBETT'S FRENCH GRAMMAR.

By J. P. Cobbett. Price Two Shillings.

*Empowered by Act of Parliament,
3. William IV.*

THE ECONOMIC LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY,

No. 34, Bridge-street, Blackfriars.
Established 1825.

DIRECTORS.

The Right Hon. Thomas Frankland Lewis,
Chairman.

Henry Frederick Stephenson, Esq., Deputy
Chairman.

Lancelot Haugh Allen, Esq.

Stephen Nicholas Barber, Esq.

Robert Biddulph, Esq., M.P.

Robert Davies, Esq.

Adam Gordon, Esq.

William Grant, Esq.

John Knowles, Esq., F.R.S.

John Mendham, Esq.

Thomas Meux, Esq.

William Routh, Esq.

Resident Director, John Knowles, Esq., F.R.S.

AUDITORS.

H. M. Boodle, Esq.

Edward Knowles, Esq.

Charles Morris, Esq.

J. Whishaw, Esq., F.R.S.

Physician, John A. Paris, M.D., F.R.S.,
No. 28, Dover-street.

Surgeon, Benjamin Travers, Esq., F.R.S.,
No. 12, Bruton-street.

Solicitor, Henry Young, Esq., Essex-street,
Strand.

Actuary, J. J. Downes, Esq.

THIS Society has for its basis, Economy combined with Security—the terms of Assurances for young and middle-aged lives, being much lower than those of any other Office which gives a bonus to the Assured; and a full statement of its affairs is annually made to the Share-holders and Policy-holders, who have a control over the Society.

Three-fourths of the profits are now divided among those Assured on an equitable scale, for the whole term of life after the Policies shall have been in force four years; and eventually the whole of the profits will be so divided.

A bonus was declared up to the end of 1833, which gave to Policy-holders, on an average, £16 per cent. upon the amount of premiums paid.

Endowments for children are granted, and Assurances on Joint Lives, Survivorships, Survivorship Annuities, as well as every species of Life contingency, at rates proportional to the nature of the risks, which are as low as possible, compatible with security to the Assured.

Assurances are also effected, either by paying small Premiums at first, and increasing them every five years, or by paying a high premium at first, subject to periodical abatements, and, ultimately, the payments to cease altogether. In fine, persons may be assured in any way which may be best adapted to their circumstances or wishes.

Medical Referees are appointed in most cities and large towns, and Agents in many, from whom information may be obtained and Prospectuses had.

HARVEY'S VEGETABLE ANTI-DRASTIC PILL is the only medicine extant compounded upon the principles laid down by the great discoverer of the circulation of the blood, that "to cure disease, impurities of the vital fluid must be first removed." This Pill has been singularly efficacious in habitual costiveness, flatulency, bilious affections, headaches, giddiness, or overflow of blood to the head, rheumatic fever, indigestion, and all disorders incident to the stomach and bowels. In the complaints of females and children, its success has been most decided. As a family Medicine, to keep in the house for all primary symptoms of indisposition, it stands unrivalled. No change of habitual diet or confinement requisite.—Sold in boxes, at 1s. 1½d., 2s. 9d., and 4s. 6d. each.

HARVEY'S RESTORATIVE CORDIAL, in all nervous affections, loss of appetite, languor, and debility arising from illness, early imprudence, excesses, residence in tropical climates, sedentary habits, &c., is infallible. To young and to elderly females it affords relief and support that no other tonic has given; it mitigates, often totally prevents, sea-sickness.—Sold in bottles, at 4s. 6d. and 11s. each.

HARVEY'S EMBROCATION effectually and speedily cures sprains, bruises, glandular

swellings, and chronic rheumatism; when the muscles are relaxed, it restores them to their tone.—Sold in bottles, at 2s. 9d. each, by the Society for the Restoration of Health, 90, Charlotte-street, Rathbone-place. Orders by post punctually executed. Sold also by Barclay and Sons, Farringdon-street; Wild, 13, Catherine-street, Strand; Humphries, 12, Wilderness-row; Haskins, 79, Quadrant, Regent-street; Mudie and Son, Stationers, Coventry-street; Taylor, Chemist, Bath; Harper, High-street, Cheltenham; Barton, Parson's-lane, Banbury; Gain, Exeter; Mead, Tiverton; Cotton, Barnstaple; Cartar, Beiles; Deighton and Moxon, York; Evans and Son, Liverpool; Bolster, Patrick-street, Cork; and may be had of all Patent Medicine Venders in town and Country.

CHEAP CLOTHING FOR THE SEASON, AT

SWAIN AND CO.'s, Tailors, 93, Fleet-street, near the avenue leading to St. Bride's church.

FOR CASH ONLY.

	£.	s.	d.
A Suit of Superfine Clothes.....	4	18	0
Ditto, <i>Blue or Black</i>	5	10	0
Ditto, <i>Imperial Saxony cloth</i>	6	0	0
Petersham Great-coat.....	3	3	0
A Suit of Livery.....	4	10	0

And every other article equally cheap.

I recommend Messrs. Swain and Co. as very good and punctual tradesmen, whom I have long employed with great satisfaction. **WM. COBBETT.**

SIGHT RESTORED, Nervous Head-ache Cured, and Cholera Prevented. Under the Patronage of his late Majesty and the Lords of the Treasury.—Mr. Abernethy used it, and termed it the faculty's friend and nurse's vademecum. Dr. Andrews also recommends it. **CURES**—Mr. A. Mackintyre, age 65, 3, Silver-street, Golden-square, of gutta serena. Mr. P. Sanderson; 10, Harper-street, Leeds, of cataract. Mr. H. Pluckwell, Tottenham-house, Middlesex; of ophthalmia. Miss S. Englefield, Park-street, Windsor, of nervous head-ache. Testimonials from medical gentlemen and families of the first respectability, proving the above, may be seen at 39, Broad-street, Bloomsbury, and 24, King-street, Long-acre.

The high patronage **GRIMSTONE'S EYE-SNUFF** has obtained, is a testimonial beyond suspicion. This delightful compound is the most wholesome snuff taken, and is recommended for its benign influence on all who use it. Sold in canisters, at 1s. 3d., 2s. 4d., 4s. 4d., and 8s. each. Look to the signature of the inventor, and the patronage. Sold in every country town.

. MORISON'S MEDICINES.

Cure of Tightness of the Chest.
To Messrs. Hayden and Co., of Manchester.

GENTLEMEN,—Some time ago, having taken cold, I experienced considerable tightness and oppression of the chest. Not, however, recognising as I conceived, any immediate symptoms calculated to create alarm, I suffered many days to elapse before I made any application for medical assistance. At length, however, I went to a disciple of *Æsculapius* of no small notoriety in the vicinity. From him I received two prescriptions, each embracing a mixture and a box of pills. I took them regularly and faithfully; but experiencing no relief whatever, I found eventually embedded in my system, a deep-laid whooping-cough. Such was its violence, that I could hourly feel my constitution sinking under its repeated attacks. Now, sir, the fact of the operation of this medicine at once proved the insincerity and worthlessness of the "baseless fabric" upon which the diplomatic edifice is grounded. True, it rears its venerable front in imposing grandeur; but it has not sufficient internal strength to withstand the buffeting of Hygeian principle, nor the force of public opinion, as regulated by it.

A sincere friend of mine who possessed "Morisoniana," lent it to me, and said, "I have perused it; I have taken the medicine; my family take nothing else, and please the Lord, no other we will have!" I hesitated no longer; that evening I procured two thirteen-pence halfpenny boxes, and from the next morning, I am thankful to say my cough began to leave me, and in one week, I was restored to perfect health.

My wife was grievously afflicted with a fixed pain in the side. We obtained medical advice under the old act, but unfortunately we found it useless. However, gentlemen, two boxes of the pills, with God's blessing, even in the operation, caused the pain entirely to depart, and entire strength was speedily imparted.

I have other cases in hand, which I shall beg leave to transmit on an early opportunity; and as I have now the happiness of being engaged as your agent in Hulme, Manchester, I trust it will be my happy lot, in many more instances, to witness the successful operation of the Universal Medicines of the British College of Health. Yours devotedly,

GEORGE REYNOLDS.

Owen-street, Hulme,
Manchester.

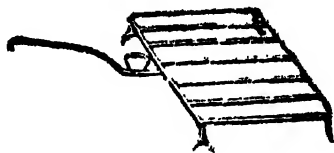
Just published, price 4s. 6d.

AN ESSAY towards an easy and useful System of **LOGIC.**

By **ROBERT BLAKEY**, author of "The History of Moral Science," &c.

London: James Duncau, 37, Paternoster-row.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.



TO
SIR ROBERT PEELE.

LETTER V.

What will you do with the Tax-eaters, called Pensioners, Sinecurists, Grantees, Retired-allowance People, Half-pay People, Secret-service People, and the like?

SIR,—If I be to judge from the language of your manifesto, you mean to push on, as the Whigs did, the whole of this system, which costs the industrious and laborious people of this country about SEVEN MILLIONS OF POUNDS STERLING A YEAR. Not more than one million of it, at the least, being justly due to the parties, who thus swallow up, without the smallest particle of justice on the side of their claim, nearly double the amount of what the malt-tax brings into the Treasury. You will not *look back*; you will do as the Whigs did; you will undo nothing: this is what you tell us; and if you stand by this, and if we suffer you to go on, dead dogs and cats, butchers' garbage, even feculent matter, ought to cover us, if we ever dare look our betrayed constituents again in the face. What! shall we be told in this second reformed Parliament, that it is proper to make our constituents keep in pay about four hundred and fifty generals, and about two hundred and fifty admirals, or perhaps three hundred; that it is proper for us to make them pay all the monstrous sums coming under the heads that I have described; that it is proper for us to make them pay to those who ought

not to receive one single farthing from them, a greater sum of money every year than is expended by the twenty State Governments of America, and by the general Government; upon the whole business of all these governments, civil, military, and naval, including what is paid to persons for past services, and including ten ambassadors kept in Europe, by far the most able that Europe ever saw; do you think it is proper to make the people of England pay thus, and for such purposes? Will you represent all this draining of the people as necessary to the support of kingly government, and in the same breath, will you abuse the people of England, as a wild mob, sighing for a "*republican government*"; and that, too, without an attempt to show them, that, under such a government, the affairs of England could not be carried on cheaper, *even cheaper*, than the affairs of the American republic are carried on?

SIR, all men in power are very slow to perceive the changes which have taken place, and which make against them; and you do not at all perceive the prodigious change which has taken place in the minds of the people, with regard to this branch of the expenditure. They now understand it well; they see who the pensioners and the retired ambassadors, and the four hundred and fifty generals, all are. They see that they are peers, relations, or dependants of peers; baronets, or the relations and dependants of baronets; they see that they are a parcel of people living upon the fruit of the laborious, the industrious, and skilful; they see, and, indeed, I heard Lord ALTHORP say, that the pension-list was the effect of "*charity*." They heard him say, that Mr. HARVEY's motion for an inquiry into the *grounds* of granting the pensions; that even such an inquiry as that discovered a "*want of feeling*"; and, in a few weeks afterwards, they heard the same Lord ALTHORP, when he was urging us to pass a most severe law with regard to the poorer part of the people, tell us, that we "*ought not to yield to our feel-*

sage"; and that feeling was a very bad thing under which for legislators to act! And do you think, sir, that the people have been blind to all this; or do you think that you have force, red or blue, or of any colour, sufficient to make them hold their tongues, while you persevere in this system, and rush on at the same time, a law, the direct tendency of which is, to compel the people to live upon COARSER FOOD, to receive lower wages, and to put the wages into the pockets of the landlords? Do you think this? If you do, you will be awakened from your reverie in a very short time.

You have seen Mr. HARVEY taken by the hand by the great borough of SOUTHWARK; carried to his seat in the House, without any one daring to offer an opposition to him. And what was this for? First, two rich men ousted him from a borough. This was a great point to carry with you. SOUTHWARK took him up, and avenged him. But it is well known to every one, that, though his pensionist motion formed, with us, who knew him well, but a small part of his merits, still it was the thing freshest in the public mind, and was, unquestionably, the principal cause of the generous conduct of the people of SOUTHWARK, one of the richest bodies of men, too, as well as the most industrious, in the whole kingdom. You tell us, that you appeal to the "intelligence and property of the country." You have enough of that here, then, at any rate. Almost the whole of the hops grown this year, pass through the hands of men living in that borough; and this year, those hops have amounted to very little short of four millions of money; the produce of our own land. It is probable that the wool trade, of which that borough is also the great centre, has not been of much less amount. One need not insist that there must be great wealth there. Here, then, you have, in the same compass, probably, a greater mass of wealth than is to be found on any other spot in the kingdom; and that, too, wealth of the most solid description. This body of wealth has determined, unanimously, against the continuance of the flagrant and prodigious injustice of which I am now complaining.

When SIDMOUTH and CASTLEREAGH were empowered by the boroughmonger-parliament to shut us up in dungeons at their pleasure; what was that for? CANNING and WILLIAM LAMB (now Lord MELBOURNE) said, that "it was for the people's own good"! Just like Sir THOMAS COTTON SHEPPARD, who, at the North-Stafford-nomination, early in January, told the people, that "the Poor-law Bill was intended to *better the situation*, and to *raise the character* of "the labouring man." He did not explain to the people how "*a coarser sort of food*"; how putting workhouse-dresses upon them, separating man from wife, and children from both; how, having four great workhouses in a county, and no more; how cutting off all communications with relations and friends from without; how giving the landlords the votes in vestries, instead of giving them to the tenants, and enabling the landlords to vote by proxy; that is to say, to send their footmen, or scullion-wenchies, to vote in their name, and to give six votes to a farmer's one vote. Sir THOMAS COTTON SHEPPARD did not tell the people of Stafford how any of these, or all of these put together, were to mend the lot, better the living, or elevate the character of the labourer; and, if Sir THOMAS COTTON SHEPPARD read my "*Legacy to Labourers*," which will cost him only sixteen-pence, the very thought of its being read by the labourers of his parish (and it will be read by them) will make his teeth chatter in his head.

But, sir, what powers of face must that man have, who shall contend, in the face of six hundred men, that to give six or seven millions of the people's money, every year, to swarms of idlers, who do nothing in return, is for the good of that people! And, have you powers of face sufficient for this? There is, on the pension list, a REVEREND THOMAS PENROSE, who has two livings in Essex; who has a good estate in the neighbourhood of NEWBURY, in Berkshire, where he generally lives; who, during the war, went abroad with one of the EGREMONT-WYNDHAMS (who was sent as Envoy to FLORENCE) as a tutor to WYNDHAM's children; who is put down in the pension-list as having

been WYNDHAM's *chargé d'affaires* for FIVE MONTHS; and as having now a pension of 213*l.* a year for that service, and as having had the same pension for TWENTY-TWO YEARS. Now, Sir ROBERT PEEL, have you powers of face to say that my laborious constituents, many of whom are compelled to live upon a few pence a day, ought to be compelled to continue to pay this man this pension? We shall find it still upon the list; or, in consequence of my loud reprobation of it, we shall find it quietly scratched out. If the latter, will you not tell us the reason why you scratched it out; and, if the former, will you not be called upon to make PENROSE disgorge? If the former: if you have the powers of face to defend this pension, will you not be put to the test? Will not the House divide? Will not every man in the country know who it is that has voted his money into the pocket of this PENROSE?

When we petitioned for parliamentary reform, and had dungeons and gags for our reward, we stated what it was we wanted a reform to do for us; we set in the foreground the *lightening of our burdens*; and of those burdens, the first we stated was the enormous burden of placemen, pensioners, sinecurists, and the like, so unjustly, as we said, imposed upon us; and, will you now resist? Will you do as the Whigs did? Will the members, after the reproaches; after the severe buffeting and cutting that they have received, still uphold these lists; still vote forty thousand a year for secret-services? This is hardly to be believed: not, however, impossible; but quite impossible that you should succeed in the end. There will be, at any rate, a *few* of us now to set about this matter, in regular form, and with full information; to lay before the House; and before the "*intelligence of the country*," this mass of expenditure, in all its hideous features and its boundless extent; and to avail ourselves of the aid of the press, in all sorts of ways. Your colleague, Mr. ALEXANDER BARING, had, amongst his objections to the Reform Bill, this: that it would "let in *pushing men*, who would "*look narrowly into papers and accounts*!" Strange objection! But, a

very rational one, if it be meant to carry on this system. To be sure, the papers are presented to us in a form complex and unintelligible enough to puzzle the very devil himself; but still it is *black and white*; and still there is a question to be put in every case; and a division, if we please; and a list of the minority, at the least; and a discussion as long as we like; and a hauling-up of the names of the parties; and this, as far as I am concerned, shall not be prevented, even if kettle-drums, or gongs, be sounded in the body of the House; and I know that there are others who will discharge their duty with equal zeal, and with more ability, than I shall.

You may have a majority to support you in upholding this monstrous abuse. If I were compelled to bet, I would bet that you would have such majority. But, in the end, this will avail you nothing. There is your *debt*, there is our true and unflinching friend: those who would fain uphold the pension-list, would fain not part with their estates to the fundholders; would fain have a little more for their bushel of wheat, or pay less interest for the debt. Here we have you; or we have them. To the industrious classes you can decree nothing farther than coarser food, and four great workhouses in a county, with a workhouse-dress, and separation of husbands, wives, and children. You have their hostility to a man, do what you will, besides pushing on this monstrous Bill. Then comes the question between the land and the funds. You must do *something*; and whatever you do, you carry us back to the pension and dead-weight lists. You must ease the land. You cannot do it by trick: America, and Portugal, and Brazil, will take care of that. You must either reduce the value of the currency, or make a direct deduction from the interest of the debt. It is impossible to suppose that you can do the former, without its being made clear to every living soul, that you are, in an indirect manner, doing the latter. Call your scheme property-tax; or call it what you will; still it will be manifest, that you are deducting from the interest of the debt. And what will be your justification for a measure like this?

Why, the absolute inability of the nation to pay the whole of the interest, in gold and silver, without utter ruin to all persons owning land, or engaged in trade, or in the farming of land; and, when you put forward this argument, will you not be called upon, first, to lop off the six millions a year, or thereabouts, from the pensions, and other lists of idlers? Look once more at the Norfolk petition, if ever you looked at it at all. It is there said (in softer words, perhaps), that that member of parliament would be a roguish villain, who would agree to any proposition for lessening the interest of the fundholders, until the pensions, sinecures, grants, retired allowances, unmerited half-pay, be all swept away; and until the misused church property, and the crownlands, be sold and brought to account; and, indeed, astonishing powers of face you must have, if you propose, either directly or indirectly, even to talk of a reduction of the interest of the debt, until these matters be justly arranged.

Here comes, then, your great difficulty, and the great difficulty of the aristocracy of landholders; they see their estates going away; they have found, even by this time, that Sir THOMAS COTTON SHEPPARD cannot cajole the people; and that the Poor-law Bill will not cram their pockets with the wages of labour. They see their estates going away; they would fain strangle the money-monster; but he, knowing that they dare not touch him without first giving up twelve or fourteen millions, which, altogether, they get out of the taxes; he, knowing this, sees them, who know it also, fawning upon him; and, at last, like the desperate gamester in HOGARTH, clenching their two fists; and holding them above their head; stamping with both feet upon the floor, and ejaculating, from the bottom of their throats, the terrific word "*damnation*"; while the money-monster, full of inward triumph, sniggers in their face!

Ah, sir! I, recollecting the past conduct of this aristocracy towards me, and more deeply feeling the tenor, tendency, and motives of the Poor-law Bill, also snigger at them, as I write this. I, remembering my exile to escape their dungeons, and, again, I say, recollecting

the project for making the people of England live upon a coarser food; I, having these things always in my mind, behold the difficulties and troubles and alarms and dangers of this aristocracy with delight. "There is a viper," said Major CARTWRIGHT, in one of his fine essays in favour of reform, "the bite of which is of so deadly a poisonous nature, that, if by accident, its teeth touch its tail it kills the reptile itself." Thus has it been with this system. To support itself it required a debt; there it bit its tail: the poison has been at work on its frame, from the extremities towards the heart, from which it is now but a very little distant. The debt itself, from its very beginning, was contracted to prevent the people from enjoying their rights. The last six hundred millions of it was contracted for the express purpose of preventing Parliamentary reform. A bare list of the new and severe laws; a short narrative of the military works upon the people, and of the dungeon-works, and of the vigorous works of old GREY, exhibited in his WINCHESTER caravans; a bare list of these things, from the proclamations against PAINE's writings, in 1793, to old GREY's transporting of the Dorsetshire labourers; a bare list of these, would fill a large volume; and this list ought to be made; and the names of the actors ought to be preserved, too, and of the sufferers, along with the account, of the deeds, not by any means omitting that criminal code, of being the author of which you so clamorously boast. Yes, this book ought to be made, while some, at least, of the parties are still alive.

Aye, the viper bit its own tail; and this it is that is now at work in its body; and this it is that is the security of this people. The aristocracy would long ago have reduced the interest of the debt; would long ago have made an "equitable adjustment"; but they knew that the people would never consent to this, and that the Parliament would never dare to consent to it; and to leave them an army and a navy, and pensions and sinecures and dead-weights, by the means of which they put about fourteen millions a year into their pockets. They knew that the people never would consent to

give them four hundred and fifty generals, and two hundred and fifty admirals, and fourteen thousand commissioned officers, while they took away the interest of the fundholders; the people could see no sense in such a proposition, and would, therefore, certainly have rejected it. Sir JAMES GRAHAM's proposition, direct and unequivocal, to deduct thirty per cent from the interest of the debt, at once, to begin with, was, I believe, generally approved by the aristocracy; but when I observed upon this, that the people would insist that such a measure should be preceded by a lopping-off of pensions, sinecures, grants, and the like; by a large reduction of the number of generals, and admirals, and so forth; and by a sweeping away of the whiskered young sons of the aristocracy. Ah! This was another matter, and my Lord and Lady Humdrum, who had been delighted with GRAHAM's pamphlet, began to bethink themselves; and, sitting across a little table, after the servants were gone to bed, and being too old for any other sort of *lôte-à-lôte*, would naturally commune upon the subject in somewhat the following strain:

LORD HUMDRUM. (*With GRAHAM's pamphlet open before him*). I have been thinking, my dear, about this pamphlet of GRAHAM: and I begin to think that it would not do.

LADY HUMDRUM. How changeable you are, my dear! Why, it was but yesterday that you said it would save us all, and pay off the mortgage of that vile wretch MORDECAI, who really comes into the house, as if he was the master of us all; and the brast, the other day, had the impudence to bow, and to compliment ISABELLA, observing that he would be a happy man that should lead her to the altar.

LORD H. Well, my dear, never mind that. 'Tis a Jew that would crucify us, as his progenitors did Jesus Christ; but we have got his money, and can't pay him off.

LADY H. But you said that GRAHAM's project would pay him off all at once; and now you have changed your mind, without any reason.

LORD H. No, my love, not without reason.

LADY H. Well, what reason have you, then?

LORD H. Why, to tell you the truth, I yesterday, at Sir JOHN JOLTERHEAD's, saw a publication in answer to GRAHAM, which proved to me, that we should lose, instead of gain, by GRAHAM's proposition being adopted.

LADY H. Lose! what publication?

LORD H. Why, my dear, it's a little publication that is put out up at London; and though I never saw it before, and though I detest the author, I . . .

LADY H. There, now, tell me what publication it is; tell me the name of it.

LORD H. Why, what signifies the name of it, 'tis the argument that we have to look to; and upon my soul, my dear, I never took it in, and I never read it before.

LADY H. Well, but what publication is it?

LORD H. I don't like to tell you, my love, because I am afraid it will throw you into a passion. Well, then, I was over at Sir JOHN's yesterday; he was 'nt at home; but I found Mr. SHARPSHINS, the steward, waiting for him. He was reading a paper, and seeing me, he crammed it into his pocket. I insisted upon seeing it; and when he pulled it out, I found that it was COBB.

LADY H. (*Falling down upon a sofa*). Oh, wretched man! and have you been reading the trash of that bloody-minded villain, who has so often instigated the people to chop us all up, and fling us to the hogs! We are come to a fine pass at last! (*She weeps and cries out loud*).

LORD H. Well, my love; but I hate the villain as much as you do; and you know how I have been trying to get something against him to cause him to be hanged; but you know that, as the poet says, "we may profit from the reasonings of our enemies."

LADY H. Don't tell me of profiting from reading Cobb's, that monster, whom neither jails nor banishment can kill.

LORD H. Whether the fellow saw paper himself, or not, I do not know; but it has convinced me, that we shall be ruined by the adoption of the project of GRAHAM.

LADY H. But how can it be?

LORD H. I can't remember all that the fellow says; but it is full of curiosity, and of interest for us, my dear.

LADY H. How should the fellow know any thing about us?

LORD H. He does know a great deal about us, and that you would see, if you could see the paper.

LADY H. I should like to see it, out of curiosity. Can't you send and borrow it from Mr. SHARPSHINS?

LORD H. I don't know that Mr. SHARPSHINS would like to have it known that he takes it in.

LADY H. Can't you send and get it from London? I want to see it so monstrously.

LORD H. (*Slipping his hand into his coat-pocket, pulling out the Register, and tossing it down upon the table.*) There it is, then, my dear!

LADY H. (*Starting back.*) Oh, Lord! I almost think I see the devil!

LORD H. Well, now, do be cool a little, and I will read the paper to you all through. (*He begins with that letter to GRAHAM, in which I tell him, that the pensions, sinecures, grants, retired allowances, unmerited half-pay, the major part of the church-property, and the crown-lands, with a resumption of the same; that an abolition of all the former, and a resumption and sale of the two latter, must all go BEFORE his reduction of thirty per cent. from the interest of the debt.*)

LADY H. (*When my lord comes to the word "sinecures".*) Oh, Lord!

LORD H. There, you see, my dear, though this Cobbett is a villain, still, you may depend upon it, that we, the two Houses of Parliament, could not send the widows and orphans of the funds to starve upon the highway, or perish with cold; while that great golden man, Mr. ALEXANDER BARING tells us that every inch of land in the country is *monigaged* to the fundholders!

LADY H. (*Fetching a deep sigh, and wiping her eyes at the same time.*) But my dear, how do you make it out THAT WE SHOULD LOSE?

LORD H. Take that piece of paper, my dear, and that pen, and just put down

the sums. The debt costs the nation thirty millions a year; but a very great part of it is *paid by the working-people*, while we escape it, or very nearly so. For instance, we make them pay 200 per cent. duty on their beer, while we pay 30 per cent. duty on our wine. If a farmer or tradesman die, leaving a thousand pounds amongst his relations, those relations have to give, in stamp-duties and expenses, about fifty pounds to the Government. If my estate in land be worth a hundred thousand pounds, and I leave it amongst my relations, those relations have not to pay one single farthing to the Government! Yes, yes, we take pretty good care of ourselves in this matter.

LADY H. You would be fools not to do it, when you have the staff in your own hands.

LORD H. Still, however, the fundholders do sweat us; and, as we cannot bring the labourers down to potatoes and salt, I calculate that the interest of the debt costs me two thousand pounds a year, at the least.

LADY H. Well, how can we lose by the adoption of Sir JAMES GRAHAM's proposition?

LORD H. Take that piece of paper, my dear, and the pen, and we will see now.

LOSS.	
Money paid to fundholder in taxes	£ 2,000
GAIN.	
Amount of sinecure to myself, deducting tax	£ 700
Amount of my half-pay as a general	500
Amount of Tom's pay, as a captain, clear of expenses	100
Amount of HARRIET's husband's half-pay, as lieutenant-colonel	400
Amount of DAVID's full-pay, and bat and coal and candle-money	400
Amount of the living of SARAH's husband, in the parish of Tumble-church, a clear	700
Value of the seven yearly weedings of the forest, per annum	1,300
Carried forward	£ 4,100

Brought forward.	£4,100
DICK'S salary, as Commissioner of	
Excise.....	1,000
PETER'S income, as Distributor of	
Stamps	800
	5,900
	2,000
	£ 3,900

LORD H. Thus, you see, my love, if there be any truth in vulgar arithmetic, we should lose 3,900*l.* a year, by clever GRAHAM'S invention to save our estates.

LADY H. What a fool that GRAHAM must be, not to see this! And this villain, Cobbett, is our best friend after all.

Now, Sir ROBERT PERL, this is much about the condition, and this is the mode of reasoning, of, I verily believe, more than two-thirds of the great landholders. So that the question is not, whether you be willing, or not willing, to reduce the interest of the debt; but whether you be willing, and able, to sweep away these enormous abuses; and, without the "pressure from without" at your back, you are not able to do it. That pressure, however, you will certainly have, whether you call for it, or not. It is not now a question of noise; you will hear no more empty noise: the people will come with sense, reason, justice, on their lips: they will demand their rights, and they will have them. And, as the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, so you, who must see proofs enough that the unanimous voice of the people calls for a suppression of these enormous abuses; you, fearing the ultimate effects of their just resentment, will show your wisdom, in quickly, and cheerfully, yielding to their reasonable demands.

I remain, sir,

Your most-obedient
and most humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

IRISH ANTI-TORY ASSOCIATION.

Dublin, 13. Feb., 1835.

DEAR SIR,—At a numerous meeting of the Anti-Tory Association of Ireland held, yesterday, in the Corn Exchange, John Guthrie, Esquire, barrister-at-law, in the chair, Mr. O'Connell moved, seconded, by Mr. Marcus Costello: "That the marked thanks of the Association be given to William Cobbett, M.P., for the able and powerful manner in which he advocated the rights of the people of Ireland, in his late visit to this country, and that they feel convinced he will be found amongst those 'LIBERALS' whose exertions will be used on the 19. instant, to prevent the appointment of Manners Sutton to the office of Speaker to the House of Commons."

It gives me particular pleasure in being the humble instrument appointed to convey the above resolution to the first literary character of his day, and for whom I entertain sentiments of the highest respect and admiration.

I have the honour to be,

Dear sir,

Your very obedient servant,

EDWARD DWYER.

Sec. A. T. Association of Ireland.

William Cobbett, Esq. M.P.,

&c. &c. &c.

TO

M^r. EDWARD DWYER,

Secretary of the Anti-Tory Association of Ireland.

Normandy Farm, 17. Feb., 1835.

DEAR SIR,—I have duly received your letter, dated in Dublin, on the 13. of this month, inclosing a vote of thanks of your Association to me, for my having advocated the rights of the people of Ireland, and expressing the conviction of the Association, that I should be found amongst those "LIBERALS," whose exertions will be used in the House of Commons, to prevent the appointment of Mr. MANNERS SUTTON to the office of Speaker of the House.

Sir, in the first place, permit me to express my sorrow that there should exist

an association in any part of the kingdom, whose professed object is to raise and support a cry against any portion of the members of Parliament, under any name or denomination whatsoever. I never belonged to any club or association of any description, in the whole course of my life; and I never knew, in the end, any good to arise from any such combination. Party has well been denominated "the delusion of the many for the gain of a few"; and such I have always observed it to be.

In the next place, sir, you call upon upon me to join the LIBERALS. I have always detested the word: it means any thing, or nothing, just as the parties please: it is a word which is used in France by those infamous rulers who compel the journalists each to be a fundholder to the amount of four thousand eight hundred pounds sterling, as one of the conditions on which he is allowed to print; and who are the "LIBERALS" whom your Association is convinced I shall join upon this occasion? Surely not those who brought in, and carried through, the Irish Coercion Bill; and whose predecessors (in 1807) framed the *very first* Coercion Bill that ever was proposed for Ireland! Surely, not those men whom Mr. O'CONNELL denominated the basest and blackest of tyrants, and the *very first* King's speech of whose advising, he very justly denominated a "bloody speech"! Surely, not those men, whose "*vigour*" sent three hundred English labourers into slavery (the greater part of them for life), leaving behind them upwards of seven hundred fatherless children, nearly two hundred husbandless wives, and more than a hundred and fifty broken-hearted parents! Surely, not these "LIBERALS"; surely, not those vigorous "LIBERALS," who rejected our numerous and pathetic petitions to spare the poor Dorsetshire labourers, whose only offence was, that of endeavouring, without any violence whatsoever, to obtain a rise in their wages, in contravention of a law, of the existence of which they had no knowledge whatever! Surely, you do not wish me to join men who did this thing, against which my sensible and sincere consti-

tuents so loudly and so justly protested, and who gave proof of their sincerity, by raising amongst them two hundred and twenty-five pounds to be sent to the relief of the wives and children of these labourers! Surely, sir, you do not request me to join "LIBERALS" who hatched, who brought in, who pushed on, in the most clandestine manner, a bill, avowedly intended by them, to reduce the working people of England to a coarser sort of food, and who seemed bent upon the project of bringing the working-people of England down to the state of your own wretched countrymen!

Sir, I am much obliged to you for the civil expressions contained in your letter; and I am not at all disposed to impute insincerity either to you, or to the Association of which you are the secretary; but I cannot disguise from myself the fact that, at the very time that you were thus addressing me, the official paper of the Association, namely, the *Pilot*, was pouring forth upon me calumnies as foul as ever appeared in the columns even of an Irish newspaper; imputing to me a desire to perpetuate the Protestant church in Ireland; though I was publishing, at the same time, that nothing could restore peace in Ireland but an abrogation of the Protestant hierarchy; imputing to me a desire to blunt the feelings of the English people towards the Irish, by obtaining for the former plenty of good food, and plenty of good drink; and representing the repeal of the malt-tax as a scheme for inducing the people of England to assent to the upholding of bad government in Ireland. This official paper complains that plenty of beer and of bacon are my sole tests of political good. Add *bread*, if you please; add good clothing, if you please; add, at least, smocks for the women, if you please, and shoes and stockings, and something to cover the head. Add these, together with glass windows to their dwellings; bedsteads and beds and bedding; add a privy to each house; and then your official paper is quite correct: these are, with me, the tests of political good; and, sir, from the bottom of my soul I detest those "LIBERALS," whose schemes embrace nothing but what they call "*intellectual enjoy-*

ment," while the miserable carcasses under their dominion are perishing with hunger and with cold; and who, while they amuse us with the talk of liberality, take care to keep us infested with spies to watch us every moment of our lives.

With regard to my vote, sir, relative to the choice of a Speaker, I beg leave to assure you, that it will not be given without due reflection on what is due from me towards the kingdom in general, and towards my excellent constituents in particular. And, sir, with this assurance,

I remain,
Your most obedient,
and most humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

TO THE

READERS OF THE REGISTER.

TAKE the following from the DUBLIN "Pilot" of the 11. instant; compare it with the letter of Mr. DWYER to me; and be informed that this paper is published by that Mr. BARRETT, who was sent to prison for publishing a letter of Mr. O'CONNELL, and whose is really the official newspaper of this Anti-Tory Association. You will see, that this man is against the repeal of the malt-tax, as being something *injurious to Ireland*. Mr. FINN introduced me to Mr. SMITHWICK, a most respectable gentleman of KILKENNY, who took me to his house, who treated me there in the most kind and generous manner, who treated all my friends that came near me in the same way, at whose house I was visited by two Catholic bishops, and a great many Catholic clergymen. Now, this Mr. SMITHWICK assured me, that the repeal of the malt-tax would be a greater benefit to Ireland than even to England; and I met with no gentleman in Ireland, who felt for the people of that country, who did not say the same thing; it being their conviction that nothing else than the introduction of beer into common use could check the drinking of whiskey, which every one knows to be the greatest of all the curses of that unhappy country. With this fact in your minds, read the

abuse poured out upon me by this profligate hack of the Anti-Tory Association.

TORYISM—IRELAND.

It ought to be deeply impressed upon the people of this country, and actively influence the conduct of their representatives at this juncture, that although the Tory Ministry may usher in its administration for England with some plausible theories of reform, and some immediate relief from obnoxious impost, in order to bribe John Bull into acquiescence, and detach him from the common cause, still that Ireland will, from the very nature of the circumstances with which the Ministers are surrounded, be surrendered to an unmitigated, cruel, and bloody despotism, because it will be surrendered to that atrocious faction, who so long trampled upon this country, and renders it, as if solemnly selected and dedicated to be the future scourge of England. The tenure by which the present Ministers hold office, is to preserve the rotten corporations, and more rotten church of Ireland, and the only expedient which can be suspected even by weakness and wickedness, as affording a chance of this, is to surrender Ireland to the ferocious faction.

This obstinate and insane determination to perpetuate misgovernment involves the other expedient to which we have before alluded, namely, to bribe the English by vague promises of reform, and some actual relief from burden at first, to acquiesce in the trampling down of Ireland. We shall, therefore, not be surprised to find the parliamentary campaign opened by the Tory Ministry with something to win the English.

Mr. Cobbett, we perceive, with his usual judicious interest for Ireland, kindly suggests a plan for the Tories to effect the very thing we would guard against. In the last number of *Cobbett's Register* he calls upon the Ministers immediately to remit the malt-tax, expressly for the purpose of stopping John Bull's mouth, and enabling the Ministers to perpetuate the church and every other abuse. He says distinctly, that if the English got this beverage cheap and

plenty—with the foaming tankard in his hand, John Bull would not care a farthing for the church, and, of course, in that case, Ireland may whistle for any chance of amelioration, for no whistling would enable her to procure it, standing, as he then implies we should stand, unaided and alone. We thank Mr. Cobbett, on behalf of Ireland, for his kindness to us. We have long been accustomed to similar favours from his hands occasionally, and particularly on vital junctures for Ireland. It may do very well for Mr. Cobbett, whose world seems to be the English bolters of bacon—for Mr. Cobbett, who declares a peasant has no business to read—for him who writes, as if beer and bacon were the sole end, object, and test of political good, and big blubber cheeks the sole end and test of plenty of beer and bacon—for him who, with all his cleverness, maintains various other positions in politics, most peculiar certainly, if not most absurd, mischievous, and untenable—for such a man to seize upon the present critical juncture, at the expense of Ireland and reform, to throw out a lure to procure for his chaw-bacon the sole end and object, according to him, of human existence, is natural enough, and, with his avowed English predilections, may be, perhaps, in him justifiable. But as we have a different estimate of political good from this clever writer—as we hold Ireland, subordinate as her interests may be thought in a political sense, as the chief object of our interest—as we fancy intellectual freedom to be a human good as well as a full belly, and that a thin freeman may be as happy as a fat slave—as we estimate the supply of the comforts of life not alone by their immediate enjoyment, but by the security with which they may be enjoyed, which security cannot exist without protection and equal law—we protest against the efficacy of this Cobbett's project for preserving the church and all other abuses. On the contrary we see in those abuses, to be so preserved, not only actual grievances, but witnesses of mischievous power, the instigating motive and operative means by which all abuses are upheld.

Should Mr. Cobbett succeed in his

advice—should his plan be adopted by the Tories—should they be able to make the English people the swilling, fat, slothful, and contented beasts which seems to be Mr. Cobbett's *beau idéal* of peasant perfection—should the English operatives, bribed by the foaming tankard, remain passive, while Ireland was mutilating, and English abuses consolidating, the foaming tankard itself would be a fleeting enjoyment. The power which took it away before would take it away again, when the apathy engendered by the opiate had prostrated the guzzlers at the feet of the oligarchy. That oligarchy exists but to luxuriate on the poor man's comforts, and, in yielding a portion for a season of its spoils only does so as a lure to cement the power by which it will hereafter be enabled to take them back again.

Why do we allude so pointedly to this scheme? Because we believe it will be attempted, and because it should operate as an additional stimulant to induce every Irishman to meet the danger on the very threshold—to rally to the first struggle, and beat down the tyranny before it has time—with the aid of Cobbett—to detach the democracy of England by the sed of cheap hate. To your posts, then, sons of Ireland, and on the nineteenth of February declare, in the rejection of the Tory Speaker, that Toryism itself, which prepares this lure, must give way before it has time to carry its devices into effect. There is no device—no illusion—no bribe, which Toryism will not employ to procure even the absence of Reformers on that occasion. Those who are absent will, therefore, play the game of treason, and must endure the opprobrium of traitors. There can be no half measures—no excuses now, when Ireland, free and tranquil, because well governed, or Ireland surrendered to the devastating misgovernment of a blood-thirsty faction, instigating a hideous convulsion—are the questions to be decided, perhaps, by the first division. By this test the sincerity of every Irish liberal member will be tried. Will he or will he not be present the first day of the opening of Parliament, and vote on the first division against Toryism? He who

does this is for, and he who neglects it is against Ireland. Never, never shall he be forgiven.

PEOPLE OF OLDHAM.

I HAVE often boasted of the character of my constituents; I insert the following paragraph, not only as proof of the correctness of my opinion with regard to that character; but in the hope that their conduct may be an *example* to the rest of the nation; and, if that example were followed by only one-half of the nation, we should not be long in the perilous and miserable state in which we now are. I take the paragraph from a MANCHESTER paper.

LORD FRANCIS EGERTON'S VISIT TO OLDHAM.

On Wednesday last, Lord Francis Egerton and his appendage, the Hon. Mr. Wilbraham, paid a reluctant and tardy visit to Oldham, for the purpose of paying their court to the electors of that town and neighbourhood. A number of their friends were collected to receive them in the Grammar-school, where Lord Francis made a speech of some length, avowing himself a conservative, and a reformer, and in short going over the ground which he had travelled on several former occasions. Mr. Wilbraham followed, but contented himself by saying "ditto" to Lord Francis. A number of questions were then put to the two candidates by Messrs. Knight, Halliday, Knott, and Halliwell, which Lord Egerton was kind enough to answer both for himself and his colleague. After the meeting was over, the friends of the two candidates repaired to the Angel Inn, where a collation had been prepared for them. In this, of course, there was nothing to blame; but during the time the party were at the inn, something took place which is deserving of the most severe reprehension, as the commencement of a practice in the election for this division which we had hoped would never have found a footing there. A number of people being assembled round the inn, a quantity of ale was let down by a string

from one of the windows, which was very soon drunk by some ostlers and coach-cads, who were waiting about. Immediately afterwards a *barrel of ale* was sent into the street, with a supply of mugs, and an invitation for all to partake who might feel inclined to do so. To the great honour of the working people of Oldham, however, with the exception of the loose fellows above mentioned, not a man was inclined to taste it; and the beer was at last sent back into the house untouched. A number of men were then sent out of the house with large cans of beer, which they offered to distribute amongst the crowd; but with the exception of some thirty or forty of the very lowest of the populace, nobody tasted it; every decent working man who was present feeling an honest indignation at this scandalous attempt to introduce the old Tory practice of bribing them by liquor. A second barrel was afterwards brought into the street, but with no better success than the first; indeed it was with some difficulty that the people were prevented from bursting it; and they did overturn many of the cans that were sent out of the house. All these disgraceful proceedings, we believe, passed under the eyes of Lord Francis Egerton; and, of course, we must presume that they were done with his concurrence. If, however, he expected to obtain popularity by them, he must have been undeceived on his departure; for instead of cheers from the people who were assembled in the streets, he received, on entering his carriage, a volley of hisses and groans, which overpowered the greetings of his Tory friends. We understand, too, that many of the electors, who were previously inclined to vote for his lordship, have had their intentions entirely changed by this first attempt to introduce a scandalous system of drunkenness and riot into the proceedings of a Lancashire county election.

CHURCH REFORM.

REMARK. That I beg you to read the following two articles, and to observe well the sources from which they come. The one is from the *John Bull*; which is

emphatically called the parson's paper; the other is an extract from the *Salisbury Journal*.

(From the *John Bull*, 15. Feb. 1835.)

"Amongst the many inquiries that have been, or may be, set on foot, relative to the affairs of the church, it seems to us that as useful a one as any, would be to ascertain, by a commission, whether the lay-impropriators observe the conditions on which Henry VIII. granted to their ancestors various abbey-lands, tithes, and other ecclesiastical revenues. It is tolerably certain that the King did not grant a greater interest in these possessions, than he himself therein had: that there were conditions annexed to this property, when these revenues came into possession of the crown, may be seen by a reference to the statute.

"An Act of Parliament would easily supply any defect in the common law to remove any gross neglect that may be discovered amongst this class, who possess no small share of ecclesiastical revenue."

(From the *Salisbury Journal*, 9. Feb. 1835.)

The following account of the situation of a minister of the established church, by the Rev. Canon Bowles, of Salisbury, cannot fail to be read with peculiar interest at the present moment:—"Not one clergyman in twenty has one-fourth or one-fifth of tithes at all. The clergy visit the sick; the clergyman is at his post; the clergyman, standing between the rich and poor, is, in remote parishes (of course there are exceptions), the poor man's only friend. Yet the tithes—the great tithes—are paid at the highest value, in most cases, to some distant lay-impropriator. Between Bath and Marlborough, every living is in other hands than those of the clergyman. Corham is scarcely worth 200*l.* a year to the vicar; but the rector, a gallant and amiable admiral, whose parish is the Atlantic or Mediterranean (Sir Harry B. Neale), receives 3,000*l.* a year! Crewkerne, in Somerset, the same; Ilminster the same; Marshwood, in Dorset, the

same: the lay-impropriators are the rectors, living at a distance, and yet receiving much. Respecting the latter place,—poor Marshwood—the last Minister that did duty there was John Brice, M.A., of Magdalen College, Oxford, whence he was ejected in 1662. Singular enough, the same year the church fell down, and nothing has since been done to rebuild it; and now the spot can scarcely be traced—*periere ruina*—where it stood, and *there* the cattle graze where the rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep."

"There, the sound of a church-going bell,
"Its fields and its woods never hear;
"Never sigh at the sound of a knell,
"Or smile when the Sabbaths appear.

"Thus (exclaims Mr. Bowles), not only all the lands are taken away, but most of the tithes; and the clergyman might well say, 'Give me back *half* you took from me—excuse me from paying poor-rates—Government taxes of all kinds—keep my house in repair—educate my children—provide for my wife and children only some independent comforts when I am dead, and most cheerfully would I pay for the repairs of the whole church, as I now do of the chancel and the parsonage-house, keep *all* the sick, aged, and needy poor, give the bishop *half* instead of a quarter, and pay the first-fruits and tenths—*bond fide, ad valorem*—into the bargain.' This is the proper way of meeting the objection; but though there are so many well-informed gentlemen in the House of Commons, and many who would be inclined to answer, or glad to hear these charges answered, the obvious refutation has not been satisfactorily brought forward in that assembly. And yet *one* has done it—the last man that could have been expected to do it—Mr. Cobbett; no clergyman's friend; and his speech roused more *bile* in certain quarters than ever did a speech within the walls of Parliament."

Wonders will never cease! The very thing which is here said by the *John Bull*, I say, only more elaborately, and producing proof for what I say, in the *Introduction to the second volume of the*

PROTESTANT REFORMATION. The speech, of which Mr. Canon BOWLES speaks, was not a speech, but a proviso, proposed to be inserted in the Poor-law Amendment Bill, and which was in somewhat the following words: "Provided always, that, "in all assessments to be hereafter made "for the relief of the poor, the overseers "of each parish shall, before they make "any assessment on any other property "in the parish, assess the incumbent of "the living to the amount of one-third "part of the annual worth of the said "living; that he shall also assess all "lay-tithes and abbey-lands in the said "parish, to the amount of one-third part "of their annual rent, or profit; that he "shall then, if more be still needed, assess all the other real property of the "parish, including the revenue of the "incumbent, and the rent of the lay-tithes and abbey-lands; seeing that, "according to the statutes, and to the "common law, one third part of the "annual worth of the living, as well as "one-third part of the annual worth of "the lay-tithes and the abbey-lands, are "already applicable to the relief of the "poor, if so much be needed for that "purpose."

This is the thing that Mr. Canon BOWLES alludes to; and that it did stir up a good deal of "*bile*" there can be no doubt. However, to this, if not to more than this, it must come at last: the apostacies and the plunderings of the savage tyrant, Henry the 8th, and of his miserable and wicked children, have yet to be atoned for. The effect of those plunderings has been working along from that day to this; and it may be truly said of the inheritors of this plundered property: "The fathers ate sour grapes, and "the children's teeth have been set on "edge."

When I first mentioned this matter; when I first asked men to look at the conditions upon which lay-tithes and abbey-lands were granted, I was looked upon as a sort of antiquarian, talking of things, very curious, but of no use. It has amused me to perceive how the nation has been approaching, by degrees, to the point at which it is now arrived, I told Lord JOHN RUSSELL, in 1828, that

he had made the first step towards bringing us to the abbey-lands. We took up the step from him, and we have been marching on ever since. Our strides have lately been very long, and have been taken very quickly; and the *John Bull* seems to be got pretty nearly to the end of the journey, to which I welcome him, with all my heart. Ah! it was sure to be thus: neither church, nor anything else of an establishment, can stand before a money-monster of eight hundred millions.

CHURCH REFORM COMMISSION.

THE following is the commission; but it will effect nothing to give any satisfaction to the people:

WHITEHALL, 3. FEB. 1835.—The King has been pleased to direct letters patent to be passed under the Great Seal, appointing his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Right Hon. Lord Lyndhurst, Lord High Chancellor, his Grace the Archbishop of York, the Right Hon. the Earl of Harrowby, the Right Rev. Lord Bishop of London, the Right Rev. Lord Bishop of Lincoln, the Right Rev. Lord Bishop of Gloucester, the Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel, Bart., the Right Hon. Henry Goulburn, the Right Hon. Charles Watkin Williams Wynn, the Right Hon. Henry Hobhouse, and the Right Hon. Sir Herbert Jenner, knt., his Majesty's Commissioners for considering the state of the several dioceses in England and Wales, with reference to the amount of their revenues, to the more equal distribution of episcopal duties, and to the prevention of the necessity of attaching, by commendam, to bishopricks, benefices with cure of souls; also for considering the state of the several cathedral and collegiate churches within the same, with a view to the suggestion of such measures as may render them most conducive to the efficiency of the established Church; and for devising the best mode of providing for the cure of

souls, with special reference to the residence of the clergy on their respective benefices.

SEED BAGS.

Normandy Farm, 14, February, 1835.

The following is a list of the Seeds in the bag. A copy of it will be found in each bag. Each bag is 10s. 6d. There are no larger bags; because it has been found inconvenient; and, in the case of LARGE GARDENS, two or three bags may be had; which will be convenient, too, for different sowings. I trust that the Seeds will now be found to be *safely done up*; and I pledge myself for their *goodness*. The number on the bags tells the *sort* that is within. Owing to an accident, the list is *not quite alphabetical*; but, this is of no importance.

No.

1. Asparagus.
2. Windsor Bean.
3. Long-pod Bean.
4. Early Masagan Bean.
5. Scarlet Running Kidney Bean.
6. White Running Kidney Bean.
7. Black Dwarf Kidney Bean.
8. Dun. ditto
9. Speckled ditto.
10. Best, blood Red.
11. White Broccoli.
12. Purple ditto.
13. Early York Cabbage.
14. Savoy.
15. Scotch Kale.
16. Carrot.
17. Cauliflower.
18. Celery.
19. Chervil.
20. Cress.
21. Endive.
22. Leek.
23. White Coss Lettuce.
24. Mustard.
25. Onion.
26. Parsnip.
27. Parsley.
28. Knight Pea.
29. Early Scarlet Radish.
30. White Turnip Radish.

31. Spinage.
32. Squash.
33. Garden Turnip.
34. Cucumber.
35. Green Cabbage Lettuce.
36. Green Coss Lettuce.
37. Cobbett Corn.
38. Early Dwarf Cabbage.
39. Early Battersea Cabbage.
40. Early-frame Pea.
41. Dwarf Marrowfat Pea.
42. Tall Marrowfat Pea.

N.B. I have no *Cis-Alpine Strawberry Seed*; but, packets of *fine plants*, at 2s. 6d. each packet; which will bear great crops this year. To be had at Bolt-court.

MEETING OF WEAVERS' DELEGATES.

ON Monday, a meeting of the delegates from the different districts in Paisley, and the west country towns, took place in the Saracen's Head Inn. The business was opened by Mr. John Mitchell, chairman of the committee; after which Mr. Archibald Mavor was called to preside. He stated that an address, expressive of their opinion of Mr. Maxwell's services had been drawn up, and would be read to them. This meeting took place for the purpose of taking into consideration what measures it might be necessary to adopt previous to the meeting of Parliament, to obtain the assistance and co-operation of those who are friendly to the appointment of Local Boards of Trade for the regulation of weavers' wages.

Letters were read from Sir M. S. Stewart, member for the county, from A. G. Spiers, Esq., member for Paisley, and from Robert Wallace, Esq., member for Greenock, which stated, that in consequence of particular engagements, they could not attend, but that they were willing to lend their aid to carry the proposed measure into effect.

The secretary, Mr. M. Farlane, said, that they were all aware of the difficulties under which Mr. Maxwell laboured in bringing their case before Parliament, and obtaining an investigation into the

cause of their distress. It appeared to be the opinion of many of the members of Parliament, that the hand-loom weavers were a class that were unworthy to be listened to. They knew that their friend, Mr. Maxwell, had taken a warm interest in their affairs on many occasions, and he thought that they were more indebted to that gentleman than to any other member of Parliament. (Great applause).

Mr. JAMES YOUNG read the address, which was carried by acclamation.

Mr. MAXWELL said that he considered that he had simply done his duty in the exertions which he had made in behalf of the hand-loom weavers, whose condition was so hurtful to the rest of the community, and he thought that it was impossible that the state of suffering to which they were reduced could continue, without the whole interests of the empire being affected by it. In bringing their case before Parliament, he had to contend with a strong opposition, for there were men who appeared to look on weavers as mere machines, not much removed from the brute animal. There were men, who by looking into books of political economy, had received impressions which steeled their hearts against the sufferings of their fellow-creatures, much in the same way as if they were reading of some disaster that had happened in the Atlantic ocean, or most distant part of the world. But from whatever cause this apathy had arisen, it was evidently at variance with the rights of society, and the principles of the Christian religion, for it was unjust in principle, and unfair in practice. He had particularly directed his attention to the condition of the hand-loom weavers, since his return from the metropolis. With the view to obtain as accurate information as possible, he had always attended their meetings, not fearing to come into contact with them, though he had been sorry to observe so many of them with ragged clothes, in consequence of their want of means, and he would have been glad to have seen those meetings better attended by persons of influence. He had found men among the weavers as intelligent as many of those who had better opportunities of acquiring intellectual knowledge. In urging their claims for legislative in-

terference, he had not found that support from the press which he had expected, with the exception of the *True Sun*, and sometimes a paragraph in the *Morning Chronicle*. He had been opposed, too, by those politicians who advocated the principles of the free trade system, but he trusted that this opposition would give way, and that, considering the urgency of the case, they would consent to allow a trial to be made of the Local Boards of Trade. He hoped that they would have the pleasure of seeing this measure receive the sanction of Parliament in the ensuing session. He did not wish them to array themselves as political partisans, but to take every fair and reasonable means to state their grievances. He did not wish them to supplicate the Government as humble dependants, but to point out in strong and becoming language the right they had to have their labour protected as fully as any other property in the country. He thought they had a right to show, as had been already shown, that the claims of half a million of men ought to be attended to. They had a right to point out to other classes the inevitable consequences that must arise to them if the wages of the hand-loom weavers are not improved. Should this not take place, other classes will be brought down to the same level, they were all embarked in the same vessel, and must sink or swim together. The great object was not merely to save them from sinking, but to raise them in the scale of society. He had appealed frequently to that class who live on the taxes, not to allow the case of the hand-loom weavers to be neglected, for it was by restoring a competency to them, that they would best insure the value of their own properties. He had got an admission from a great man among them, that this state of things should not be allowed to continue. If they could but be brought to look to their own interests, they would see the necessity of this. It would only have the effect of making them pay a little more for those articles of dress which were worn by their wives and daughters. These considerations should stimulate every man with a well constituted mind to lend his aid in bettering the condition of the hand-loom weavers. They were a valuable

class of men, and many of them had fought and bled in the service of their country; let, therefore, some little thousandth part of the wealth of the rich flow back among them. He recommended them in this case, in making their application to the present Government, to act in the same manner as they did with the last, there may be men among them that may be induced to listen to their claims, but if there was one class more than another that ought to support their claims, it was the agriculturists. Were the weavers paid adequately for their labour, the farmer would be the first to feel this in the increased demand for his wheat, his butter, and his cheese: it was his interest that they should be as happy and comfortable as himself. He recommended them to make a call on the little stock-jobber, on shopkeepers, and every person that could have any influence in advancing their claims. There was one class that were able to lend them valuable aid, could they be induced to come forward—the clergy of Scotland—but he was sorry to say that he had received little assistance from them. He hoped that he did not do them injustice in stating this, but he thought that it was their duty to have come forward and petitioned in favour of the hand-loom weavers. He thanked them for the flattering manner in which they had spoken of his services. He begged leave to take this opportunity of stating that he had received valuable assistance from two members of Parliament—Mr. Fielden and Mr. Brotherton, the former of whom had made great exertions to shorten the hours of labour. The object that he and others had in view, was the same as had been carried into effect in this town, and had been acted upon for a number of years. All that was wished was, that the manufacturers should have a fair profit, and the weaver a fair remuneration for his labour as the state of trade would warrant. Mr. Fielden was perhaps the fittest member to advocate their cause, as he was an extensive proprietor of cotton-mills, and a manufacturer of cloth by power-loom, and employed 1100 hands, and on that account would be listened to with more attention than any other member, supported as he

would be by a number of intelligent manufacturers. If the plan of Boards of Trade was adopted, it would check the efforts of those who, instead of being free traders, he looked upon as freebooters. He recommended them to address Lord Stanley (who was a nobleman of extensive influence), and Mr. Fielden, the latter of whom was better qualified than any other member to support their views in the House of Commons. He (Mr. M.) recommended them to make an early application to Mr. Fielden. After a number of other observations, for which we cannot find room, he concluded by stating, that if he could be of any use in furthering their cause, they might command his services in the matter. During his speech, the hon. member was frequently interrupted by the applause of the meeting.

Mr. JOHN WOOD, in a neat speech, introduced the first resolution. He hoped that a brighter era was before them, and that by the exertions of the reformed Parliament, their condition would be improved, and the comfort of their families increased.

1st. "That the end and design of all government is to afford protection to the subject, more especially to prevent the wealthy and powerful from encroaching on the rights of the poor and defenceless, and as the hand-loom weavers of the United Kingdom amount to upwards of 500,000 artisans, the production of whose labour is as necessary to the comfort, convenience, and elegance of society, as that of any other art in the country, we therefore consider that we are justly entitled to receive in return a compensation equal to the wants of our existence."

Mr. A. Campbell, from Johnstone, seconded the resolution in a speech which excited considerable applause. He had expected to have seen six members of Parliament present, and felt much disappointed that none of them had attended but their friend Mr. Maxwell, whom he highly complimented for his great exertions.

Mr. David Allan, from Glasgow, proposed the second resolution. He entered into a short history of the efforts which had from time to time been made by the hand-loom weavers to better their con-

dition, which had led to the efforts now making to obtain the sanction of Parliament for local boards of trade. He drew an affecting picture of the wretched condition of the weavers in Glasgow and its neighbourhood, and the helpless state of their families. He said that neither tea, sugar, nor any of the products of the dairy, found their way to their tables, except buttermilk, that wheaten bread, which was now so cheap, was also a stranger at their board, and might be packed up in bales and sent along with their cotton goods to America. He concluded by calling upon them to support with energy the efforts which were to be made by Mr. Maxwell, Mr. Fielden, and others, in their favour.

2d. "That our labour, although the demand for it has been progressively increasing, has, under the influence of circumstances over which we have not had sufficient control, been depreciated much below the general value of labour in the country; the consequence of which is, that we are not only rendered unable to maintain ourselves and families in an honest and respectable manner, but our abridged income has operated much against the moral, educational, agricultural, commercial, and financial interests of the country."

Mr. WILSON seconded the resolution. He said that within the last fifty years, this country had made such improvements as should have greatly tended to better the condition of the people, but such has not been the case, but he hoped, by the exertions of their friends in Parliament, their condition would be improved.

Mr. WILKIE moved the third resolution. He observed that competition had been carried to such a ruinous extent as greatly to deteriorate the comforts of the people. He pointed out the effects that this system, if continued, would have on the morals of the weaving population. All that they wanted was protection for a Board of Trade to regulate their wages, which was no new plan, as it had been in operation and had wrought well for several years.

3rd. "That the ruinous reduction of our wages is principally occasioned by an

uncontrolled system of competition, which prevails among our employers, whereby an unprincipled, or undermining manufacturer, has an opportunity of reducing the price of our labour, in proportion as he inclines to amass a fortune, or obtain a market for his goods, by underselling his more honourable neighbours. Therefore it is our decided opinion, that Boards of Trade for regulating the price of our labour, are absolutely necessary to check this pernicious practice, protect the honourable trader, give stability to the trade generally, and save the hand-loom weavers from absolute misery."

Mr. COCHRAN, from Barrhead, seconded the resolution, and supported the proposed plan as being well calculated to better their condition in society.

Mr. JAMES ORR moved the 4th resolution, which he fully approved of. It had been stated that the end of all government was the benefit of the people, therefore Government should always listen to their complaints, and adopt such measures as were best calculated to mitigate their sufferings. He paid a high compliment to Mr. Maxwell, and those gentlemen who had supported him, and believed that the weavers of Scotland were not aware of the zeal, diligence, and perseverance which had been manifested by them. He read several extracts from the speech delivered by Mr. Maxwell in Parliament, on moving for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the cause of the distress that existed among the hand-loom weavers. He made some remarks on the currency question, as having had a material influence in the reduction of their wages. Since the opening up of the silk trade with France, the price of these goods in this country had declined to an extent of thirty-three per cent. on plain, and fifty on fancy articles.

4th. "That the cordial thanks of this meeting are due to those members who so ably supported Mr. Maxwell in the committee, namely, Mr. Wallace, Sir M. Stewart, Mr. Gillon, Sir D. K. Sandford, Mr. Halliburton, Mr. R. Oswald, Lord James Stewart, Mr. Cawley, Mr. Bulwer, Mr. Fielden, Mr. Fleetwood, Mr. Brotherton, and Mr. Stanley."

Mr. JOHN ORR, Kilbirnie, seconded the

resolution. A deputation had waited on Mr. Oswald, member for Ayrshire, to ask his support. He stated that he could not say that he understood the question, but had corresponded with Mr. Fielden; and would be guided by him.

Mr. KERR, Stewarton, corroborated the last speaker, and stated that he was instructed to return the thanks of the weavers of Stewarton to Mr. Maxwell for his great exertions. Mr. Oswald stated to them that he would cheerfully support the contemplated measure.

Mr. J. YOUNG proposed the fifth resolution. He entered at some length upon the merits of the question, took a view of the objections which had been made to boards of trade, and endeavoured to obviate them. He made some remarks on the general good feelings which prevailed among the manufacturers.

5th. "That a memorial to the King, and petitions to both Houses of Parliament, from each district connected with our union, founded on these resolutions, be presented at an early period of the ensuing session, and also, that we will request our magistrates, landlords, and merchants to support the prayer of our memorials."

Mr. JOHN ROBERTSON seconded the resolution. He cordially supported a board of trade, which would prevent avaricious individuals from reducing the weaver's wages.

Mr. JOHN CRAIG moved the sixth resolution, as being a measure which was indispensably necessary. Were the price on indentures lowered from 17. to 5s. he believed that they would be increased from one to fifty, or even 100 more than at present, which would be a most important benefit to the trade, the beneficial effects of which would soon be felt.

6th. "That petitions to both Houses of Parliament, for a reduction of the stamp duties on apprentices' indentures, be presented at an early period of the session."

Mr. JAMES FLEMING seconded the resolution, as being one of much utility. Great evils had arisen from the system of taking apprentices without regular indentures; he could not, however, but advert to the evils which machinery had intro-

duced. Old people and young persons found it difficult to procure employment at the loom, the fabrics which they used to work at being now manufactured in power-loom factories. He stated, that in consequence of the avarice of a few individuals, by the introduction of the French cutting machine, 2,000 females had been thrown out of work; and if some means were not taken to procure employment for them, no person could say what would be the result. Merchants, grocers, and even the church itself, would be affected, if some measures were not taken to check this system. For how could the females pay for their seats in places of worship, when their means of subsistence were taken from them?

Mr. HUGH KERR thought the last speaker had wandered from the point before them, which was to take measures to obtain a Board of Trade. He thought that this was the last place to speak against machinery.

Mr. FLEMING explained, by observing, that there was nothing in the resolution against machinery, yet he thought that he was at liberty to state the matter in his own way, as he considered its introduction to be the source of great evil.

Mr. MAXWELL said he would support the last resolution in Parliament with the greatest pleasure. He had been told by Mr. Bulwer, one of the members for Coventry, that the gentlemen were beginning to see that the principles of free trade had been carried too far, and that in consequence of its effects; the people could not pay their local taxes. He pointed out, at some length, the close connexion that ought to exist between the commercial and agricultural interests, because some persons had endeavoured to make it appear that they were very different. The importation of corn would not benefit the farmer, nor the bringing in of manufactured goods benefit the weaver. Their best plan was to see that they obtained a fair remuneration for their labour, and not work too long hours. After a few remarks on the currency question, and the low rates of wages, which had proceeded from the effects of Peel's Bill, he stated that in the inquiries which he had made into the condition of the working

classes in this town and neighbourhood, he had received very valuable information from Sheriff Campbell, William Barr, Esq., Provost Orr, and Hugh Macfarlane, Esq., all of whom were entitled to their thanks. Votes of thanks were accordingly put from the chair to these gentlemen, and carried by acclamation.

Mr. BARR observed that his attendance here to-day was quite accidental. Hearing that his Hon. Friend was present, he had come among them, and had listened with great satisfaction to their deliberations. There was no class in the community in which he felt and had a right to feel such a warm interest. He had heard with pleasure their extensive information on the principles of trade. He had stated his opinions on the proposed formation of a Board of Trade to Mr. Gillon and other members of Parliament, and had impressed on them the propriety of giving the plan a fair trial as a temporary measure. He had told them, that there was no class of tradesmen that required their support more, and were better entitled to it, than the hand-loom weavers of Scotland. He had lately been in a warehouse in Paisley which was filled with goods, and was told by the manufacturers that they were produced at a cheaper rate than could be done by power-looms. He thought that no man should be allowed to make use of his capital in a trade that could not afford more wages for a week's labour than 3s. or 3s. 6d. The effects of the Board of Trade would enable them to obtain something like a fair and reasonable remuneration for their labours.—They had been met by Mr. Hume, who was a most determined enemy to Boards of Trade, and other supporters of the Free Trade System, by the assertion that a measure of this kind would drive the trade to foreign countries—but they ought never to have brought the trade of this country into competition with French manufacturers, until they had taken off a large proportion of the taxes. There were several causes which operated against their trade—but the great cause was the taxes; for he did not think that this country could have stood the struggle so long without the aid of machinery. He would remind

them that the one half of the money which they expended in tea and coffee, sugar and soap, found its way back to the Treasury.—They had three things to contend against—power-loom weaving—competition—but above all the taxes. He concluded by stating, that he had some practical knowledge of the trade, and had furnished his hon. friend with several interesting facts, relative to the prices of weaving at various periods.—(Mr. Barr sat down amidst great applause.)

Mr. Maxwell observed that there were various ways of obtaining relief, one of which was a property-tax; in short, means must be adopted to take the taxes off the shoulders of the working classes, and place them more on the dead weight. He had voted for the repeal of the malt tax, and likewise supported a property tax. He concluded by proposing a vote of thanks to the Chairman, who had conducted the proceedings with much ability. (Carried with great applause). The Chairman thanked them for their favourable opinion, and said, that they had always conducted themselves with propriety. The business commenced at twelve o'clock, and Mr. Maxwell did not leave the meeting until half-past five.

After Mr. Maxwell retired, a committee was appointed, to examine Mr. Fielden's Bill, and co-operate with the Glasgow Committees, in endeavouring to introduce into it any improvements which might be considered necessary, and a deputation, who had called on Mr. Gallowsay, Convener of the shawl manufacturers, stated that that gentleman had promised to them, that he would if possible get the shawl table with the signatures of the Manufacturers attached, published in the papers on Saturday, shortly after which the meeting broke up.

TO JOHN MAXWELL, ESQ., OF
POLLOCK,

MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE
COUNTY OF LANARK.

SIR:—The delegates of the hand-loom weavers in connexion with the Paisley Association, on meeting with you on this auspicious occasion, would beg leave to

present you their most cordial thanks for the very able and zealous manner in which you have laid their long-neglected sufferings and privations before Parliament; and while they do so, they cannot but remark that in pursuing your laudable object, you displayed a generosity and firmness which eventually overcome all obstacles, and has indelibly engraven your name on the hearts of that unfortunate class whose cause you so nobly advocated.

It was for a long period a prevalent opinion among the hand-loom weavers, that the ears of their representatives were closed against their sufferings. That Government cared nothing for them further than as they served the state in contributing to the Exchequer, or filling the ranks of the army, and that but for these considerations, they would be left to pine in still greater wretchedness and misery. But, sir, we are agreeably undeceived on finding that you have taken up our case with an energy and ability worthy of one of the people's representatives, worthy of those patriots whose names shall descend to posterity with increasing renown, and we cherish the fond hope that notwithstanding the opposition you have received from free trade theorists, and others, whose opposition we do not attribute to any hostile feelings towards our claims, but to erroneous views of the subject that you will unceasingly persevere, always remembering that no patriot or philanthropist was ever suffered to prosecute his laudable designs without interruption and opposition. That no measure, however just, politic, or expedient, ever passed into a law without opposition, especially no measure in which the employer and the employed seemed to stand opposite to each other, however flimsy the grounds for such an opinion might be; and we think that we have shown to Parliament and the country at large, that there is nothing inimical to our employers in our requests. Yes, sir, we feel strong in the justness of our claims. We have wives, we have children, we have fathers, we have mothers, for whom we have to provide, and if it be true that our wages are altogether inadequate to support ourselves, and those our near dear relatives dependent on us, would it be unjust, would

it be impolitic, would it be inexpedient in Government to interfere and endeavour to raise the wages of half a million of industrious and ingenious artizans who are placed in these unhappy circumstances? And if it be true that these ill-fated artizans have not demanded an advance of wages, but only requested the Legislature to interfere and prevent unprincipled masters from taking advantage of their necessities, where is the man, or the body of men, or the Government, that will reject their claims, and allow evil men to roam and prey upon their poverty and defencelessness? We trust that such a system will be no longer tolerated, but that oppression and competition will, ere long, be compelled to hide their diminished heads together in the shades of oblivion.

We rejoice, Sir, that while you stood forth and made the ears of the British Senate tingle with the details of our wrongs and sufferings, that you stood not alone—that other noble spirits co-operated with you, among whom we are proud to name Mr. Wallace, Sir M. S. Stewart, Mr. Gillon, Mr. Fielden, and many other honourable gentlemen, whom we ever shall affectionately remember for their able and diligent services both in the House and in the Committee of Enquiry. And we feel assured that when they are called to resume their Parliamentary duties, they will assist you in showing the Representatives of the United Kingdom, that measures must be taken to regulate the prices of hand-loom weaving, and check the demoralizing and distressing tendencies of home-competition.

Sir, in concluding, we again tender you our most sincere thanks, we shall ever cherish your memory, and tell our posterity of your generous actions. May the Supreme Being long bless us with your support, and when you come to the close of your earthly career, we trust you shall not grieve that you have spent much of your strength, time, and means, in laying before the public the distresses of an unfortunate class of society, and endeavouring to ameliorate their condition. Such acts of kindness will impart to your bosom more heartfelt satisfaction, and confer on you more lasting honour than

neither wealth, title, or power can bestow. May you long occupy an honourable place in the Legislative Council of this great and enlightened nation, and still as you return in the intervals of public duty to the venerable abode of your forefathers, may you be accompanied by the approbation and gratitude of your country.

Sir, we have the honour to be, in the name of the Hand-loom Weavers connected with Paisley Association,

Your most obedient Servants,

ARCH. MAVOR, Chairman.

JAMES SLATER, Treasurer.

JAMES M'FARLANE, Secretary.

Paisley, 2. Feb. 1835.

THE SPEAKERSHIP.

Lord F. EGERTON rose and addressed Mr. Leigh in a speech of high eulogy upon the merits of the gentleman whom he was about to propose for the choice of the House, as its guide and the protector of its rights and prerogative. (Hear, hear, hear). He hoped that no circumstances would arise to prevent that gentleman from bringing into the new locality those eminent qualifications with which he had for eighteen years adorned the chair in that building which had been destroyed, and which could only be looked upon as a national calamity. (Hear, hear). Having said so much, it was scarcely necessary for him to say that he spoke of Sir C. M. Sutton. (Vehement cheers from the ministerial benches). Without doubt many gentlemen would speak, and, in the heat of argument, speak harshly, and would assert that his honourable Friend was indebted to the kindness of friends and old recollections for support, but the last Parliament could be adduced as a striking proof to the contrary; as the opinions of many of its members would make the qualifications of his hon. Friend clear to all. He thought the honourable House would not condescend to pay any attention to the scurrility and personalities of the public press. For three months nothing had been left undone to blacken the character of his honourable Friend. His private affairs had been pried into; his visits of

business had been misinterpreted; but even from this ordeal he trusted that his hon. Friend had escaped uninjured, and that his public conduct would not be subjected to the test of accounts in the public papers, avowedly put forth to poison the public mind. From this great occasion of the meeting of the House, it becomes us to approach the election of a speaker with calm deliberation, and also one who, on account of his tried ability and experience, is most adapted to conduct the business of the House with that judgment and discretion with which it has been filled. (Hear, hear). I do regret that it has become imperative on me to address you on this question, or that it should not meet with that unanimity which I think it so well deserves. I do regret, for my own part, that these circumstances should be likely to place us in opposition to many honourable Gentlemen with whom I have been on terms of intimacy, and whom I know, esteem, and regard so much, not as I conceive on one of those questions of great political interest, or of great political discussion, but one on which, I lament to think, that their energies should be lavished and abused, and that it may thereby tend to the collision of parties for whom I entertain marked feelings of friendship and respect. (Hear, hear). At the same time, I do not think that I shall have to hear any of those motions which imply opposition against the motion which I have the honour to submit to the House, founded on any of these charges of notorious absurdity which have found their way into circulation in other quarters, and which, for the last few days, have been before the attention of the public. I do not think that I shall meet with any of those absurd calumnies which have found their way into notice from publications such as the "Mirror of Fashion," and some others which I do not feel myself called upon to name—some of those publications, which gain their mysterious information by tracking out scenes of private life, and reducing them to those purposes which they understand so well. I do not think that I shall have to contradict any of those unfounded imputations, or that the opposition which will

be raised against my right hon. Friend will place its claims on such a source, but on the contrary that the opposition is to be rested on a great public principle. (Tremendous cheering from the opposition benches). I shall content myself by resting his claims on the good sense of this House, and on the known integrity, talent, and courtesy with which he has conducted its business hitherto. The noble Lord whom I believe I may salute as the intended leader of this House (loud cheers from the opposition) whether self-elected (reiterated cheers from the Ministerial benches)—or whether enlisted under the banners of the opposition—amid the clash of weapons, and party strife, I do not know; but it appears he is to be the champion of the party over whom one shout alone predominates, decidedly the shout of a populace, which as yet has been so obscured, that I am left to conjecture about its origin; but which has been promulgated on the hustings to admiring constituents—the principle of condemnation without trial. (Cheers from the Ministerial benches, re-echoed by the Opposition). If this be the principle which is to flash conviction on the doubting, to fix the waverer, and to reinstate the phalanx which by various accidents has been somewhat disbanded, I trust those hon. Gentlemen who support that principle will be able to speak to this House, and to carry that principle into effect without violation of their own consistency, and within the spirit of the principle which on the last occasion they raised very eloquent voices to combat and repudiate; namely, to repudiate political considerations, and the estimation of political opinions on the individual who was to be called to the chair; but, to set aside all other considerations of talent, fitness, ability, experience, and even of what may be new to the ear of some gentlemen, considerations of public utility. Before I conclude the observations I have taken the liberty of addressing to the House upon the motion which I am to make, I may beg to express my confidence that I have avoided any expression which may appear to be clothed with disrespect to any gentleman who has been named by

public report as a candidate for the office. I should have been more content, however, if a task so honourable and so completely consonant with my feelings, that of proposing my right hon. Friend for the Chair, had fallen into worthier, and into hands perhaps more exempt from the suspicion of private partiality. I have the satisfaction however of knowing that my execution of this duty, however imperfect, or however unsatisfactory it may have been to myself, will not be unsatisfactory to a large majority of a great constituency that has sent me here. (Hear, hear, hear). At all events, I am satisfied that if the occasion ever arrive, on which I shall have to answer at the bar of offended public opinion for any errors in judgment or feeling, or any incapacity, I trust that this will be the first occasion and the last on which those who blame me will fix. (Hear, hear). I beg to conclude with moving that the right hon. Sir Charles Manners Sutton do take the Chair. (Loud cheers).

Sir CHARLES BURRELL then rose and said—I do not hesitate to offer myself as the seconder of the motion which has been proposed; but I should hesitate to detain the House with a lengthened speech, after the very eloquent one of the Noble Lord. Though differing, in some respects, with the Right Hon. Gentleman whom he has proposed, I beg to express my conviction of his superiority over every other Member of this House to become its chairman, without meaning to disparage any one, or that other Right Hon. Gentleman, for whom I entertain the highest respect. What I am about to do I do from firm persuasion. I had the honour to second his nomination in the year 1817, and from that time until the present I have noticed his candour, his efficiency, and his impartiality. (Hear). With these feelings I should do injustice to him, and to my own character, if I withheld myself with giving a silent vote on this occasion. (Hear, hear). The House, then, will be justified in supporting this motion, as it was justified in electing him before, by the attention, ability, and efficiency which the Right Hon. Gentleman has displayed. Under such circumstances, I trust the House

will reflect before they decide, and the noble Lord has rightly observed, that we are assembled under very peculiar circumstances. But, under any circumstances, we want a man whose knowledge and talent will assist us in the business of the House; and no man can be more fitted for the chair, and to expedite the business, than one who has had so much practice, and before whom no gentleman, however excellent his character, or however fair his pretensions, can on that account be preferred. I therefore most cordially assent to the motion of the noble Lord, and will not detain the House longer, feeling that any thing I could add would be superfluous.

Mr. DENISON then rose. He said, I can assure the House that it is with great reluctance I rise to trespass upon its attention, and nothing but an imperious sense of duty could induce me to come forward at the present important crisis—at a period in which the public mind is so much excited, and when the eyes, not only of this country and of Europe, but of the whole civilized world, are directed to our proceedings. In a great part of what has fallen from the noble Lord (Sandon), whose appearance in this House I am happy to observe, I fully concur; nor do I object to much that has been expressed by the hon. Baronet, who seconded the motion, in all they have stated respecting the qualities of the right hon. Gentleman, the member for Cambridge, respecting all the virtues of his private character, and respecting the dignified manner in which he demeaned himself while in the chair of this House. (Hear, hear, and cheers). But this is not a question of personal character—it is one in which public principle is involved, (cheers and laughter from the ministerial side); and however the noble Lord may sneer at public principle, I trust the House will not despise it. The noble Lord has thrown more asperity into the debate than, in my opinion, is required; and although he has leaped his light courser beyond bound, I will not now imitate his example. It is, I repeat, on the assertion of a great public principle that I rise to trespass on the attention of the House, called upon, as it now is, to decide upon a question in which the

interests of thousands are involved. His Majesty, in the exercise of his undoubted right, dissolved the last Parliament: the people responded to the call, and have returned a majority of representatives steadily attached to the great principles of the Reform Bill: (Cheers). With all respect for the talents and character of the right hon. the Member for the University of Cambridge, I think it incumbent on this House, that a gentleman should be placed in the chair, the highest situation to which any commoner can aspire, the representative of the greatest assemblage in the universe should be assimilated in principle to the majority of the members over whom he presides, “as coming events cast their shadows before.” We must, in deciding this question, take into consideration the measures which the right hon. Baronet at the head of his Majesty’s Government proposes to bring before the House. In the discussion of Corporation Reform; the Bill for the Relief of the Dissenters; the motion of the hon. Member for St. Albans; and of that crying of all grievances, the State of the Irish Church; in the Discussion as to the Dismissal of the Melbourne Administration unheard and without a trial; without that trial which the right hon. Baronet and his friends around him are so sedulous in demanding, forgetting the principle of “Do as you wish to be done by”; in the debate which must take place on the unprecedented assumption of the reins of Government, for three weeks, by one individual, who however high in station, or renowned for his military achievements abroad, should have been deterred from such a hazardous undertaking. In all these discussions, it will be incumbent on the House to have a gentleman in the chair, who, acting with impartiality and dignity, will agree with the majority of the House. But a time may arrive when a difference of opinion with the other House may take place. In such an emergency, it would be requisite to have a gentleman in the chair whose sentiments will be perfectly identified with the principles of the Reform Bill. In rising to propose the right hon. the member for Edinburgh, as he is present, I cannot say all I think respecting him; but this I must say, that there is no gen-

tleman, in my opinion, of all those whom I have the honour to see around me, more qualified than he is to fill the chair, whether I regard the uniform consistency of his political character; his amiable manners, his long parliamentary experience, or his profound legal knowledge, combining, as he does, a good temper with a clear head, as evinced in many long and trying debates, professing, too, the great principles of the Reform Bill; with such opinions, I flatter myself that all the gentlemen that I have now the honour to address who supported the Reform Bill, or who, on the hustings, avowed themselves supporters of it, not only in letter, but in spirit, I hope that all such will support the motion with which I shall conclude, viz., to put, as I said before, into the first station to which a commoner can aspire, the representative of the greatest assembly in the universe, the right hon. James Abercromby. The right hon. Gentleman sat down amidst loud cheering.

Mr. ORDE then rose to second the nomination which had been made. He said, It is with great reluctance that I now trespass upon the time of the House, but I trust that the occasion will be my apology. (Cheers). I feel a deeper degree of regret when I have to oppose the election of a gentleman whose public services I must acknowledge. (Great cheering). I am as willing as any one to acknowledge those services, but I think that this is an occasion when private opinion must give way to public duty. The choice of a Speaker is not a mere local question, as the noble Lord has said. The question is one looked at by all persons, not only of this country, but of others; it is not looked at as a question of a personal nature, but very justly as the proof of what the Parliament really is. (Cheers). The question most frequently asked is, If the right honourable Gentleman was fitted to fill the situation of Speaker in the last Parliament, why is he not now; what has rendered him unfit to preside over the present one? Into those questions I will not follow the noble Lord; they have been disposed of by my honourable Friend who has proposed the amendment. (Cheers). The only answer to that I can give is, that

the times have changed (cheers), the times and circumstances have totally changed since the election of the right hon. Gentleman. It was generally understood then, that the right hon. Gentleman had retired; he had had his retiring pension fixed (cheers); so that there can be no parallel drawn between the present circumstances and those which actuated the members of the last Parliament. Then, the question was not a test of the state of political parties, as it is now. (Great cheering). The whole country now looks at the present question as one which will decide the question to which their whole attention is directed. (Cheers). His Majesty, who was advised to appeal to the sense of the people and the country, will be very much dissatisfied if the reply to that appeal should be, the very first vote of this House is to place in the chair one whose opinions are not in accordance with the opinions of the great majority of the House. I am obliged to oppose the election of the late Speaker on these grounds; he would not be the representative of the House, would not be the real organ of the House. My hon. Friend, whose nomination I am about to second, has this qualification, that he will in reality be the organ of the House, his opinions being in accordance with those of the majority of the House. (Great cheering). His election will be received by the country as the triumph, not of a party, but of a great public principle. (Great cheering). Such are the grounds upon which I support the nomination of the right hon. Member for Edinburgh to fill the chair of this House. It is with great pleasure that I second the nomination of the Right. Hon. James Abercromby to the chair of this House. (Great cheering).

Sir C. M. SUTTON then rose. He said he was aware that he owed an apology, an excuse to the House, for intruding himself upon them. He was so circumstanced that the House, after hearing what he had to say, must form their own judgment. He would not, for he could not, say one word in disparagement of the qualifications of the right hon. Gent., the member for the city of Edinburgh. He had waited writhing under all the

charges that had been heaped upon him. Knowing that the proper place to give an answer to the charges was the floor of that House (cheers), he trusted the House would hear him, for he would speak without any asperity. (Hear). The charge against me in the abstract is, that being Speaker, I busied myself in other matters; that I assisted in the formation of the present Ministry, and counselled and advised the dissolution of the late Government. (Hear, hear). Now, these were the three points affecting my public character, and peculiarly affecting it as the Speaker of this House, who, to a certain extent, must be indebted to the existing Government, and would, therefore, be guilty of lending a hand to the extinction of that body which had given him the proud pre-eminence which he filled. Now, to all, to each one, and to every one of these charges, I reply, there is not one word of truth from beginning to end. (Loud cheers). Sir, with respect to my having been mixed up with other matters, allow me to explain, that as soon after the prorogation of the last Parliament as the remaining public business which remained to be disposed of would allow me, I went into the country with my family; and it will be remembered that at that time his Majesty was also at Brighton. But I remained there without any communication, directly or indirectly, with any member of the Government until I was called back to London, by express, upon the occasion of the lamentable fire which happened. (Hear). I came to London as quickly as possible, and after witnessing the devastation which had occurred, it was suggested to me, and I instantly adopted the suggestion; that it was my duty to acquaint his Majesty of it. When my right hon. friend, Sir Robert Peel, returned, and took upon himself the station which he now occupies, he did me the honour to send for me to his house. It was upon an occasion when I was requested to attend a Privy Council, which had nothing whatever political in its object, it was for the purpose of getting the sanction of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to make good the payments of the Exchequer, and to fix the salaries. With these two exceptions, from the time

of Sir Robert Peel's return up to this time, I have never attended a Cabinet Council at his house. (Cheers from the Ministerial benches). I will not go further with this subject. But when I hear of constant visits and communications with the Home-office before my right hon. friend (Peel) returned, and of my being continually with the Duke of Wellington, I think I am bound to say that there is not one word of truth in it all. (Cheers). It would be perfectly immaterial if it were true. I would have felt it an honour if I were justified in calling so frequently as I was reported to have called. But I should consider it an act of impertinence, having no business to transact there, if I were to call as has been stated. I never did so, and all I will say to the charge is, that it is totally false. (Cheers). Now, with respect to the formation of the present Ministry, I will boldly say, that with the exception of my right hon. friend, Sir R. Peel, the Lord Chancellor, and the Duke of Wellington, I never have advised, never suggested, never counselled, and never knew of the appointment of any one individual, till it had taken place. (Great cheering from the Ministerial benches). So much for that charge. I will now come to this, namely, the dissolution of the last Parliament. (Hear, hear). It has been said that I assisted at the council where that measure was resolved upon. It is not true. (Great cheering). I never did advise, never did counsel, never was consulted, and never had any thing to do with the dissolution of the last Parliament. So little did I know of it, that it was by accident, purely by accident, that I became acquainted with it. I knew nothing of the fact till it was announced in the Gazette. (Cheers). I will only mention this further circumstance, and the fact will occur to the minds of all the gentlemen here, that if I were so confident that Parliament should be dissolved, why did I not take those steps that were taken by others, why did I not address my constituency in the prospect of a dissolution, why did I not beg for their favour? The fact was, that I have had no communication whatever upon the subject, nor did I have any with my constituents until I

ceased to be Speaker of that House. When I did so cease, I then certainly had communications on the subject. I am now again a candidate for the high office I formerly held, but with respect to my having had any communication with any human being, at any time, or upon any occasion, with reference to the late dissolution of the last Government, or that there is any thing from which to infer that I had any thing to do, or that I delivered a single opinion respecting the dissolution of the last Parliament, I will say, that to each and to all I will give, with the utmost solemnity, the strongest denial that can be given. I will declare, before this House, that, from the beginning to the end, it is wholly and utterly false. (Great cheering). I have felt it but respectful to the House to state this. As I said before, I have long been the servant of the House of Commons and their chief officer, and there is no disgrace which I should feel so heavy, as upon the present occasion to be discredited by this House. (Loud cheers). With respect to who is the best person to fill the office of chairman, I am sure that the House will concur with me, and I mean no disparagement to my right honourable friend (Mr. Abercromby) in saying so, that at the present moment, from peculiar circumstances, it will require great experience, and great knowledge of the business of the House, in order to discharge the duties of chairman. Whether I am elected or not, falls to nothing, when compared to this. I have the highest respect for the right honourable and learned Gentleman who has been proposed in opposition to me, and I hope he will believe that I speak with perfect sincerity when I say that no man rates his talents higher than I do, and I feel that it is no disparagement to him to say that even he would feel great difficulties in filling the chair of this House. I will now conclude; but before I sit down, perhaps the House will permit me to express a wish, it is the one uppermost in my mind, that whatever may be the determination of the House upon the present occasion, they may form a sound judgment in electing him as their Speaker who will discharge his duties most use-

fully to the country, most acceptably to the House, and most satisfactory to the public at large. The right hon. Gentleman concluded amidst very loud cheers.

Mr. ABERCROMBY then rose and was received with most enthusiastic cheers. From the situation in which the right hon. Gentleman stood, and from the low tone in which he spoke, it was almost impossible to catch a single whole sentence of what he stated. We, however, understood the right hon. Gentleman to say that he had yielded to the suggestions of his friends, and not by any desire of his own, in standing forward, as a candidate for the high office of Speaker of that House. The House was now about to perform its first and one of its most important duties. (Loud cheers). He had always considered the selection of the individual who was to fill the highest place in that House was one of its most paramount duties. (Cheers). He would say nothing at the present moment with reference to the fitness of the right hon. Gentleman or himself to fill that high office, but would leave that point to be decided by the judgment of those who were much more competent judges than himself. (Cheers). The right hon. Gentleman opposite, no doubt, as he thought properly and most honourably, had entered into explanations of his conduct with reference to what had taken place, not within, but without the walls of that House. It must be known to all present that the contest out of the House had been conducted in a very different manner to that in which it would be carried on in it. (Great cheering). He would not advert now to what had taken place elsewhere, because, unless he was very much deceived, many days would not pass before a motion would be brought before that House, which would have the effect of deciding the particular question which had been so much the subject of conversation out of doors. (Loud cheers). Whatever opinion he had entertained upon different subjects, whether right or wrong, he would not pretend to say, had been adopted by them because he believed them to be the best. He did not think it necessary to trouble the House further, as he was firmly convinced its decision

would be such as would give weight and dignity to itself, and insure all its rights and privileges, and secure the conducting of its business with order and regularity, which was essential to the comfort, honour, confidence of the people. (Cheers).

Lord STANLEY then rose amidst great cheering and addressed the House as follows: Sir, as I conceive it is not probable that any other gentleman will be submitted to the consideration of the House other than those that have already been laid before it, I hope I shall not be considered as impertinently intruding myself on the attention of the House, when I confess that I feel anxious to take this opportunity of stating the grounds for the vote which it is my intention to give on the present occasion. (Cheers). In doing so, I am anxious, in a question which partakes in some degree of personal and political consideration, to state my views without offence to either of the two gentlemen who have been put in nomination, for both of whom I entertain personal respect (cheers), and from whom I have received during the existence of the late Government, great and important assistance. (Cheers). I had the honour to form part of that Government, an honour I shall ever feel in having for four years been a member of that Administration. I yield to no Member in my attachment to that which has been put forward as the great principle involved in this question, I mean the principle of Reform. I yield to no member of that or any other Government in my attachment to liberal principles. I will venture to say, I am second to none in the zeal with which I endeavoured to support it. But in 1833, although I did not express my sentiments on that occasion, I conveyed most fully my praises to those which were every where bestowed by every side of the House on the talents, integrity, and impartiality of my honourable Friend, that no difference of public opinion were sufficient to counterbalance his inestimable services. (Loud cheers). I was of that opinion then, I am of that opinion now. But when I came down to the House, I must confess I did expect to hear a declaration of the differences of circumstances under which their opinions had changed.

(Cheers). I came down with communications from neither one side nor the other, founded on nothing but the public prints, and wherein I was informed that disclosures were to be made that would call on the House, as a matter of honour, to do an act of justice to itself in not submitting to an intriguer as the President of their assembly. Now, Sir, what has been done? My hon. Friend who proposed the right honourable Gentleman, and no man entertains a higher respect for talent and consistency than I do, says not one word on the subject; but that, on the contrary, my right hon. Friend (Sir Charles Manners Sutton) stood as high in the estimation of the country as he ever stood before. But he says that a great public principle is involved here. My hon. Friend, the Member for Newcastle, who followed in the same course, explained a little more what that general principle was, which I confess, in my own mind, had been left in doubt. (Hear, hear). He had declared that no public charges were made on his public conduct, but that, moreover, if public charges had been made elsewhere, that the House of Commons could not take cognizance of them; that if they had been made, the House was not to take advantage of them. The right hon. Gentleman was, he was convinced, from what had fallen from him, not satisfied with his position; he had felt that in that position in which his friends desired to place him, he ought not only to be unconvicted, but unsuspected. I agree with him, my right hon. Friend has met the charges boldly; he has met them freely; he has met them unanswered; without an intention of their being answered; and I say, then, on these grounds the House of Commons cannot degrade the right hon. Gentleman from the situation in which he now stands (Great cheering). Honourable Gentlemen may perhaps not believe me when I say I speak in all sincerity, and I use the words of one of the hon. Gentlemen who proposed Mr. Abercromby. The difference between the cases of 1833 and 1835 has been stated by him to be, that in one case a Speaker was proposed by those who wielded the control of the Government, having a certain majority in their

favour, and that in the present instance the majority may be less, and that therefore it is essential we should take this opportunity of signifying to the Crown that we have no confidence in the Administration. (Hear, hear, hear). Is this the principle? (Hear, hear, hear). Well, then, if it is, I say that an act of grosser injustice (great cheering from the Ministerial benches), an act savouring more of resentment than of justice, never could be perpetrated, than taking a decision of that point upon a question materially affecting the honour and the character of the House itself. (Cheers from the Ministerial benches). I say, sir, if it be the intention to try the strength of parties, let that question be manfully brought to issue, upon an address for the removal of the Ministers. (Hear, hear). But I say, do not on the one hand endanger and damage the character. (Cries of No, no, and Hear, hear, from the Ministerial benches) I say, do not commit such an injustice (Loud cries of No, no, and I appeal to the honour and the candour of Gentlemen in this House, when I ask them if it be not an injustice (Hear, hear, and continued cries of No, no), to remove a Speaker against whom you have not only admitted that there is no present charge, but whom you have even admitted to be pre-eminently qualified for the situation; if it be not an injustice to remove him, for the purpose of ascertaining the strength of parties. (Cheers, and No, no). It would be impertinent of me to mention the name of any gentleman as qualified to discharge with dignity and impartiality the arduous duties of Speaker of this House, but if feelings of delicacy did not prevent me, I could lay before the House a man—who, from his knowledge, setting aside the experience of the right hon. Gentleman below me (Sir C. M. Sutton) was preferable to any other with whom I am acquainted, and whose political opinions approached nearest to my own. I would select the right hon. Gentleman who represents the town of Cambridge (Mr. Rice). If my vote is to be taken as an indication that my opinions are in accordance with the political opinions of the gentleman whom I support, mine accord more with that right hon. gentleman's

than with those of the right hon. member for Edinburgh; but I disclaim the doctrine altogether. I neither agree with the political principles of the right hon. gentleman below me (Sir C. Sutton), or with those of the member for Edinburgh; but I stand on the declaration which I made before—a declaration consistent with all my political sentiments and opinions, consistent also with all the arguments which have been heard from this side of the House, and not attempted to be refuted, that no case has been made out, which can induce this House to withdraw its support from the right hon. Gentleman who has for so many years filled the Chair. In conclusion, I have to repeat that it is on public grounds, and not from any agreement in political principles, I support the motion of the noble Lord, the member for Lancashire.

Mr. ABERCROMBY explained a report which prevailed out of doors. (Cries of "Question," and "Divide").

Mr. FERGUSSON said—It is with no inconsiderable degree of diffidence I rise to offer my sentiments on this important occasion. Very early perceiving that there would be a strong opposition and difference of opinion on this question (though I did not consider it would be so important as it has become), from a high respect for the impartiality of feeling and judgment, I did certainly communicate to Sir C. M. Sutton, that I should vote for him, or at least not against him. ("Question, question"). But the character of my present course is now, however, very different. It is not now a question of character, but a great political question. (Hear, hear). On that principle I would have voted against my own brother, if he had been opposed to the principles I conceived advantageous to the public good; but in the situation in which I was placed, I found that the voice of the Reformers throughout the country was loud and decided on the question. (Hear, hear). Even my own constituents requested me to support the other right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Abercromby), and appeals came upon me, so fast and forcible, to bring me to vote against Sir C. M. Sutton, that I was placed in a very difficult situation, and there is scarcely a gentleman in the north

who does not think I shall vote against that right hon. Gentleman. I am sorry to say that Sir C. M. Sutton has placed his honour and character at stake upon this question. (Cries of "No, no," and "Hear, hear"). I say it in the most friendly manner, that he has placed his character and honour at stake, and, as he has left it to me to take my own course, I may declare that I believe his character and honour is not at stake. (Hear, hear, hear). But the question is intimately connected with the great principle of Reform, and if I supposed his character and honour were at stake, I would be the last man to vote against him. (Hear, hear) After what has been said, I have nothing more to add, than that I shall so far maintain my promise as not to vote against him. (Hear, and loud cries of "Question").

Sir CHARLES M. SUTTON and Mr. FERGUSSON explained.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL then rose, and was received with loud cheers. He said he could not trespass upon the time of the House, without explaining the grounds upon which he gave his vote upon the present occasion. Before going into the matter generally, he would say something relative to what had fallen from his right hon. friend (Lord Stanley). If his principles, as laid down by him that day, were carried out, then there was an end at once to the option of the House of Commons as to whom they should place in their chair. According to that doctrine, the House of Commons were bound to re-elect the right hon. Gentleman, because he had come down and denied, most firmly, that he had any thing to do with counselling the dissolution of the late House (great cheering), with being guiltless of intriguing for the dismissal of the late ministry. The House had not met for the purpose of passing a vote of censure upon the right hon. gentleman, the late Speaker, but to exercise one of the most important acts they could be called upon to do, viz. the choosing of a gentleman to preside over their debates; and it would not, it could not, for a moment be supposed that the House would cast dishonour on any one of the candidates, because they did not elect him. (Cheers).

There was a precedent for the election he proposed to the House. In the time of Lord North, Sir Fletcher Norton having done something to displease that minister, and the noble Lord having a majority in the House, proposed another gentleman as Speaker, making some complimentary speech to the effect that he was too old a servant of the House, and ought to be relieved from his duties. The noble Lord carried his motion; but could it, for a moment, be supposed that the House intended, by the vote, to cast censure upon Sir F. Norton? Much had been said as to the attendance of the late Speaker at the Privy Councils; but it was a well known fact, that the summoning of the councillors does not rest with the King, but with the Prime Minister for the time. The attendance in question took place when the Duke of Wellington was Prime Minister (cheers); and it was a well known fact that none of the councillors were summoned but those who were well known to hold opinions in unison with the person who summoned. (Cheers). His feeling was that the Speaker of the House of Commons had so mixed himself up in the late political world, that he had compromised the dignity of the character. (Cheers). There is no doubt that if the right hon. Gentleman had pleaded to be excused, it would have been granted. Let us give the country an earnest that we mean to set zealously about Reform; that we are not going to deceive the people by mock Reform; let us show that, with undoubted loyalty to the Crown, we are determined to maintain the privileges of the Commons. (Tremendous cheering).

Sir ROBERT PEEL then rose, and was received with loud cheers. He said—I will pursue the course generally adopted by every one who has addressed the House, namely, that of limiting the discussion on the present occasion to the matter in question. I appear here as a witness, to perform a task I feel to be wholly unnecessary, that of confirming, so far as my testimony can, the accuracy of my right hon. Friend (Sir C. M. Sutton). As to what took place previous to my arrival in this country, I will say nothing. I will speak only with regard to what I know myself. In undertaking the

duty assigned to me by his Majesty, or at least shortly afterwards—I had an interview with my right hon. Friend, Sir Charles Manners Sutton, and informed him of the task I had undertaken, and of the principles upon which I was determined to proceed, namely, that I should seek for aid in the performance of that task from every man whom I thought could unite with me consistently with his honour. I asked him, respecting, as I did, his abilities and experience in public life, whether it was consistent with his feelings and sense of duty to enter into the service of the Crown? (Cheers). Sir, I received from the right hon. Gentleman this answer, that he did not seek employment in an official capacity in the service of the Crown, there is a defect in that which I will supply, as probably that was the main reason which induced him at such a time to withhold his services from his Majesty: he stated I have served in the Chair for a period of eighteen years, and I do feel that if I were now to enter into the arena of discussion, I should, after so long a service in, and my personal connection with, the authority of that situation, I should run the risk of lowering it, if I appeared in the House of Commons as a member of the Government. (Cheers). That was the reason, Sir, my friend assigned to me for his willingness, nay, his desire, to withhold his service upon that occasion. Lord Grey and his adherents having a great majority, thought it right to elect the right hon. Gentleman whom the same party now oppose. You had the power, then, to enforce your opinions, for you then had a majority, and why did you depart from the principle you now lay down? The first decision of the Reformed Parliament carries this conclusion, that the House did not feel itself called upon to elect a Speaker whose opinions were in accordance with the majority of the House. (Hear, hear, hear). The noble Lord says “we wanted to avail ourselves of the advantages of the right hon. Gentleman’s character, abilities, and experience, and therefore we elected him. But that man has served us; he has done his work; he has answered our object; and, with signal ingratitude, I must say

(loud and repeated cheering), we will now dismiss him, after we had established the principle of electing a Speaker not of our own opinions, when we had the power to reject him. After we have availed ourselves of his services, and after he has co-operated with us in establishing the character of the first Reformed Parliament for decorum, we will unfairly take the very first opportunity to subject him to disgrace. (Cries of “No, no”). No, no, indeed; for no disgrace can be heaped upon a man who has done his duty. It is beyond the reach of a majority to do that; but it is not beyond the reach of a majority to injure the character of the House. (Hear, hear). The House has a most important duty to perform, and should be as careful not to do injustice to any individual, as not to lessen its own character and influence. I shall resist the motion, then, of the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Denison) on individual and personal grounds; and, as this is the only office the House has the power of conferring, let us avail ourselves, in the selection we may make, of the example which reformed and unreformed Parliaments have afforded us. The only objection made to the appointment of the right hon. Gentleman (Sir C. Sutton), is, that he attended certain councils which were instrumental in dismissing the old Government, and in forming a new one. All the testimonies that have been given of his tried impartiality and his abilities remain quite unimpeached. But if he is to be blamed for acting in the capacity of a Privy Councillor, the House should make a rule disqualifying him for that office. A great mistake pervades the public mind as to the duties of a Privy Councillor; it consists not merely of the members of Government; others besides are called on to attend the Council. No advice is given in it. But if the Speaker is in town when a Privy Council is convened, and his advice is asked, what right has he to refuse such advice? It is erroneous, however, to say that the right hon. Gentleman contributed to the formation of the present Government, on the dismissal of the former one. I shall vote for the honourable Gentleman, because I think that the precincts of the chair of that

House ought not to be invaded to try the strength of political parties. (Hear, hear). I shall resist the motion to appoint the right hon. Member for Edinburgh, on the ground that the Member for the University of Cambridge possesses superior qualifications from his long practice in the duties of Speaker; and because his rejection, for the reasons advanced against his appointment, would tend to disparage as well the character of the office of Speaker as of the House of Commons itself. The right hon. Baronet sat down, and was loudly cheered for some minutes.

Mr COBBETT said, that he would not detain the House two minutes. He said, the last words he heard from the lips of his constituents were expressive of their thanks to the King for having dismissed his late Ministers; and that his first act should not be that of a vote tending to force those Ministers back again upon the King. That, with regard to the right hon. and learned Member for Edinburgh, for whom, personally, he had a very great respect, he would not vote for him, because he had made one of a ministry who hatched, brought in, pushed on, and proceeded to be passed, the *inhuman Poor-law Bill*.

[After this Mr. Cobbett, who could not vote for Mr. MANNERS SUTTON, without an abandonment of the principle, that a pensioner ought not to be the first Commoner of England, walked out of the House, and did not vote at all; because if he had voted *against* Mr. ABERCROMBY, that same vote would have been *for* Mr. MANNERS SUTTON.]

Lord MORPETH then rose, amidst loud cries of "Question, question." He said he would limit his observations to what seemed to him to be peculiar to his own position. (Hear, hear, hear). His noble Friend who had opened the discussion of the day so ably, had reminded the House that at the election of the Speaker of the last Parliament, he (Lord M.) had had the distinguished honour of proposing the successful candidate for that high appointment; and true it was, that he rested his recommendation of the appointment of Sir Charles Manners Sutton on his eminent fitness for the discharge of the duties and dignities of his office.

(Hear, hear). Not one syllable of what he had then stated did he now repent or retract. On the contrary, if the opponents of Sir Charles M. Sutton should fail in their object, they would at least have the compensation of yielding to no unworthy foe, and of knowing that the high functions of that office would be entrusted to a skilful guardianship.

Sir R. PEEL said a few words, but not one was heard.

The House then divided, and there appeared:

For Mr. Abercromby 316

For Sir C. M. Sutton 306

Majority for Mr. Abercromby 10

The House then adjourned.

On the announcement of the division, He cheers both within and without the house were deafening beyond precedent.

From the LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 13.

INSOLVENT.

COLE, R., Basinghall-street, scrivener.

BANKRUPTCIES ANNULLED.

HAUKER, J. B., Montague-street, Portman-square, plumber.

SMALL, A. D., Napsbury, Herefordshire, dealer in cattle.

BANKRUPTS.

ARGENT, F. S., Fetter-lane, painter.

BROTHERTON, T., Bradford-moor, Yorkshire, shopkeeper.

EBERS, J., Old Bond-street, bookseller.

ECCLES, Wm. and J. Stalman, Hatton-garden and Spring-gardens, tailors.

EDGSON, W., Irchester, Northamptonshire, butcher.

HUMPHREY, W., Taunton, Somersetshire, chemist.

M'NAMARA, W., Houndsditch, plumber.

PARR, E., Baldwin's-gardens, Grays-inn-lane, furniture-broker.

RAGBYE, J. T., Tarlton, Lancashire, coal-merchant.

WATSON, J., Tynemouth, Northumberland, painter.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 17.

INSOLVENT.

GOODEBURN, J., Brighton-place, New Kent-road, silversmith.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

DENMAN, E., Mark-lane, watch-manufacture.

BANKRUPTS.

AGAR, J. S., Hammersmith, engraver.
 DAVEY, G., Gwincar, Cornwall, miller.
 DICKISSON, J., Nottingham, lace-manufacturer.
 GARDINER, T., Hunter-street, Southwark, currier.
 GAUDERN, W., Earls-barton, Northamptonshire, fellmonger.
 KNIGHT, S. J., Lower Belgrave-place, Pimlico, ironmonger.
 RITCHIE, A., Carey-street, victualler.
 SATCHER, W., Great Saffron-hill, licensed-victualler.
 STEPHENS, D. W., Emsworth, Hants, wine-merchant.
 WRIGHT, H., Old Broad-street, merchant.

LONDON MARKETS,

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Feb. 16.—

We have had a large supply of Wheat, Flour, Barley, and Oats, since this day week. We experienced a dull market for all grain to-day. Wheat, malting Barley, and Malt, were each offered 1s. per qr. lower than on last Monday, and the demand at this reduction mostly limited to fine qualities. In prices of grinding Barley, Beans, and Peas, no alteration since this day week.

The Oat trade was very heavy to-day, and 6d. to 1s. per quarter lower than last Monday, the succession of large supplies of this article staggers the confidence of our speculators.

In Corn under Lock, nothing doing.

Wheat, English, White, new	42s. to 52s.
Old	48s. to 52s.
Red, new	38s. to 42s.
Old	40s. to 42s.
Lincolnshire, red	36s. to 42s.
White	42s. to 44s.
Yorkshire, red	36s. to 41s.
White	40s. to 44s.
Northumberl. & Berwick	38s. to 41s.
Fine white	40s. to 42s.
Dundee & choice Scotch	43s. to 44s.
Irish red, good	35s. to 36s.
White	38s. to 42s.
Rye	30s. to 34s.
New	34s. to 36s.
Barley, English, grinding	26s. to 28s.
Distilling	28s. to 32s.
Malting	32s. to 36s.
Chevalier	38s. to 43s.
Malt	44s. to 54s.
Fine new	56s. to 64s.
Beans, Tick, new	33s. to 34s.
Old	36s. to 38s.
Barrow, new	35s. to 37s.
Old	38s. to 40s.

Peas, White, English	36s. to 38s.
Foreign	35s. to 36s.
Gray or Hlog	36s. to 40s.
Maples	38s. to 42s.
Oats, Polands	23s. to 26s.
Lincolnshire, short small	23s. to 24s.
Lincolnshire, feed	21s. to 23s.
Yorkshire, feed	22s. to 24s.
Black	23s. to 25s.
Northumberland and Berwick Potato	25s. to 26s.
Ditto, Angus	24s. to 25s.
Banff and Aberdeen, com.	24s. to 25s.
Potato	25s. to 27s.
Irish Potato, new	22s. to 23s.
Feed, new light	- s. to 20s.
Black, new	21s. to 22s.
Foreign feed	22s. to 24s.
Danish and Pomerian, old	20s. to 21s.
Petersburgh, Riga, &c.	22s. to 23s.
Foreign, in bond, feed	12s. to 14s.
Brew	16s. to 18s.

SMITHFIELD, February 16.

This day's supply of Beasts, Sheep, and Porks, was rather great; its supply of Calves but limited. Trade was, with each kind of meat, very dull, at barely Friday's quotations.

About 750 of the Beasts, about a third of which were Shorthorns, the remainder in about equal numbers of Herefords, Devons, Welsh runts, and Irish Beasts, with about 100 Scots, were from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and others of our northern districts; about 1,600, a full moiety of which were Scots, the remainder in about equal numbers of Norfolk homebreds, runts, Devons, and Shorthorns, with a few Irish Beasts, from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 120, in about equal numbers of Herefords, Devons, and runts, with a few Irish Beasts, from our western and midland districts; about 50, chiefly Sussex Beasts, with a few runts and Devons, from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, and most of the remainder, including about 30 Towns-end Cows, from the stall feeders &c. near London.

Fully three-fifths of the Sheep were new Leicesters of the Southdown and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about three of the former to two of the latter: about a fifth Southdowns; and the remainder about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, and Kentish half-breds, with a few pens of horned and polled Norfols, horned Dorsets and Somerset, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

THE FUNDS.

per Cent.	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thurs.
Cons. ann.	92½	92½	92½	92	92	92

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 87.—No. 9.] LONDON, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 28TH, 1835. [Price 1s. 3d.



TO
SIR ROBERT PEELE.

LETTER VI.

Bolt-court, 23. February, 1835.

What will you do with the Crown-lands, and with the Army, and especially with regard to the Punishments in the Army?

SIR,—These subjects are widely different in their nature; but I am obliged to bring them both into one letter, having taken a strong fancy to the number *six*, for the dividing of the matter in these batches of writings.

With regard to the first, you know that the Crown-lands are the *people's lands*; and that they no more belong to the crown than my copyrights belong to the crown. You know, that the crown of England had hereditary estates, partly consisting of claims of the nature of those which a lord of the manor has in the case of copyholds, and partly consisting of real estates, one or more of which was in every county of the kingdom, and that the rents of these, and the sums arising from the lordships with regard to the former, made up the revenue of the crown; and that revenue, together with duties imposed on imports, supported the king and his family, and carried on the government of the nation, paid the judges, paid the officers of state, paid the ambassadors; paid, in short, for the wars; when the king found it necessary to carry on any, except in certain cases, and then the king came to the land, and not to the

labour of the people; so that the people of England had no taxes, direct or indirect, to pay to the king's government; and why should they, they being willing that he should possess this large part of the kingdom, and they *having to carry on their own local governments* of counties and parishes, at their own charge; which latter, indeed, formed the great government of the kingdom.

In what manner the aristocracy stripped the king of the first-mentioned part of his revenue, and threw the burden upon the shoulders of the people, I have fully explained in my "*Legacy to Labourers*"; which I hope you have read. In my "*Legacy to Lords*," I shall show how this aristocracy has gone on from the seizure of the abbey-lands and great tithes, taking from the king, and making the people pay the king for what they took, till having, by seizure of church-lands and great tithes, by the abolishing of wards and liveries and the like, by taking away the tenths and first-fruits; by taking to themselves the king's real estate, and always making the *people pay* for what they took from the king; how they have gone on, in this manner, until, having taken all the real property, they have now, in the Poor-law Bill, come to the *very wages of labour*! I shall show all this, not in declamatory paragraphs; but by a reference to Acts of Parliament; and to the dictum of judges, and the opinions of lawyers. Our writers on politics, and even I myself, have treated these matters in a *shallow manner*. For a day or two we produce a little effect; but the effect goes off; the writing cannot be found, and the destruction of the abuse is not produced. This shall no longer be the case; if I live until the end of next May, or thereabouts, the whole of the grasping deeds of this aristocracy shall be made well known to the people, that they may be able to produce law for that which I trust they will do, for effecting the restoration of their rights, and restoring the real government of England. It is the *POOR-LAW BILL* which has

stimulated me to this extraordinary exertion; and I call these writings "*legacies*," because it is reasonable to suppose, that they may produce their final effects after I am dead. The *Poor-law Bill*, and the *Dead-body Bill*, challenge every drop of English blood in our veins. Our very bodies are, at last, to be sold; and base, indeed, should I be, were I not to do my utmost to counteract the efforts of those who have procured these Acts to be passed.

Now, then, as to the CROWN-LANDS: they formed a large part of the king's revenue. He could not sell, nor otherwise dispose of them, legally; but kings frequently granted parts of them away to their favourites; and thus robbed their successors, and, indeed, robbed the people. At last, when the aristocracy had got a large part of the estates away to themselves, they passed a law to take all the rest away; and to make the people *pay the king a tremendous sum of money every year, in lieu of this estate*. Oh! but they carried the rents of the lands to the *credit of the people every year*; and they appointed commissioners of Crown-lands; and a *surveyor of Crown-lands* (oh, dear!) to take care that they *were well let*, and that the rents were duly brought in; and we saw the Great HUSKISSON in this office; we saw the great LOWTHIAN in this office; and we have recently seen the great DUNCANNON, and the great HOBHOUSE in this office; and we now see the great LOWTHIAN again in this office. Now, sir, it is not in accordance with my scheme, in this Legacy to you, to go to Acts of Parliament and accounts; but I give it as my deliberate opinion, that this Crown-estate ought to yield to the nation *more than two millions a year*; and that it does not, upon an average, yield one hundred thousand pounds a year. Mr. HARVEY (one of the things for which he is hated by every corrupt devil in the kingdom) took this affair in hand a year or two ago. But neither Mr. HARVEY, clever as he is, nor any man that ever lived, can, without a great deal of time devoted to the subject, do a quarter part justice to this affair. It is not sufficient to inquire into *how the matter stands at present*; and to take for granted that the

present leases are binding upon the nation; and that there is *no redress, except for the future*. The working-people are accused of *swallowing up the estates of the lords*; at the same time that the Minister was bringing in a bill by which the lessees of this national property, who pay perhaps not 5 per cent. of what would be rack-rent, are empowered to vote at vestries for every twenty-five pounds of that rack-rent which they ought to pay; and while the tenant under them, and who pays the rack-rent to them, has but one vote, where they have six, and those votes given, too, by proxy! Where are there words to describe things like this! But, he who made that accusation, and who is now prowling about, exhibiting his "*science*" and his beauty to the continent of Europe, did not perceive that that might lead to an inquiry, *how far the lords had swallowed up the estates of the people*. That inquiry must now come; and, if we do not obtain redress from you, which we shall not, I am afraid, we shall point the attention of the people to the Crown-estate; we shall show them *where it lies*; what they now get for it; and what they ought to get for it. If the people had *no taxes to pay* for the carrying on of the government and maintaining the king and his family, then the matter would be different; but as they have now to pay, out of their labour, all those expenses which formerly came out of the Crown-estate, it is their bounden duty to inquire into the management of that estate; to know in whose hands it is; who gets the rents, and who expends those rents, and how, and when, and for what.

I shall be very glad to be afforded an opportunity of conferring with Mr. HARVEY on this subject; but, it is not a holiday work; we must go *back to the root*; show how the estate was taken from the king; what *taxes* he got in *exchange* for its rents; and whether it has been *swallowed up* by those who have now, under the pretence that the people were *swallowing up their estates*, passed a law, the manifest tendency of which is, to put the wages of the people's labour into their pockets.

I know very well, that the two factions will here combine most cordially; as,

indeed, they always will (as long as they are suffered to rear their impudent heads), whenever the good things are at stake, which they divide between them. We shall have impious "*national faith*" to combat here, too; we shall be referred to acts of Parliament, though we know that even Magna Charta has been set at nought ten thousand times; but, if Mr. HARVEY means to be silenced by this nonsense, it will be a great deal better for him not to meddle with the matter. I say, and I know, that the Crown-estate, *taking in Cornwall and the Duchy of Lancaster*, will yield four millions a year; if not more than what is carried into the Exchequer by the malt-tax; and yet it is pretended that there must be a property-tax to supply the place of the malt-tax. There are hundreds upon hundreds of men who talk of *their great lauded estates*, every inch of whose land, in fact, *is the property of the people*; and will you, sir, or any one else, dare to propose a reduction of the interest of the debt, or any measure whatsoever that should lessen the value of the funds of the savings'-bank people; will you dare to do this by any means, direct or indirect, as long as this great estate is suffered to yield nothing to the people; and while secretaries of the Treasury become peers of the realm and swagger about in parks? This is a hard rub for you; for though the base Whigs will join you in a negative or previous question, or anything, in a case like this, you will not *rub out the effect on the minds of the people*; and you may be assured that these "difficulties" that you talk of will never be settled without making the whole of this Crown-estate, Cornwall, Lancaster, and all, available for the benefit of the nation at large; and that the devouring day of this aristocracy are now fast drawing to a close.

I now come to the other subject of the latter, namely, THE ARMY, and particularly the PUNISHMENTS in the army. The first thing to observe is, that it is passing strange that we should stand in need of a hundred thousand men to carry on the peace with. At the end of the American war, which had been so disastrous, the enemies of England were

all strong; and yet an army of seventeen thousand men, and costing little more than a million a year, half-pay and altogether, was deemed sufficient; but, after a glorious war, for which we have given the commander more than a million of our money, in acknowledgment of his prodigious skill and valour, a hundred thousand men are necessary! How is this? The enemies of England are all now weak as they well can be; and yet we want this hundred thousand men, costing, half-pay and altogether, at the end of twenty years of profound peace, upwards of ten millions a year! And still we hear the great Duke, your colleague, crying aloud for rewards to his "*companions in arms*," he having taken special good care not to be the "*companion in arms*" of those who had to fight GENERAL JACKSON. The nation has long been sick of this talk about the "*companions in arms*," who are fastened on us for life, to look through panes of glass, costing five pounds a piece, and to have waiters in silk stockings at the United Service Club. "*Companions in arms*," indeed! Why, even supposing that one out of ten of them ever saw a shot fired in anger; even supposing that, what was there ever achieved by their "*ARMS*?" How much did the *arms* do in the WATERLOO-YEAR, I pray; when the army alone cost THIRTY-FOUR MILLIONS of pounds sterling? Without any other fact, every man of sense must know, that it was the money, and not the arms, that achieved the victories; and, as far as I can estimate the thing, this one man expended, along with his "*companions in arms*," a hundred and fifty millions of that borrowed money, the interest of which is now paid out of the sweat of the people of this country; and an obstinate wretch ever to continue to pay the interest of such debt in full, or an attempt to reduce which, without first knocking off the "*companions in arms*," will, in all probability, put an end to this whole system of away giving, perhaps, a sort of quake shock to the *granted land*; Had you the money to pay the ready collected and deposited in you might laugh at these prognostics; but you have it not, and

cheats, or in anything else; and though the base Whigs will join you in an endeavour to squeeze it out of us, you will both fail: the people now understand the whole matter; the history and the mystery of the whole of the iniquity. The four great workhouses in a county; the COARSER FOOD; the selling of the dead bodies; the manifest design to get at the wages of labour; these have, at last, roused them; and they are resolved legally to pursue their rights, let the ten-pounders say what they will; let the two factions combine as long as they like.

When we complain of these most enormous things; when we ask, why the army should now cost ten millions a-year instead of one, which it cost in the last peace (and it costs more than ten millions, including the dead-weight and the impudent allowances); when we complain of this, you accuse us of being *republicans*. When we complain of the swarms of lords and ladies, and their sons and daughters on the pension-list, then we are called *republicans*. If we be displeased at having to pay taxes to give a pension for life to the parson-tutor of WYNDHAM'S children; if we complain that WILLIAM GIFFORD had two sinecures all his life for having been travelling-tutor to the present Marquis of Westminster; if we complain that we have to pay a pension to the female *protégé* of a far-famed defender of the works of MORRIS CLARK; then what "*black-hearted republicans*" we are; if we complain that whole swarms of persons, that ought not to receive one farthing, are kept out of our labour; if we complain of the monstrousness of our having to pay four hundred and fifty generals, and two hundred and fifty, or three hundred admirals, and other commissioned officers in the same proportion; if we thus complain, we are *republicans* that wish to overthrow the kingly government of England; if we complain of the most ~~absurd~~ partiality of the stamp-laws, which takes away a large part of the estate left by a tradesman or farmer, and demands it on pain of punishment, as soon as the breath is out of his body, while not one farthing is taken from the estate of the landholder, though amounting to a million, or two of money; if we

complain that an estate in personal property pays less and less, in proportion; as it is greater and greater; if we complain that the revenues of the parish livings are taken away by the aristocratical clergy, and that the people are then *taxed* to raise money to enable the working clergy to exist; if we complain of these things:

if we complain that a working man is compelled to pay eleven pounds a year in taxes, out of every twenty-two pounds that he earns: if we make complaint as to these monstrous matters, we are called *REPUBLICANS*!

Now, sir, I am no republican, as yet, and never shall be, until I have lost all hope of a possibility of seeing these grievances redressed, and justice done to the people. However, I am not ready to allow that it is any crime, legal or moral, in any man, to wish to see a total change in this form of government. If a man were to take up and point out to me, in General JACKSON'S last message, that it is there proved, that the whole of the general government of America, civil government, legislature, army, navy (new shipbuilding going on at a great rate), courts of justice, in short every thing, foreign and domestic, costs only about four millions a year of our money, while the several STATES cost a great deal less to govern them than our several COUNTIES cost us, on an average. If a man were to take and show me this, and were to ask me, why our Government should cost more than this, I should turn him over to you; and would you tell him, in so many words, that to have *so cheap* a government, the government must be a *republican one*? Would you tell him this in so many words? I hardly think that you would have powers of face to do this. I hardly think that you would tell him that the mere circumstance of our having a king, costs us forty-five millions a year and that it *must cost us that*, as long as we have a king, and lords, and bishops. If, however, you were to say this, he should not ask you, *what harm* there would be, and what difficulty there would be, in the people making a republica government? That the king has a *divine right* to rule, we know very well. This present family reigns by

right given them by law; given them by Act of Parliament. Well, then, in principle, they might choose another mode of government, if pushed to this extremity; and it would be a mere matter of expediency, a mere matter of convenience and of utility. Then as to the *difficulty*; where would be the difficulty of electing a house of representatives, a senate, and a president; and where are the grounds for believing, that these would not be as efficient for the good of the people, as the present three branches of the legislature are? So you see, sir, that there is *some danger* in preferring this accusation.

Before I quit this prodigious and scandalous cost of the army, at the end of twenty years of profound peace, let me observe on the cause of this monstrous charge. Why are there four hundred and fifty generals; why are there eight or ten thousand of commissioned officers, without the smallest prospect of one man of them ever being wanted? One would think, that the landholders (including the parsons), who pay some part of this, at any rate; and whose poor-rates are augmented by the feeding of these swarms of idlers; one would think, that they would complain on this account, and would remonstrate with the Government on the subject. Aye; and so they would, and would have done it long ago; only it is they in reality, who pocket the money, I being firmly convinced that nine-tenths of the whole of the four hundred and fifty generals, and of the rest of this prodigious swarm, are sons, brothers, relations, or dependants of the landholders and the parsons; and this fact I will, if I possibly can, put beyond all dispute. The landowners and the parsons pay something towards the support of this swarm of "companions in arms"; they pay something towards it; but the industrious classes pay twenty times as much. And this is the real cause for their calls upon the "*gratitude of the country*" towards its "*defenders in arms*"; never telling the country, that they sent them forth with thirty-four millions of money in one year, wherewith to obtain victories. You in your speech at the Mansion-house, talking of the victories of the Duke, and

saying not a word of the drubbings which the army got from the republicans in America; and saying not a word of the hundred and fifty millions that he had spent, in the purchase of those victories, ascribed all the victories to his *character*; to confidence in him. If this were true, then what gratitude does the country owe to his "companions in arms"? Certainly nothing, while, supposing the victories to have been gained by skill and valour, instead of being gained by money; and supposing him to have had all the skill and all the valour to himself, then the country has paid him a hundred-fold. He has received more than that, the interest of which, carries on the whole of the civil government of America, president and all, including ten ambassadors to Europe. You will tell me, that this grant was by *act of Parliament*; aye, and the Poor-law Bill, and the Dead-body Bill, were by act of Parliament. Aye, and one King was driven off the throne, and his family too; and another King's throat was cut, by act of Parliament; and another Parliament reversed the second act of Parliament, as far as it could; and are you so ignorant of law as not to know, that it is quite within the compass of legal possibility, that a Parliament may yet come to reverse the doings of 1815; so that it would be quite prudent to abstain from holding too high a tone upon this subject; the country having adopted, coolly and calmly adopted, the determination not to be huffed or bullied any longer.

I now come to that ticklish subject, the punishments in the army; from amongst which it is now quite clear, that that of flogging must be expunged; or that the discipline must be destroyed, by the incessant complaints of the public with regard to the flogging. I know what this affair is, as well as any man in England. I have drawn up, with my own hand, great numbers of charges, upon which men have been tried and punished. I have always been of opinion that, as a member of Parliament, I should not give way to these popular complaints without very solid grounds; because, having by the Mutiny Bill, given the power of inflicting this species of punishment; hav-

ing stipulated for this as one of the conditions upon which the commissioned officers were to keep the men in order, it would be unjust in me to censure them for having made use of these means. But I hold it to be my duty to effect, if I can, a removal of this condition out of the Mutiny Bill; to refuse to give the power; and then it would be impossible for it to be abused. Flogging is a most severe punishment; it may be truly called inhuman. A human back one piece of lacerated flesh, and blood running down into the shoes, may truly be called inhuman. At the flogging of a man, I have frequently seen seven or eight men fall slap upon the ground, unable to endure the sight, and to hear the cries, without swooning away. We used to lift them back a little way, take off their stocks, and unbutton their shirt-collars, and they came too after a little while. These were as stout, hardy, and bold men as were any where to be found.

There is, therefore, something very shocking in this species of punishment; man's nature abhors it; and as it is inflicted for insolence to officers, for striking officers; for insolence to non-commissioned officers, for striking them; the infliction of it excites insuppressible abhorrence, in all who are not very intimately acquainted with the tendency of insubordination in soldiers. The insolence is wholly unknown to the laws of the land, as a crime; even the strikings are known to the laws only as assaults, punishable by slight fine, or slight imprisonment, or by action for damages. It is very foolish, indeed, not to perceive that a regiment could not be kept together for a week; and, indeed, not for a single day, without punishments like these for the striking of officers; every one would be pommelled half to death by the end of a fortnight. But, besides the severity of the punishment, there is the nature of it. The law allows whipping, and the military critics of these soldiers are not ill-natured. Drunkenness on guard, sleeping on the post, quitting the post, disobedience of orders, mutinous conduct, even striking an officer, say, sometimes itself, which is only a disobedience of

orders; none of these are infamous crime; and when a soldier commits theft or robbery, or burglary, or any crime known to the ordinary laws, to those laws he ought to be left.

Though the difference be so great between civil life and military life; though the laws adapted to the former are totally unfitted for the latter, the *public* will not perceive this. And they will always think it unjust and cruel, that a man should be flogged half to death for doing that which another man may do, without any thing more than a few month's imprisonment, or, perhaps, a good scolding from the chairman of the quarter sessions. I remember, that at HALIFAX, in NOVA SCOTIA, a soldier of the 57. or the 33., I forget which, got the tremendous punishment of five hundred lashes, for striking a sergeant, while a man in the town, who, on the very same day, had knocked down the collector of customs, was punished by a forty shilling fine to the king. This was mentioned as something curious; but in a garrison town, like HALIFAX, people could perceive that the casual striking of a collector of customs was a very different affair, as to the example, than that of the striking of a sergeant by a soldier. However, this is what the people at large will not see. I shall be told, that I am here speaking of a punishment inflicted fifty years ago, and that is the fact, and that the people of England did not clamour about it then. This is not quite correct; for they did clamour about it a good deal, especially when the militia were called out during the American war; and I remember having heard, that the women of GUILDFORD, in Surrey, gathered round Captain GROSS, captain of the Surrey Militia (author of the "*Antiquities*"), and brought a blanket to toss him in; but the person of the captain being quite fit, without stuffing, to represent FALSTAFF, and he having FALSTAFF's wit into the bargain, when he caught upon this occasion to his interest, he striped a dance to the end. So that it is not true that the people were ever content with it. When, however, this war was, only seventeen thousand men, people scarcely ever saw a soldier. They were at PORTSMOUTH, and

CHATHAM, and PLYMOUTH, and two or three other places, and their goings on attracted the attention of a very few persons. During the war against France, nothing seemed to be unlawful that the Government chose to have done; and my treatment showed what the danger was of complaining of the flogging of soldiers; though the case was such as to justify any language made use of in the way of complaint; for here were lads called local militia-men, forced from their homes; their officers had detained the money from them, in express violation of the letter of the Act of Parliament; they would not march till they got the money; this was called *mutiny*; and they were flogged under a guard of Hanoverian soldiers, sent for from BURY ST. EDMUND's, they themselves being at ELV. Now, to what a depth of slavery must that nation have arrived, in which a man was to endure two years' imprisonment in a felon's jail; pay a thousand pounds fine, at the end of the time; to be held to bail afterwards for seven years; because he dared to complain of a thing like this? The nation was, in short, during that war, in the deepest hell of slavery. Now, indeed, men speak out on this subject; and their feelings bid them say that their countrymen shall no longer be flogged. But, though I shall oppose this practice of flogging with all my might, I will not join with any man who will not oppose it in the Mutiny Bill itself. Let us withhold the power to flog: not give it first, and then complain of its being exercised.

Soldiers are now everywhere: they are, too, quite a different sort of creatures to what they were forty-five years ago; they had hats upon their heads; they had coats of the usual length; they could unbutton the facings, and button the coats across; their breasts were open and you could see their shirts; they wore stockings, and stockings of any colour, except they were quality. They were not trussed up things like a wild fowl for the most part; they were all stout; and taken by the waist, worth as their number of the present day. There were three barrels in the king's war, instead of a hundred and two. When the French war began the Prussians, Austrians, Russians, and devil-knows-what dressed

and discipline; and that *everlasting restraint*, which seems to be the chief thing on which their rulers now pride themselves; and which is a thing so detested by soldiers, that they will break through it, even at the risk of flogging.

But, and here we touch upon another encroachment of the aristocracy (always including the parsons); namely, the *excluding of soldiers from the possibility of becoming commissioned officers*. When I was in the army, the Adjutant-General, Sir WILLIAM FAWCETT, had been a private soldier; General SLATER, who had then recently commanded the Guards in London, had been a private soldier; Colonel PICRON, whom I saw at the head of his fine regiment (the 12., at CHATHAM), had been a private soldier; Captain GREEN, who first had the command of me, had been a private soldier. In the garrison of HALIFAX there were no less than seventeen officers who had been private soldiers. In my own regiment the quarter-master had been a private soldier; the adjutant, who was also a lieutenant, had been a private soldier. No man of sense need be told what powerful motive there was here for good conduct in the soldiers; for the acquirement of skill and adroitness amongst the non-commissioned officers, and for the maintenance of discipline by them. No one need be told of the immense effect of the experience of this description of officers, who were, of necessity, the most skilful, the most prudent, the most punctual; who, by their example, as well as by their knowledge, formed the great source for instructing those officers who had not been bred to arms.

Wise and just as this was, however, it did not suit the aristocracy and the parsons who had a parcel of sons and other relations and dependants that stood in need of the commission and the pay of these officers from the ranks. I think a *Military Academy* was created upon *Edinburgh* ground, at the expense, to the people of this nation, of not less, first and last, than *two millions of money*; and as soon as these young sprigs of the aristocracy and the parsons had arrived, in sufficient number, at an age fixed on

for the purpose, they were taken to fill up the vacant posts in the army; and a rule was laid down, *that no new officer should come into the army hereafter, who had not come out of that Academy*, which rule is still most rigidly adhered to. And, thus were the industrious classes taxed to furnish an education to the relations and dependants of the parsons and the aristocracy, in order that these relations and dependants might prevent the sons of this tax-paying and industrious class from ever becoming commissioned officers in the army! You think, perhaps, that your trussed-up wild-fowl do not perceive this. They do perceive it, and talk of it, too; and they give as pretty a name to these Academy-chickens as you would wish to hear pronounced; and, mind, it is out of this nest that are now to come the men who are to order English soldiers to be flogged!

Hoping that you will take this matter into your serious consideration, and be prepared to adopt some measure, with regard to it, of a conciliatory nature,

I remain,

Your most obedient
and humble servant,

Wm. COBBETT.

TO DR. BLACK.

Bolt-court, 23 Feb.

DEAR DOCTOR,—I had almost lost sight of you amidst this bustle, and this confusion of editorship; but I have recently traced you in the queer doctrines of the *Chronicle*. The rest of the band of editors have one clear and simple object constantly in view; namely, to get at the public money, in some way or another; and they seem to have overpowered you to a considerable extent, and to have rubbed your half-German, and half-Scotch feelings out of you. Nevertheless, there is enough of you left for me to discover traces of you here and there, so that I am sure of your existence, at any rate.

This being the case, I have requested Mr. O'Brien to send you a copy of my little "LEGACY TO LABOURERS," eight thousand copies of which were sold in one

month from the day of publication. You called my "PROTESTANT REFORMATION" "PIG'S MEAT"; and, certainly, the swine have been at it in all parts of the inhabited globe. This new work is more delicate sort of food; and when you have read it, I dare say you will call it "*lamb's lettuce*;" a pretty little plant, used in salads in the early parts of the spring.

And, now, doctor, for a little dish of party-politics. I do not know how it seems to you; but it seems to me that the Whigs are as much frightened as the Tories at the consequences of the success which they have obtained, and which success they must follow up to-morrow; or their success is converted at once into defeat. Well, they do follow it up, suppose; and, suppose them back again in that terrestrial heaven, WHITEHALL, what comes then? Will they do as they did before? Will they refuse to repeal the malt-tax? Will they persevere with their two thousand-a-year LEWIS, and their penny-a-line CHADWICK, and their eight hundred-a-year runners? Will they continue to shuffle about that enormous thing, the church of England? Will they persevere in causing the revenues of twelve or thirteen thousand parishes to be swallowed up by about four thousand men, some of whom have three, four, or five parishes each? Will they persevere in squandering twenty millions of money, to destroy our only valuable colonies?

Will they still refuse to extend the suffrage, to shorten the duration of Parliaments? Will they still stick to the monstrous pension, sinecure, and allowance lists, while they call this most industrious people "*sturdy beggars*," and tax them to the amount of one-half of their earnings, to defray the expenses of those pension lists? Will they still load the property of the middle classes with legacy and probate duties, while they suffer the real estates to be unaffected by those enormous duties? Will they still cry "*national faith*," and make the working man, born since the debt was contracted, pay the interest of it, and bring himself down to potatoes and salt, in order to be able to pay that interest?

Will they still do these things; and will they have the support of Mr.

O'CONNELL in doing them? These are the questions for them to answer. The reflecting on these matters fills them with affright. It was the doing of these things that turned them out before; and, if Sir ROBERT PERL had not told the nation, that he would pursue the *same course*, he would have beaten them now. The people of England and Scotland, and of Ireland, as far as they understand the matter, care not one straw about parties: they are resolved to have their rights, which they now well understand, and which they never did well understand, until the discussions relative to the inhuman Poor-law Bill; and thus it is, that good comes out of evil. That Poor-law project was the most detestably wicked that ever entered into the heart of man; but your wise countryman the SWAMPER (*"homme de lettres et avocat"*) let it out, in the hey-day of what he thought was his triumph; that the working people were to be reduced to a coarser sort of food, in order to save the estates of the lords. This has set us to work to inquire into their rights, as well as our rights; and, be you assured, my dear doctor, that we chaw-bacons shall never stop now, till we have blown all the Scotch quackery to the devil; that quackery, pray observe me, I impute only to those vagabonds of your countrymen who have learnt to be understrapper oppressors at home, and who come here to enlarge the sphere of their exertions.

Pray, Doctor, read the little book; little in bulk, mighty in strength; and hear this fact; that three chopsticks, in their smock-frocks, came the other day from Sussex, and took a parcel of copies home with them. Read the book, Doctor: it will not cost you above three hours; and then ask yourself, whether all the craft, joined with all the malignity that ever existed in the breast of a Whig, and with all the insolent tyranny that ever existed in the breast of a Tory; whether all these put together, joined with all the physical force that could be mustered, will be able to prop up this taxing and grinding system for two years longer; and whether, if all these were joined by Satan and all his troops from the infernal regions, they will be able to bring the working people

of England down to potatoes and salt. Apropos of potatoes and salt. At COVENTRY (now represented by Mr. Williams, whom I have the honour to call my friend), the other day there was a dispute arising out of an attempt to lower the wages of the working people; and, in a procession, arising out of the circumstance, there was carried upon a pole a net with potatoes and a little bag of salt; as much as to say, "These are what you wish to reduce us to, and to these we will not be reduced"! Recollect, too, the banner of the labourers in the Isle of THANET, having inscribed upon it, "We will not live upon potatoes." But the motto which I would recommend always; is, the words of St. PAUL: "The husbandman who laboreth must be the first partaker of the fruits." Aye; and the working man, too, whether he rent a house or not, has a better right to vote at elections than the mere owner of land; and it shall be want of life or health in me, if this matter be not brought to the test during this present session of Parliament. So that the Lord Durhamites will have a fair opportunity of maintaining their principles, if they can.

So no more at present from

Your "right trusty and well-beloved
Cousin and Councillor,"

And most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

EDUCATION.

LORD DARNLEY AND FITZWILLIAM.

THIS word means, *rearing up*; and, though *books and pens and ink and paper* may be part of the means of educating, in certain cases, the knowledge and the use of them do not necessarily make part of EDUCATION. The word *learning* ought not to be confined to book-acquirements. *Learning* means *knowledge*; and nothing more; and a very able *weaver*, or *ploughman*, is more learned than a Greek scholar, because it is as to his own profession that he is to be considered learned or ignorant. There are *grades*, too, even, in the learning of agricultural labourers,

from the mere filler of a dung-cart and shoveller up of dirt, to the hedger and ditcher, the ploughman, the mower and thatcher; and lastly the woodman, whom I have always placed at the top; he being a sort of mechanic as well as labourer, cutting the rods and the poles from the stems and converting them into spars, brooms, hurdles, and hoops; and all done upon the spot, with no tools but his bill-hook and his axe.

The melancholy accidents of the two noble hereditary legislators, whose names are placed at the top of this article, have arisen solely from *their want of education* with regard to the science, in which they injudiciously attempted to dabble. They flew to the summit at once, instead of beginning with shouting rooks from the wheat or the peas. To have touched a sharp axe with safety, their fathers should have taught them to cut brown bread and skim-cheese with a fourpenny knife, and made them sweat with eating, if not with the cutting. In time they would have been entrusted to chop off the tops of rods, and the knots, with a bill hook, to prepare them for the hurdle-maker. Next, to cut down the stuff and to split rods. Then they would have come to an axe; and would have known how to keep their feet out of the way when they were using that axe upon wood. Now I should not have cut my toes off, nor chopped my leg. It is the beginning in time to learn that which you have to practise. Coxcombs may call the country people of England "peasantry": they may, in imitation of the Irish and the gabbling French, give them this designation, as if they were of a lower caste; but, though they will naturally feel terror that such accidents should happen to any body, they will naturally laugh at the thought of two Lords chopping their feet with their own hands; and will think it wise in Lockhart to venture in future upon the use of an axe, until they have had a suitable education.

I believe that Lord Dunsley was not only a very inoffensive, but a very worthy man. I know of nothing that ought to deprive Lord Fitzwilliam of that respect which is due to his rank and station; but I must not let this occasion pass without

pointing out to my readers, that the labourers, too, are entitled to respect for their superiority in point of learning, in matters of the deepest interest to a nation in general.

THE FIRES.

I RECEIVED the following circular by post. I beg the attention of my readers to it, and also to my answer.

(CIRCULAR).

1. SIR,—The attention of several gentlemen connected with the agricultural interest, having been called to the necessity of the property of their tenants being protected from loss by incendiary fires, if possible, has produced a proposal, which, if carried into effect, appears to result in that most desirable end.

2. All means that have hitherto been tried, have proved unavailing; and in very many instances, the labourer, instead of assisting to check the crime of incendiarism, has openly approved it: having been induced to think that by the fear of it, and by that alone, could be obtained a sufficient remuneration for his labour.

3. The proposal now made has in it this striking feature, that it will convert the whole rural population into the most zealous preservers of the property of the farmer, and will constitute them a most active and efficient body of protectors of that property, and this from regard to their own self-interest. This may at first sight appear problematical, but will, on consideration, prove to be strictly true.

4. It is proposed to form an establishment for the purpose of offering large rewards in all cases of incendiarism affecting subscribers, and of prosecuting the incendiaries, and of giving rewards to parties instrumental in the protection of property of subscribers from fire.

5. To entitle a party to these benefits, he must subscribe annually from £1 to £50, according to the extent of his

6. Rewards, varying from 50 to 500 guineas, will be paid according to the

circumstances of each particular case, and to such an extent as the subscriptions of each current year will authorise.

7. Of the intention to pay these rewards the most extensive notice will be given, and from a liberality in dispensing them, and in affording remuneration in cases of vigilance to parties *not strictly entitled to the reward, an interest of no ordinary kind will be created amongst the labouring population, each one of whom will be continually on the alert in the hope of making a detection, by which his own prospects in life may be improved to an extent exceeding that afforded by any other means within his reach; not only thus will the rural population be formed, by that never-failing stimulant, their own interest, into a most effective body of watchmen, but it is presumed few will be found hardy enough to risk the commission of a crime, to the detection of which all around them will be so strongly prompted as to afford little chance of impunity; thus will this plan be operative, less as a means of discovery and punishment than of prevention.*

8. If this, then, be the case, of how much interest is it to all connected with the security of agricultural produce to lend their assistance in effecting so desirable a purpose. With this view, I take the liberty of addressing you with many other landowners and gentlemen, to request that you will allow your name to be used as, and only as, one of the patrons of the establishment, in order that the name of a gentleman of your property and influence may recommend it to farmers, who may not themselves be so competent to form an opinion of its merits. This will not be productive of any expense to you, nor will you be called on to become a subscriber, unless you should wish to do so; neither will you become a director, trustee, or shareholder, nor be liable to loss or responsibility of any kind. That it cannot be brought to bear unless the number of subscribers is very large, must be obvious from the immense expense and outlay which will attend it, and the very small amount of individual contribution, and I therefore take the liberty of expressing a hope, from feeling a strong desire to see it in effectual operation that

you will oblige me by giving it your serious attention, and not only by extending your own patronage to it, but by enlisting others within your influence in the promotion of its objects.

9. Apologising for the liberty I take in addressing you, and which will I hope be excused from the importance of the subject, I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

RICHARD ELSE.

Bath, 21. Jan., 1835.

TO

Mr. RICHARD ELSE.

London, 23. Feb. 1835.

SIR,—I have received your circular-letter, dated on the 21. January, 1835. I so much disapprove of your proposition, that, so help me God, I would rather be burnt in my bed than I would form one of the Association which you propose to form; but, at the same time, I am quite willing to give you full credit for not perceiving the tendency of your scheme.

Sir, the laws of England have always held in abhorrence every thing tending to cause the shedding of innocent blood. You propose to establish a system of rewards; and those rewards so great as to be the almost certain cause of false accusations, false convictions, and the putting to death of the innocent. Five hundred pounds is an estate of twenty-five pounds a year for ever; is an annuity of more than fifty pounds a year for ten years; that is to say, on an average, for the life of the informer. And, do you propose to establish, as a system, a temptation like this, to be constantly held out to every necessitous and every unprincipled wretch in the community? Truly might the labouring men then say, "In the midst of life we are in death." No man's life would be safe for an hour. There would be villains to set fires themselves, in order to swear against others.

The seventh paragraph of your circular contains words as horrible as ever dropped from the pen of man. Yes, "an interest of no ordinary kind will, indeed, be created amongst the labouring

"population"! Yes, "each one" (that is to say, every villain) "will be continually on the alert, in the hopes of making a detection, by which his own prospects in life may be improved, to an extent exceeding that of any other in his reach; thus will the rural population be formed into an effective body of watchmen, by that never-failing stimulant, THEIR OWN INTEREST"! I shudder as I write; and my readers will shudder as they read. If an Association like this can be formed, and men are savage and shameless enough to put their names to it, let us talk no more of justice nor of law; call this no longer England: call it Austria, or Russia; or call it hell at once. If sentiments like yours, expressed in the seventh paragraph, were, as I am sure they are not, generally entertained by landlords and farmers, they would deserve to be destroyed, not by incendiarism from man, but by fire from Heaven.

Were I upon a jury, and the witness, or witnesses, against the party, were entitled to your rewards, I should have no scruple in considering their evidence as false; and nothing upon earth should induce me to give a verdict of guilty on their evidence. You actually propose to offer the strongest possible temptation to false swearing; you propose to do that which it is impossible should not produce the shedding of innocent blood; and the Parliament will not do its duty in my opinion, unless it put a stop to your proceedings.

And, now, sir, as to the policy of your scheme. Have there not been rewards enough offered already? And have they had the effect of putting a stop to the fires? And was there not a man hanged in Essex, of whom the magistrates declared their belief of his innocence, after he was hanged? And was there not a man hanged in Kent, under very suspicious circumstances, coming out after he was hanged? And were there not two young men in Kent, who had been instigated, and had the tinder-box furnished, by the informer, who expected the five hundred pounds? And, after all this, do you come forth with a regularly organized plan for holding out to the most villain-

ous part of mankind, a temptation of improving their prospects in life, by accusations against their neighbours!

Establish your association, and every man, however innocent, will feel himself in jeopardy. Men do not feel themselves in jeopardy without feeling anger and resentment against those who place them in jeopardy, without just cause; and it is from anger and resentment that the fires proceed; so that your scheme, instead of diminishing the number of fires will have a tendency to add to it.

It is a strange thing, that none of you ever look farther than for the means of detection and punishment. You never think of looking into the cause: if you did, you would find, that to attempt to reduce the labourers to a coarser sort of food; that to propose to put them into great workhouses, and dress them in a workhouse-dress; that to punish, almost unto death, a girl for having a bastard child; you would find, that these are not the means, though accompanied with all the rewards in the world, of preventing the fires. If you be of my age, you must know as well as I do, that, fifty years ago, a single man, who was not a yearly servant in husbandry, under the statute, was rarely to be seen; and when he was seen, was considered almost as a vagrant, and treated as such. It is not the fault of the single men of this day, that they are not in farm-houses, servants in husbandry, as their fathers were: it is not their fault, that they are in the gravel-pits by day, and prowling about houseless by night; it is not their fault that the wise laws and usages of the country have been aban- doned: it is the fault of those who have had the making and new modelling of the laws; it is not their fault, that they are compelled to give up half their earnings to the tax-gatherer: they have had no voice in choosing the makers of the laws; God gave them life upon this land; they have as much right to be upon it as you have; they have a clear right to a maintenance out of the land, in exchange for their labour; and, if you cannot so manage the lands yourselves as to take labour from them; in exchange for a living, give the land up to them; they are not to perish, at any rate.

And now, sir, in conclusion, will you be so kind as to tell me *who you are, what you are, and where you live?* You tell me, indeed, that your name is RICHARD ELSE, and that you date your letter at BATH; but, in a case like this, we ought to have all the qualifications. The thing ought to be faced, without any shrinking; and, therefore, I trust, that you will publish all particulars relative to yourself, to all your supporters and subscribers.

I am, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

THE SPEAKERSHIP.

List of the Division on the choice of Speaker.

MAJORITY.

For Mr. Abercromby.

Acheson, Viscount	Brodie, William B
Adam, Charles	Brotherton, Joseph
Aglionby, Henry A	Brown, Dominick
Alston, Rowland	Buckingham, J S
Andover, Lord	Buller, Edward
Anson, Sir George	Buller, Charles
Astley, Sir Jacob, Bart	Bulwer, H L
Attwood, Thomas	Bulwer, Edw G E L
Bagshaw, John	Burdon, W W
Baines, Edward	Burton, Henry P
Bannerman, Alexander	Butler, Hon Pierce
Barclay, David	Buxton, T F
Barham, John	Byng, George
Baring, Francis T	Byng, Sir John
Barnard, Edward G	Campbell, Sir J
Barron, Henry W	Carter, J B
Barry, Garret S	Cave, Otway
Beaucherk, A W	Cavendish, Hon C
Beaumont, T W	Cavendish, Hon G H
Bellew, Richard M	Cayley, Edward S
Bellew, Sir F, Bart	Chalmers, Patrick
Berkeley, Hon C F	Chapman, M L
Berkeley, Hon G C	Cheswynd, W F
Berkeley, Hon F F	Chichester, J F B
Bernal, Ralph	Clay, William
Bewes, Thomas	Clayton, Lieut-Col Sir
Biddulph, Robert	W. Bart
Bish, Thomas	Clive, Edward Bolton
Blackburne, John	Cockrell, Sir C, Bart
Blake, Martin J	Cochrington, Sir E
Blamire, William	Codder, John
Blunt, Sir Charles R	Conyngham, Lord A D
Bodkin, John James	Cookes, T H
Bowes, John	Copper, Hon W F
Bowring, Dr	Crawford, William
Brabazon, Sir Wm J	Crawford, Wm E
Brady, Denis C	Crawley, Samuel
Bridge, Hewitt	Crompton, Samuel

Curteis, Herbert B	Howard, Hon E G G
Curteis, Edward B	Howard, Philip H
Dalmey, Lord	Howick, Viscount
De Beauvoir, Sir J E	Hume, Joseph
Denison, Wm J	Humphrey, John
Dennistoun, Alexander	Hurst, Robert Henry
Divett, Edward	Hutt, William
Dobbin, Leonard	Jervis, John
Donkin, Sir R S	Johnston, Andrew
Duncombe, T S	Kemp, Thomas Read
Dundas, Hon T	Kennedy, James
Dundas, Hon J C	Kerry, Earl of
Dunlop, Colin	King, Edward B
Dykes, F L B	Labouchere, Henry
Ebrington, Lord	Lambton, Hedworth
Edwards, John	Langton, William Gore
Elphinstone, Howard	Leader, John Temple
Erwall, Ralph	Lefevre, Charles S
Evans, Col De Lacy	Lemon, Sir C, Bart
Evans, George	Lennard, Thomas B
Ewart, William	Lister, Ellis Cunliffe
Fazakerley, John N	Littleton, Rt Hon E
Fellowes, Hon N	Loch, James
Fergus, John	Locke, Wadham
Ferguson, Sir R C	Lopes, Rir Ralph, Bart
Fergusson, Rt Hon R C	Lumley, Lord
French, Fitz-Stephen	Lushington, Dr.
Finn, Wm Francis	Lushington, Charles
Fitzgibbon, Hon R H	Lynch, A H S
Fitzroy, Lord Charles	Mackenzie, A J S
Fitzsimon, Nicholas	Macleod, Roderick
Fitzsimon, Chris	Macnamara, Wm N
Fort, John	Maher, John
Folkes, Sir Wm J H B,	Mangles, James
Bart	Majofibanks, S
Fox, Charles Richard	Marshall, William
Gaskell, Daniel	Marland, Henry
Gillon, Wm Downe	Martin, Thomas
Gisborne, Thomas	Maule, Hon Fox
Gordon, Robert	Maxwell, John
Grant, Rt Hon C	M'Cance, John
Grattan, Henry	Mathuen, Paul
Grattan, James	Molesworth, Sir W, Bt
Grey, Hon Charles	Moreton, Hon A H
Grey, Sir Geo, Bart	Morpeth, Lord
Grosvenor, Lord R	Mosley, Sir O, Bart
Grote, George	Motyn, Hon E M L
Guest, Josiah John	Mullins, Fred Wm
Gully, John	Murray, John Arch
Hall, Benjamin	Musgrave, Sir R, Bart
Hallyborton, Hon D G	Nagle, Sir R, Bart
Harland, W Charles	North, Frederick
Harvey, D Whittle	O'Brien, Cornelius
Hawes, Benjamin	O'Brien, Wm Smith
Hawkins, J Haywood	O'Connell, Morgan
Hay, Colonel Leith	O'Connell, Daniel
Hendry, John	O'Connell, John
Hendry, R F	O'Connell, Morgan J
Hector, C J	O'Connell, Maurice
Hemphill, Edward	O'Connor, Fergus
Heron, Sir R, Bart	O'Connor, Don
Hindley, Charles	O'Dwyer, A C
Hobhouse, Sir J C, Bt	O'Farrell, R M
Hodges, Thomas Law	Oliphant, Laurence
Hodges, Teyden	O'Loughlin, M
Holland, Robert	Ord, William Henry
Hoskins, Kedgwin	Ord, William

Oswald, R A	Stanley, Hon H T	Baillie, Hugh Duncan	Denison, John E
Oswald, James	Stewart, Sir M S, Bart	Bainbridge, Edw T	Dick, Quintin
Paget, Frederick	Stewart, Robert	Barclay, Charles	Dottin, Abel Rous
Palmer, Charles	Stewart, P Maxwell	Balfour, —	Dowdeswell, William
Parker, John	Strickland, Sir George	Baring, Francis	Duffield, Thomas
Parnell, Sir H B, Bart	Strutt, Edward	Baring, Wm B	Dugdale, D S
Parrott, Jasper	Sullivan, Richard	Baring, Right Hon A	Duncombe, Hon W
Parry, L P J	Sutton, R H, Sir C M	Baring, H Bingham	Duncombe, Hon A
Pattison, James	Talbot, J Hyacinth	Baring, Thomas	Dundas, Robert A
Pease, Joseph	Talfourd, T Noon	Barneby, John	Durham, Sir P C H
Pelham, Hon C A W	Tancred, H W	Bateson, Sir R Bart	East, James Buller
Pendarves, E W W	Tennyson, Rt Hon C	Beckett, Sir J Bart	Eastnor, Viscount
Peppys, Sir Chas C	Thompson, Paul B	Bell, Matthew	Eaton, Richard J
Perrin, Louis	Thomson, Rt Hon C P	Bentinck, Lord Geo	Egerton, Wm Tatton
Philips, George R	Thorneley, Thomas	Beresford, Sir J P, Bt	Egerton, Sir P de M,
Phillips, Mark	Tooke, William	Bethall, Richard	Bart
Pinney, William	Townley, R G	Blackburne, John	Egerton, Lord Francis
Ponsonby, Hon J G B	Tracey, Charles H	Blackstone, Wm S	Entwistle, John
Potter, Richard	Trelawney, Sir W L S	Boldero, Henry G	Estcourt, Thomas G B
Poulter, John Sayer	Trowbridge, Sir E	Bolling, Wm	Euston, Earl of
Power, James	Tulk, Charles A	Bonham, Francis R	Fancourt, C St Joh ^{ns}
Power, P	Tynte, Charles K K	Borthwick, Peter	Fector, John Minet
Poyntz, Wm Stephen	Tynte, C J Kemys	Bradshaw, James	Feilden, William
Price, Sir Robert, Bart	Villiers, Charles P	Brampton, Thomas W	Ferguson, George
Pryme, George	Villiers, Frederick	Brocklehurst, John	Ferguson, Sir R, Bart
Ramsbottom, John	Vivian, Charles C	Brownrigg, J S	Finch, George
Ramsden, John C	Vivian, John Henry	Bruce, Lord E A, C B	Fleetwood, Peter H
Rice, Rt Hon T S	Wakley, Thomas	Bruce, C L C	Fleming, John
Rippon, Cuthbert	Walker, Richard	Brudenell, Lord	Foley, Edw Thomas
Roberts, Abraham W	Walker, Charles A	Bruen, Colonel	Follett, Sir W Webb
Roche, William	Wallace, Robert	Bruen, Francis	Forbes, Lord
Rodick, David	Warburton, Henry	Bulkeley, Sir R E W	Forbes, William
Roebuck, J Arthur	Ward, Henry George	Buller, Sir J B Yarde	Forster, Hon G C W
Rolfe, R M	Wemyss, James	Burrell, Sir C M Bart	Forster, Charles S
Ronayne, Dominick	Westenra, Hon Col	Campbell, Sir H P H	Fremantle, Sir T F, Bt
Rooper, J Bonfoy	Westenra, Hon H R	Bart	Freshfield, James W
Rundell, John	Whalley, Sir S S S B	Canning, Sir S	Gaskell, James M
Russell, Lord John	White, Samuel	Carruthers, David	Geary, Sir W R P, Bt
Russell, Lord	Wigney, Isaac N	Castlereagh, Viscount	Gladstone, Wm E
Russell, Lord C J F	Wilbraham, George	Chandos, Marquis of	Gladstone, Thomas
Ruthven, Edward	Wilde, Thomas	Chaplin, Thomas	Gladricke, F L H
Ruthven, E S	Wilkins, Walter	Chapman, Aaron	Gordon, Hon Wm
Schofield, Joshua	Wilks, John	Charlton, E L	Gore, Wm Ormsby
Scott, James W	Williams, Sir J	Chatterton, C	Goring, Harry Dent
Scrope, George P	Williams, Wm A	Chichester, Arthur	Goulburn, Rt Hon H
Seale, Colonel	Williams, William	Churchill, Lord C S	Goulburn, Mr Serl
Seymour, Lord	Williamson, Sir H, Bt	Clerke, Sir G, Bart	Graham, Sir J R G, Bt
Sharpe, General	Winnington, H J	Clive, Viscount	Grant, Hon F W
Sheil, Richard L	Winnington, Sir T E,	Clive, Hon R H	Greene, Thomas
Sheldon, E R C	Bart	Codrington, C W	Gresley, Sir B, Bart
Simson, Sir R G, Bart	Wood, Charles	Cole, Hon A H	Greville, Sir C J
Smith, Robert V	Wood, Matthew	Cole, Viscount	Grimston, Viscount
Smith, Benjamin	Wyndham, Sir J	Compton, Henry C	Grimston, Hon E H
Speers, Captain	Wyndham, Sir J, Bart	Conolly, R M	Halford, Henry
Spinks, Alexander	Wyse, Thomas, Bart	Cooper, Hon H A	Halse, James
Stanley, Edward J		Cooper, E J	Hamilton, Lord C
		Coote, Sir C C, Bart	Handler, Henry
		Copeland, W C	Hamm, Sir J, Bart
		Corbett, P D	Hamm, Henry
		Cornwall, Hon H T L	Harcourt, George G
		Crewe, Sir J, Bart	Hartinge, Sir J, Bart
		Cripps, Joseph	Harley, John
		D'Almeida, Sir C	Hawkes, Thomas
		Damer, Dawson	Hay, Sir John, Bart
		Dare, W E	Hayes, Sir J, Bart
		Darlington, Bart et	Heathcote, Sir G, Bart
		Davenport, John	Heathcote, G J

MINOR.

For Sir Charles Mansel Pleydell

Abercromby, Hon J	Archibald, Hon H
Agnew, Sir A Bart	Archibald, Mervyn, Hon
Ainsworth, Peter	Ashley, Lord
Alford, Lord	Attwood, Matthew
Alington, Richard	Bagot, Hon Wm
Angerstein, John	Bailey, Joseph

Henniker, Lord
 Herbert, Hon Sidney
 Harries, Rt Hon J C
 Hill, Sir Rowland, Bt
 Hill, Lord Arthur
 Hogg, James Weir
 Hope, Hon James
 Hope, Henry T
 Hotham, Lord
 Houldsworth, Thomas
 Hoy, James Barlow
 Hughes, W Hughes
 Ingham, Robert
 Inglis, Sir R H, Bart
 Irton, Samuel
 Jackson, Joseph D
 Jephson, C D O
 Jermyn, Earl of
 Johnstone, J J H
 Jones, Theobald
 Jones, Wilson
 Kavanagh, Thomas
 Kearsley, John H
 Kelly, Frederick
 Kerr, David
 Kerrison, Sir Edward
 Kirk, Peter
 Knatchbull, Sir E
 Knox, Hon J
 Lawson, Andrew
 Lee, John Lee
 Lefroy, Thomas
 Lefroy, Anthony
 Lennox, Lord J G
 Lewis, David
 Lewis, Wyndham
 Leycester, Joseph
 Lincoln, Earl of
 Long, Walter
 Lowther, Lord
 Lowther, Hon H C
 Lowther, John H
 Lucas, Edward
 Lygon, Hon Col H B
 Mackinnon, W A
 Maclean, Donald
 Mahon, Lord
 Mandeville, Viscount
 Manners, Lord Robert
 Marsland, Thomas
 Martin, John
 Mathew, Captain
 Maxwell, Henry
 Meynell, Henry
 Miles, William
 Miles, Philip J
 Miller, Wm Henry
 Mordaunt, Sir J Bart
 Morgan, Chas M R
 Neeld, Joseph
 Neeld, John
 Nicholl, John
 Noel, Sir Geo Noel
 Norreys, Lord
 O'Neill, Hon J B R
 Oulton, Lord
 Owen, Sir John, Bart

Owen, Hugh
 Palmer, Robert
 Patten, John Wilson
 Peel, Colonel
 Peel, Sir R, Bart
 Peel, Rt Hon W Yates
 Peel, Edmund
 Pelham, John C
 Pemberton, Thomas
 Penruddocke, J H
 Perceval, Colonel
 Philipps, Charles M
 Pigot, Robert
 Plamptre, John P
 Polhill, Frederick
 Pollock, Sir Frederick
 Powell, William Edw
 Praed, James B
 Praed, Winthrop M
 Price, Samuel Grove
 Price, Richard
 Pringle, A, Whytbank
 Pusey, Philip
 Ray, Sir William, Bart
 Reid, Sir J Rae, Bart
 Richards, John
 Rickford, William
 Ridgely, Sir W, Bart
 Robinson, George R
 Ross, Charles
 Rushbrook, Robert
 Russell, Charles
 Kyle, John
 Sandon, Lord
 Sanderson, Richard
 Scarlett, Hon R C
 Scott, Sir E D
 Scott, Lord John
 Scourfield, W H
 Shaw, Frederick
 Sheppard, Thomas
 Sibthorp, Colonel
 Sinclair, George
 Smith, Thomas A
 Smith, Abel
 Smyth, Sir G H, Bart
 Somerset, Lord G C H
 Somerset, Lord R E H
 Spry, Sir Samuel T
 Stanley, Lord
 Stanley, Edward
 Stewart, John
 Stormont, Lord
 Stuart, Lord B C
 Stuart, Henry Charles
 Surrey, Earl of
 Talmash, Hon A G
 Tapps, G W
 Tennant, J E
 Thomas, Colonel
 Thompson, Wm
 Townsend, La J, N B B
 Treach, Sir Frederick
 Trevor, Hon G R
 Trevor, Hon Arthur
 Turner, William
 Turner, Thomas

Twiss, Horace
 Tyrrell, Sir J B, Bart
 Vaughan, Sir R W, Bt
 Vere, Sir C B, Bart
 Verner, William
 Verney, Sir H, Bart
 Vernon, Granville H
 Vesey, Hon Thomas
 Vivian, John Ennis
 Vyryan, Sir R R, Bart
 Wall, Charles Baring
 Walter, John
 Welby, Glynne Earle
 Weyland, Richard
 Whitmore, Thos C
 Wilbraham, Hon R B
 Williams, Thomas P
 Williams, Robt jun
 Wilmot, Sir E E, Bart
 Wilson, Henry
 Wodehouse, Hon B
 Wood, Thomas
 Worcester, Marq. of
 Wortley, Hon J S
 Wyndham, Wadham
 Wynn, Rt Hon W W
 Wynn, Sir W W, Bart
 Yorke, Elliott Thomas
 Young, Sir W L, Bart
 Young, George F
 Young, John

REFORMERS ABSENT (25)

Belfast, Earl of
 Bennett, John
 Burdett, Sir Francis
 Campbell, W F
 Clements, Lord
 Cobbett, Wm (left the house)
 Colborne, N W R
 Dillwyn, L W
 *Ellice, Edward
 Ferguson, Robt (left the house)
 Fielden, John
 *Glynne, Sir S R
 Howard, Ralph
 Johnstone, Sir J V B
 Lennox, Lord Arthur
 M'Taggart, John
 *Milton, Lord
 *Ponsonby, J G B
 Pryse, Pryse
 Sanford, E A
 Smith, R J
 *Smith, J Abel
 *Stuart, Lord James
 Talbot, Chr R M
 *In Italy.
 †In consequence of the accident which has happened to his father, Earl Fitzwilliam.

ANTI-REFORMERS ABSENT (7)

Calcraft, J H
 Cartwright, W R
 Knightley, Sir Charles Walpole, Lord
 Pechell, G R
 Pollen, Sir John
 Pollington Lord

PAIRED.

FOR
 W Gore Langton, Esq.
 AGAINST
 Sir W W Wynn, Bart.

TELLERS.

Charles Wood
 Sir G Clerk, Bart

THE PARLIAMENT.

Which met, and chose a SPEAKER, on the 19., had a Speech from the Throne on the 24.; and the House of Commons have been debating on the address every night since, this night (Thursday, 25.) inclusive. I have not time now to do any thing more than merely insert the Speech, the address, and the amendment.

THE KING'S SPEECH.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I avail myself of the earliest opportunity of meeting you in Parliament, after having recurred to the sense of my people.

You will, I am confident, fully participate in the regret which I feel at the destruction, by accidental fire, of that part of the ancient palace of Westminster, which has been long appropriated to the use of the two Houses of Parliament.

Upon the occurrence of this calamity I gave immediate directions that the best provision of which the circumstances of the case would admit should be made for your present meeting, and it will be my wish to adopt such plans for your permanent accommodation as shall be deemed, in your joint consideration, to be the most fitting and convenient.

I will give directions that there be laid before you the report made to me by the Privy Council, in reference to the origin of the fire, and the evidence upon which that report was founded.

The assurances which I receive from my allies, and generally from all foreign Princes and States, of their earnest desire to cultivate the relations of amity, and to maintain with me the most friendly understanding, justify, on my part, the confident expectation of the continuance of the blessings of peace.

The single exception to the general tranquillity of Europe is the civil contest which still prevails in some of the northern provinces of Spain.

I will give directions that there be laid before you articles which I have concluded with my allies, the King of the French, the Queen Regent of Spain, and the Queen of Portugal, which are supple-

mentary to the treaty of April, 1834, and are intended to facilitate the complete attainment of the objects contemplated by that treaty.

I have to repeat the expression of my regret that the relations between Holland and Belgium still remain unsettled.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have directed the estimates for the ensuing year to be prepared, and to be laid before you without delay.

They have been formed with the strictest attention to economy, and I have the satisfaction of acquainting you that the total amount of the demands for the public service will be less on the present than it has been on any former occasion within our recent experience.

The satisfactory state of the trade and commerce of the country, and of the public revenue, fully justifies the expectation that, notwithstanding the reductions in taxation, which were made in the last session, and which, when they shall have taken full effect, will tend to diminish the surplus of the public revenue, there will remain a sufficient balance to meet the additional charge which will arise from providing the compensation granted by Parliament, on account of the abolition of slavery throughout the British dominions.

I deeply lament that the agricultural interest continues in a state of great depression.

I recommend to your consideration whether it may not be in your power, after providing for the exigencies of the public service, and consistently with the steadfast maintenance of the public credit, to devise a method for mitigating the pressure of those local charges which bear

heavily on the owners and occupiers of land, and for distributing the burden of them more equally over other descriptions of property.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The information received from the Governors of my Colonies, together with the acts passed in execution of the law for the abolition of slavery, will be communicated to you.

It is with much satisfaction that I have observed the general concurrence of the colonial legislatures in giving effect to this important measure: and notwithstanding the difficulties with which the subject is necessarily attended, I have seen no reason to abate my earnest hopes of a favourable issue.

Under all circumstances, you may be assured of my anxious desire, and unceasing efforts, fully to realize the benevolent intentions of Parliament.

There are many important subjects, some of which have already undergone partial discussion in Parliament; the adjustment of which, at as early a period as is consistent with the mature consideration of them, would be of great advantage to the public interest.

Among the first, in point of urgency, is the state of the tithe question in Ireland, and the means of effecting an equitable and final adjustment of it.

Measures will be proposed for your consideration, which will have for their respective objects to promote the commutation of tithe in England and Wales, to improve our civil jurisprudence, and the administration of justice in ecclesiastical causes, to make provision for the more effectual maintenance of ecclesiasti-

cal discipline, and to relieve those who dissent from the doctrines or discipline of the church from the necessity of celebrating the ceremony of marriage according to its rites.

I have not yet received the report from the commissioners appointed to inquire into the state of municipal corporations, but I have reason to believe that it will be made, and that I shall be enabled to communicate it to you at an early period.

I have appointed a commission for considering the state of the several dioceses in England and Wales, with reference to the amount of their revenues, and to the more equal distribution of the episcopal duties, the state of the several cathedral and collegiate churches, with a view to the suggestion of such measures as may render them most conducive to the efficiency of the established church, and for devising the best mode of providing for the cure of souls, with reference to the residence of the clergy on their respective benefices.

The especial object which I have in view in the appointment of this commission is to extend more widely the means of religious worship according to the doctrines of the established church, and to confirm its hold upon the veneration and affections of my people.

I feel it also incumbent upon me to call your earnest attention to the condition of the church of Scotland, and to the means by which it may be enabled to increase the opportunities of religious worship in that part of the United Kingdom.

It has been my duty, on this occasion, to direct your consideration to various

important matters connected with our domestic policy.

I rely with entire confidence on your willing co-operation in perfecting all such measures as may be calculated to remove just cause of complaint, and to promote the concord and happiness of my subjects.

I rely also, with equal confidence in the caution and circumspection with which you will apply yourselves to the alteration of laws, which affect very extensive and complicated interests, and are interwoven with ancient usages, to which the habits and feelings of my people have conformed.

I feel assured that it will be our common object in supplying that which may be defective, or in renovating that which may be impaired, to strengthen the foundations of those institutions in church and state, which are the inheritance and birth-right of my people, and which amidst all the vicissitudes of public affairs have proved, under the blessing of Almighty God, the truest guarantees of their liberties, their rights, and their religion.

The House then adjourned until five o'clock, when the debate on the address commenced.

PETITIONS FROM LANCASHIRE.

LANCASHIRE, always more spirit, and more sense, than any other county; always surpassing in this respect, every spot in the kingdom, *Passey* only excepted; the people of this county have long shown that they knew their rights well, and they are now showing that they are resolved to have those rights. The people of MANCHESTER, and, I suppose, of OLDHAM, and all the rest of this famous county, are now signing the petition, which I am here about to insert. Stupid, or base, or both is that city or town, that does not

follow their example. I trust that we shall have similar petitions from the public-spirited towns in the north; so that we, who plead the cause, and assert the rights of those classes, may show that we have those classes at our backs. I beseech the people and my own constituents in particular, not to throw away one single moment in talking, or even thinking about *Whig* and *Tory*. Both factions are the same with regard to the people; neither will give them anything that it can possibly refuse with safety to itself. I do beseech the people to entertain no hopes from ANY PARTY whatever, call itself what it may. I do beseech them TO RELY UPON THEMSELVES; and I do beseech them to scout any member whom they see attaching himself to any particular group of men in Parliament. This country rich by nature; always the most rich in the world; rendered so enviably great by the industry, perseverance, and integrity of its people, has been brought into its present deplorable state only by suffering itself to be amused, cajoled, and defrauded by the detestable factions who have ridden it, and robbed it by turns, for more than a hundred years. It is time to be wise at last; and, if the rest of the nation follow the example of MANCHESTER, the fraudulent tyranny of party will soon be blowed into the air.

The *working-people* of London are bestirring themselves, too, in a very sensible manner, as will be seen below, by the petitions that they are preparing and signing. The petition of the bastards is excellent; but the gentleman who drew it up forgot that QUEEN ELIZABETH was a real *bona fide* bastard; and that the mother of QUEEN ANNE was with child, with this queen, before the mother was married, and that the father married her to "make her an honest woman," by the advice of his brother. But above all things, these petitioners should not have forgotten, that WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR, from whom his present Majesty traces his pedigree, and who actually was the founder of all the titles to all the landed estates in England, was a bastard; and yet our nobility and gentry are now so squeamish, that they would punish the poor people for the crime of bastardy.

with something very nearly approaching to death. Ah! It is not *morality*: it is no consideration of this sort, by which they are actuated. However, all this will be discussed now: we shall soon get foot to foot with the Poor-law Bill gentry; and, therefore, we need say nothing more about it now.

I have only to add now, that there is no objection whatever, to every petition being in the SAME WORDS. We had about seven hundred petitions, all in the same words, for Parliamentary reform, in 1817; and it was that *sameness* which frightened the boroughmonger ruffians. In answer to their objection, that all the petitions were in the same words, we reminded the stupid tyrants that the law commanded us and the clergy taught us, all to pray to GOD, every Sunday, and all in the same words, over and over again, for the whole of our lives; and that, if this uniformity was so proper and necessary for the salvation of ourselves, and when addressed to our Maker, it certainly could not be wrong, in a case where our temporal welfare was concerned, and where our prayers were addressed to those who professed to be our representatives.

Oh, no! Have no scruple on this score; waste no time in drawing up fresh petitions, if you like these. Draw them up, sign them numerously, send them forward, and let us show the factions that we have the people at our backs; for, without that, we can do but very little. This advice I offer to all the industrious classes, from the farmer and the manufacturer, down to the ploughman and the hand-loom weaver. Let these classes thus act; let them remember, that no man can assist them, unless they be ready to help themselves; let them thus act, and scorn to put any trust in any party whatsoever; for this is the great error of the people of England; let them put no trust in any party; let them be assured, and never forget for a moment, that they will get nothing that does not come out of their own exertions. A "representative" is a very pretty word; and the theory of "representation" is a very pretty theory; but, if the people think that that is all that is wanted; if they

think, that the mere choosing of a member, and sending him here is enough for them to do, they are egregiously deceived: rather than call that every thing, I should call it nothing; and this was told to our constituents most plainly, by myself and my honourable colleague. Our constituents saw the reasonableness of our representations; and they are now zealously at work to prepare petitions to send forward in our support. I do beseech the people every where to think well of this matter; and to follow the example of the public-spirited and sensible people of Lancashire. Always bearing in mind, that the ruin of the people of England has been, their having been amused and deceived by factions and nick-names.

WM. COBBETT.

(From the Manchester Advertiser, 21. Feb.)

At a public meeting of the inhabitants of Manchester and the neighbourhood, held in the Manor Court-room, Brown-street, on Thursday evening, February 19, 1835, on the subject of the Poor-law Amendment Bill, and the national debt, Thomas Fielden, Esq., in the chair, it was resolved unanimously:

Moved by Mr. W. G. Seed, seconded by Mr. Condy,

1. That the act called the Poor-law Amendment Act, which was passed by the last Parliament, is an Act in direct opposition to the law of God as explained in scripture, and incorporated with the ancient law of England, and that it is contrary to the law of nature, and the laws and institutions of the country; and that a petition be presented to the new Parliament for the repeal thereof, and that the following petition be adopted:

To the honourable the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland. The petition of the undersigned labourers of Manchester and the neighbourhood.

Sheweth,—That your petitioners are informed, and verily believe, that a legal provision for the poor has been at all times in English history one of the established principles of the English Govern-

ment; that it is declared in the New Testament to be one of the chief objects for which Jesus Christ came into the world: that the doctrines he taught, and the example he set, were all designed by Omnipotence to enforce upon mankind the necessity of being patient and forbearing, and benevolent one towards another; that this divine principle has been transplanted into and incorporated with the plan of the good old English government, from the time in which Christianity identified itself with the government of the European states until the clergy and aristocracy of England seized upon the dedicated property of the poor, in the tithes, and applied the whole of those tithes to their own purposes; that the law of the universal church, and the constitutional and the statute law of England all recognised this appropriation of one part of the tithe to the relief of the indigent or incapable poor: that, notwithstanding all these solemn guarantees, older and more sacred than can be cited in favour of any human possession whatsoever, the late Parliament and administration, from whose control it has been the will of our most gracious King to relieve us, passed a law to abrogate this most ancient right of the indigent and disabled poor, and against all sanction of laws divine and human, and against the clearly expressed intention and the approbation of all the wise and humane commentators upon those laws, have decreed against any such right of the poor as aforesaid. Now, therefore, we humbly pray your honourable House, with the least possible delay, to repeal the said act of the last Session of Parliament, and to restore the dominion of the British crown to the rule of the gospel of Christ, and the ancient constitution of England. And your petitioners will ever pray.

Moved by Mr. E. Dixon, seconded by Mr. Whyatt.

2. That it appears to this meeting, that nearly one-half of the fruits of the industry and toil of the labouring man is taken away in taxes; that this is mainly occasioned by the pressure upon the country of what is called the "national

debt," which has been prodigiously increased by the operation of the act known by the name of "Peel's Bill," and of other legislative measures to enforce it, by which the people are compelled to pay in gold the interest of a debt contracted in depreciated paper; that thereby the value of money being raised, and its command over the products of industry being vastly increased: the pressure of taxation is rendered intolerably burdensome, and the condition of the labourer unbearably depressed. That the effect, as respects the national creditor and the labourer, is flagrantly unjust, by giving to the former more than he had any reason or right to expect; and that, too, to such an extent, that, were an adjustment with him now made, on principles of equity, his claim, both for principal and interest, would appear to be discharged; and therefore that the following petition, for an equitable adjustment with the public creditor, or for the relief of labour from the unjust burden of debt called "national," be forwarded to the Commons House of Parliament:

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.—The humble petition of the undersigned inhabitants of the borough of Manchester and its neighbourhood,

Showeth,—That your petitioners complain that out of every twenty-two pounds of the fruits of their industry and toil, about eleven pounds are taken in taxes on the necessaries of life; that they perceive that this great and cruel demand upon them is occasioned, in great part, by the payment of interest on what is commonly called the "national debt."

That the annual charge for this debt, together with the annual charge for collecting the taxes, and for maintaining an army and police to enforce that collection do not amount to so little as the sum of thirty-six millions of pounds sterling in a year.

That your petitioners complain that this charge is flagrantly unjust, seeing that the nation is now compelled to pay in gold of full weight and fineness, the

interest of a debt which was contracted in depreciated paper-money; and that the lenders, after having for twenty years received at the least one-third in interest every year more than they ought to have received, are now actually receiving two-fifths more than they ought to receive, or than they ought to have received, on the average, within the last fifty years; that this holds true, if measured by the prices of agricultural and mining produce; but if the prices of manufactures are adopted as the standard of value, the lenders have for many years been receiving three times the amount they ought to have received, and that your petitioners verily believe that if an equitable adjustment were now to take place, it would appear that these lenders have already received more than the whole amount of the sums lent by them, principal as well as interest.

That your petitioners therefore pray that an equitable adjustment with regard to this debt may take place, in order that justice may be done to all parties, and that your suffering petitioners may be relieved from this burden, now so unjustly and cruelly imposed upon them.

That, however, if your honourable House, proceeding upon the principles of the Reform Bill and of the Poor-law Amendment Bill, reject the idea that any but those of his Majesty's subjects who possess what is called property, have a right to be heard in this matter, your petitioners are confident that your honourable House will have the justice to cease to compel those of them whose only property is in their labour, to pay any part of the interest of this debt; seeing that, according to the principles of the aforementioned bills, you allow those of your petitioners who possess no other property to have no rights beyond those of mere life and limb; and seeing that no Parliament that ever existed could have a right to borrow on and to mortgage their lives or their limbs, or the labour proceeding from those lives and limbs; seeing further, that the money must have been borrowed for the defence of property of some sort other than labour that stood in need of defence, and that the lives and limbs of your petitioners never stood in such need, much less did the lives and

limbs of our children who are now in the cradle,

If, therefore, your honourable House reject the prayer of your petitioners for an equitable adjustment with regard to the interest of the debt, they pray that your honourable House will be pleased to pass a law to exonerate in future all persons possessing no other property than labour from paying, in any way whatsoever, any portion of the interest of that debt.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

The following resolutions were passed *seriatim*:—

3. That Mr. Cobbett be respectfully requested to present the petition for an equitable adjustment of the debt; and that Mr. John Fielden be requested to present the petition for the repeal of the Poor Law Amendment Bill.

4. That the following gentlemen be appointed a committee for carrying the foregoing resolutions into effect:—Messrs. Condy, Wroe, Dixon, Seed, Willis, Brodie, Hodgetts, and Clegg, with power to add to their number.

5. That the petitions do lie at the following places for signature:—*Advertiser's Office*; Mr. Wroe's, Ancoats-street; Mr. Candelet's, Millgate; Mr. Whyatt's, Bridge-street; Mr. Heywood's, Oldham-street; Mr. Stringer's, London-road; Mr. Middleton's, Hulme; and such other places as the committee may deem necessary.

THOMAS FIELDEN, Chairman.

From the True Sun, 21. Feb.)

The following petition to Parliament, praying that the landholders may be compelled to fulfil the conditions upon which they hold their lands, by defraying the expenses of the state, is in extensive circulation:

The petition of the undersigned inhabitants of London, Westminster, and places adjacent,

Humbly sheweth,

That your petitioners, for the most

part, are of the wealth-producing classes, who from their youth up have experienced great privations and difficulties, resulting from the present anomalous state of society: from their situation in life they have had ample means of judging of the wide and desolating effects of poverty and wretchedness to which their brethren are subject; feeling, therefore, and sympathizing with them, your petitioners have been induced to inquire into the causes of so much misery in the midst of plenty. The result of this inquiry they beg to submit to the attention of your honourable House.

That amid the numerous evils to which your petitioners are exposed, they believe that the chief evil in importance, if not the greatest in magnitude, is, that the lands of this country, which a bountiful Creator bestowed upon all his children, have been engrossed, and are held in possession, by comparatively a few persons; who have arrogated to themselves an almost exclusive power in legislation, and, by virtue of that power, have enacted the most sanguinary and oppressive laws, to protect what they denominate their property.

That those persons have used, and still continue to use, the great bulk of the people as mere tools and instruments to contribute to their luxuries and excesses; at the same time that they have made laws, which, by their effects, have ground down the people to a state of poverty and degradation, equalled in no age or country blessed with the same means of happiness.

That your petitioners, struck with the monstrous injustice of those few persons possessing the power to inflict such misery on the multitude, have examined into the right and justice of those claims, agreeably to the dictates of common sense, and in accordance with the laws and usages of these realms: that common sense and reason have taught your petitioners, that even in a state of nature must all have been placed in a condition that they might freely participate in the bounty of the Creator, or in the materials of wealth, according to the physical and mental capacities of each individual; and that, if any equality existed as re-

gards human beings in this particular, if the strong had an advantage over the weak, or the wise over the ignorant, the very objects of society, of laws, and of obligations, were intended to equalize these disproportions of nature.

That, as might can never justly confer right, consequently no one man had a right which another had not; to plant, or to build, or to convert any of the rude materials of nature to his own use, without consulting or agreeing with his fellowmen; which consultation or agreement, your petitioners believe, can only and alone confer civil rights, and that claims which spring from any other source are not binding upon those who have not been so consulted.

That your petitioners further believe, with reference to the application or disposal of the lands of the Kingdom, that unless the principle of consulting the opinion of every individual who comes into existence be preserved, by each adult member of society having a vote or voice in the making of the laws, allegiance cannot be justly exacted from those who are excluded.

That no agreement entered into by the people of a country, which gives an absolute right, in land or in things which are common to all, to any man or set of men, can be binding on those who may subsequently come into existence. The people of a country may delegate power to an individual or body of men, to use or convert those natural productions to their purposes, conditionally and for the benefit of all; but the land itself cannot be given exclusively to any.

That your petitioners have found upon inquiry, that all the lands of this kingdom are held conditionally of the king, as the executive of the people; as appears from Mr Justice Blackstone's "Commentaries" (book 2, chap. 7), wherein it is laid down "that no subject in England has allodial property, it being a received and undeniable principle in the law, that all the lands in England are holden, mediately or immediately, of the king." Your petitioners have further ascertained that the conditions upon which the lands of this country are held, are, that the holders do defray all expenses of the army and

navy, of the household of the king, and all other expenses attendant upon the carrying on of the government, and defending the country.

That, instead of these conditions being fulfilled, the holders of land have sought at all times to shift the burdens of the state from themselves to the producing classes, whereby more than one half of the income of a working man is unjustly taken from him in taxes, in order to meet the current expenses of the State; and what makes this injustice still more intolerable is, that the working man is continually branded as improvident and ignorant; whilst the legislature has taken from him the means of improving his condition, or of acquiring useful instruction; and by the Poor-law Bill passed in the last session of Parliament, the right of the labourer to subsistence from the soil is denied, whilst the aged, the infirm, and the impotent, are held to be intruders upon the estates of the landholders, and as pests to be despised in their native land.

Your petitioners therefore pray, that your honourable house will cause an address to be presented to his Majesty, praying him to demand from the holders of land an immediate fulfilment of the conditions upon which they hold possessions; these conditions being, that the said holders shall collectively defray all the expenses of the army and navy, and of his Majesty's household, together with all other expenses attendant upon the carrying on of the government, and defending of the country; or, in default of the fulfilment of the said conditions, that the lands shall revert to his Majesty, as the executive of the nation, and that a better application of them be thereupon made, for the benefit of the whole people, by which means industry will receive its just reward, pauperism will be unknown, and the necessity for the recently-enacted Poor-law Bill will be totally superseded.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

(From the Times of the 19. Feb.)

To the honourable the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, the humble petition of the undersigned subjects of his Majesty the King, commonly called Bastards,

Showeth,

That your honourable House has, on several recent occasions, taken into its wise and merciful consideration the claims of several classes of his Majesty's subjects; and have, therefore, emancipated the negroes, or black people, inhabiting his Majesty's colonies, removed from the Roman Catholic subjects the civil disabilities under which they were labouring, and have shown a disposition to relieve the Jewish portion of these kingdoms from those incapacities to which they are subjected.

That your petitioners have at the same time observed with much concern and regret, that your honourable House, so far from considering the claims of your petitioners, and the rest of the bastards of these kingdoms; forming no inconsiderable portion of his Majesty's subjects, have added to the oppression under which they were before suffering, by passing a law, commonly called the Poor-law Amendment Bill, the enactment of which has a tendency to bring your petitioners into further contempt, and to withdraw from them that right of subsistence and protection which they felt they ought to have in common with the other subjects of his Majesty.

That the terms *filius nullius*, by which the law designates your petitioners, is a fiction discreditable to a Christian country, and contrary to the dictates of moral truth, and the civil incapacities which arise to them out of this fiction, appear to your petitioners to be oppressive and unreasonable.

That your petitioners, not being authors of their own existence, feel that it must be repugnant to the religion established in this country that they should be punished for the sins of their parents, and they cannot, therefore, admit the justice of any law which shall brand them with a name indicating that, in the scale

of human beings, they are beneath the other subjects of the King.

That as your honourable House has shown so great an anxiety for the extinction of the race to which your petitioners unfortunately belong, they recommend, with that view, the enactment of a law giving to bastards a right of inheritance, in common with legitimate offspring, as the best means of checking licentiousness, it being the opinion of your petitioners, that married men are the fathers of the majority of bastards (so called) born in these kingdoms.

Finally, your petitioners pray your honourable House to consider their general condition, and the incapacities by which they are oppressed, and to grant them such relief as in your wisdom and humanity you may see fit, having in your recollection, that the claims of your petitioners are twofold; first, because they are the innocent victims of a partial law, and, second, because they have ever been found faithful and useful subjects of the King; it being the recorded opinion of a learned investigator of historical truth, "that many of the brave spirits and able " of former times are in the catalogue of " famous bastards."

And your petitioners will ever pray.

NOTICES.

1. The Chancellor of the Exchequer; Committee respecting New Houses of Parliament. Monday 2. March.

2. Mr. Henry Grattan; Committee to inquire into the Proceedings which took place at Rathcormac in Ireland on the 18. of December last; Copy of a Letter signed Fitzroy Somerset, dated Horse Guards 22. February, and addressed to Sir Hussey Vivian, Monday 2. March.

3. Mr. Roebuck; Petition from Members of the Legislative Council and House of Assembly of Lower Canada, complaining of grievances. Monday 2. March.

4. Mr. Wallace (of Greenock); That the Reporters for the Public Press may remain within this House while Divisions are being taken. Tuesday 3. March.

5. Mr. Roebuck; Committee to inquire into the present state of the Education of the People in England and Wales, and into the application and effects of the Grant made in the last Session of Parliament for the erection of School-houses, and to consider the expediency of further Grants in aid of Education, and to report their observations thereupon to the House. Tuesday 3. March.

6. Mr. O'Dwyer; That there be laid before this House, a Copy of any Order recently issued to Officers commanding troops in Ireland, directing "that in future military parties shall not be granted to assist in the collection of Tithes, without special directions from the officer commanding in chief; and directing that, in the event of any collision between the King's troops and the populace, the improper practice hitherto pursued at times, of firing over the heads of the peasantry, be discontinued, and that the troops shall always fire with effect," or words to this import. Tuesday 3. March.

7. Mr. Gisborne; That in all cases in which an Election shall be declared void, on the ground of bribery or treating, or a Sitting Member shall be unseated on the ground of bribery or treating, it is expedient that the expenses of the Petitioners should be borne by the public. Tuesday 3. March.

8. Mr. Feargus O'Connor; Copy of the Evidence taken before the Coroner, upon an Inquest held at Rathcormac, in the County of Cork, upon the bodies of nine persons, who lost their lives at Gurtroc, on the 18. December last; Also, a Copy of the finding of the Jury, and a Copy of the Correspondence, which took place between the Government or Military Secretary and the Magistrates of the County of Cork, relative to granting Troops for the Collection of Tithes and Arrears of Tithes in the Parish of Gurtroc. Tuesday 3. March.

9. Sir John Campbell; Bill to abolish Imprisonment for Debt except in cases of fraud, and to amend the Law of

- Debtor and Creditor. Wednesday 4. March.
10. Sir John Campbell; Bill for the amendment of the Law with respect to Wills, and to Executors and Administrators. Wednesday 4. March.
 11. Sir John Campbell; Bill to facilitate the Enfranchisement of Copyholds, to abolish Heriots, and to amend the Law respecting Copyhold Tenure while the same shall subsist. Wednesday 4. March.
 12. Sir John Campbell; Bill to amend the Law of Tenure. Wednesday 4. March.
 13. Sir John Campbell; Bill to amend the Law of Escheat. Wednesday 4. March.
 14. Mr. Wallace (of Greenock); Select Committee on the Management of the Post Office. Thursday 5. March.
 15. Mr. Wallace (of Greenock); Bills to alter and amend the Procedure in certain Law Courts of Scotland. Thursday, 5. March.
 16. Mr. John Maxwell; Re-appointment of the Committee on Hand-loom Weavers. Monday, 9. March.
 17. Marquis of Chandos; Repeal of the Malt-tax. Tuesday, 10. March.
 18. Mr. Attorney-General; Two Bills, founded on the Report of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, for improving the Administration of Justice in Ecclesiastical Causes. Tuesday, 10. March.
 19. Mr. Poulter; Bill to promote the better Observance of the Lord's Day. Wednesday, 11. March.
 20. Mr. Ward; To bring under the consideration of the House the state of the Protestant Episcopalian Establishment in Ireland, and the necessity of reducing it to a scale corresponding strictly with the wants of the Protestant population. Thursday, 12. March.
 21. Mr. Robert Stenart; Bill to establish an uniform system of registration of Births, Marriages, and Deaths, in Scotland. Thursday, 12. March.
 22. Mr. Charles Buller; Bill to take away the jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical Courts in matters relating to Tithes. Thursday, 12. March.
 23. Sir Henry Hardinge; Consideration of so much of the King's Speech as relates to the subject of Tithes in Ireland. Monday, 16. March.
 24. The Chancellor of the Exchequer; Bill for the relief of persons dissenting from the Church of England in regard to the celebration of Marriages. Tuesday, 17. March.
 25. Mr. Alderman Wood; Bill for the better regulation of Cabriolets and other Hackney Carriages, or of Omnibuses and other Stage Carriages for short distances, used in and near the Metropolis, and of the drivers and attendants thereof. Tuesday, 17. March.
 26. Mr. Poulter; Bill to protect the free exercise of the Political Franchise. Wednesday, 18. March.
 27. Mr. Hardy; Bill to consolidate and amend the Laws against Bribery and Corruption in the Election of Members to serve in Parliament. Thursday, 19. March.
 28. Mr. W. S. O'Brien; Bill for the relief of the aged, helpless, and infirm poor of Ireland. Thursday, 19. March.
 29. The Chancellor of the Exchequer; Bill for Commutation of Tithes in England and Wales. Tuesday, 24. March.
 30. Sir Richard Musgrave; Bill to authorise the relief of the Poor in Ireland in certain cases. Tuesday, 24. March.
 31. Mr. Wilks; For the consideration and redress of the practical grievances of Protestant Dissenters. Thursday, 26. March.
 32. Mr. Tooke; Address to his Majesty, beseeching him to grant his Royal Charter of Incorporation to the University of London, as approved in the year 1831, by the then Law Officers of the Crown, and containing no other restriction than against conferring Degrees in Divinity. Thursday, 26. March.
 33. Sir Samuel Whalley; That it is the opinion of this House, That in any plan of Church Reform, it will be expedient to provide for the attendance of the Bishops in the House of

- Lords, that they may give their advice, when requested, on questions affecting the Church, in the same manner that the Judges do upon questions of Law, but, like them, without having the power of voting. Tuesday, 31. March.
34. Mr. Roebuck; Bill for the better government of Lower Canada. Thursday, 2. April.
35. Mr. Grote; That the Votes at Elections for Members of Parliament be taken by way of Ballot. Thursday, 2. April.
36. Mr. Cayley; Committee to inquire into the truth of the reported smuggling of Foreign Corn into Great Britain, through Ireland, the Canadas, the Channel Islands, and other sources; and into the allegation that this is the cause of the present grievous depression in the price of British Grain. Tuesday, 7. April.
37. Mr. Cobbett; Bill to repeal the Poor Law Amendment Act, passed in the last Session of Parliament. Tuesday, 7 April.
38. Mr. Divett; Resolutions for the complete extinction of Church Rates throughout England and Wales. Tuesday, 7. April.
39. Mr. W. S. O'Brien; Resolutions to the effect, that it is expedient to give to several of the larger Counties in Ireland additional Representatives in Parliament, with the view of diminishing the great inequality which at present exists between the Representation of Great Britain, and that of Ireland, in reference to the population and resources of each Kingdom. Tuesday, 7. April.
40. Mr. Robinson; Select Committee to consider the expediency of a Revision and Commutation of Taxes. Tuesday, 7. April.
41. Mr. Ewart; Bill giving Financial Full Defence by Counsel and Attorney. Thursday, 9. April.
42. Mr. Ewart; Bill to abolish Capital Punishment in certain cases. Thursday, 9. April.
43. Sir Samuel Whalley; Resolution respecting the Repeal of the Window Tax. Thursday, 9. April.
44. Mr. Divett; Committee of the whole House on the Act of the last Session of Parliament for increasing the Duties on Spirit Licenses. Tuesday, 14. April.
45. Mr. Cobbett; Resolution, That it is just and expedient, that there be an equitable adjustment with regard to the Interest payable on what is commonly called the National Debt; and that, at all events, it is just and expedient, that none but the holders of lands and other real property should be taxed for the purpose of raising money wherewith to pay that Interest, or any part of it. Wednesday, 15. April.
46. Mr. Cayley; A Motion (based on the Parliamentary Declaration of Agricultural Distress) to inquire if there be not effectual means within the reach of Parliament to afford substantial relief to the Agriculture of the United Kingdom. Tuesday, 19. May.
47. Major Fancourt; In Committee on Mutiny Bill, to move for the Abolition of Military Flogging.
48. Mr. Ewart; To move, in the Annual Sugar Bill, the reduction of the Duty on East India Sugar to the same rate as the Duty on West India Sugar:—Also, to move, the general reduction of Duties on articles of East India produce.
49. Sir Samuel Whalley; On Motion for the Repeal of the Septennial Act, to move, as an Amendment, that the duration of Parliaments shall be three years; and that they may not be sooner dissolved, except after the demise of the Crown; which event shall not otherwise shorten that term.

ADDRESSES.

Motion made and question proposed, —That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to express to his Majesty the humble thanks of this House, for his

Majesty's most gracious speech from the throne :

To acknowledge with thankfulness, as a proof of his Majesty's paternal solicitude for the welfare of his people, his Majesty having availed himself of the earliest opportunity of meeting us in Parliament, after having recurred to the sense of his people :

To assure his Majesty that we fully participate in the regret which his Majesty feels at the destruction by accidental fire of that part of the ancient palace of Westminster which has been long appropriated to the use of the two houses of Parliament :

To thank his Majesty for having given, upon the occurrence of this calamity, immediate direction that the best provision of which the circumstances of the case would admit, should be made for our present meeting, and for the gracious expression of his wish to adopt such plans for our permanent accommodation, as shall be deemed, on the joint consideration of the two houses of Parliament, to be the most fitting and convenient :

To thank his Majesty for having given directions that there be laid before us the report made to his Majesty by the Privy Council in reference to the origin of the fire, and the evidence upon which that report was founded :

That we have learned with the most lively satisfaction that the assurances which his Majesty receives from his allies, and generally from all foreign princes and states, of their earnest desire to cultivate the relations of amity, and to maintain with his Majesty the most friendly understanding, justify, on the part of his Majesty, the confident expectation of the continuance of the blessings of peace :

Humbly to state to his Majesty our acknowledgments of his Majesty's gracious communication that the single exception to the general tranquillity of Europe is the civil contest which still prevails in some of the northern provinces of Spain, and that his Majesty has given directions that there be laid before us articles which he has concluded with his allies the King of the French, the Queen Regent of Spain, and the Queen of Portugal, which are supplementary to the

treaty of April, 1834, and are intended to facilitate the complete attainment of the objects contemplated by that treaty :

To express our participation in the regret of his Majesty, that the relations between Holland and Belgium still remain unsettled :

To convey to his Majesty our thanks for having directed the estimates for the ensuing year to be prepared, and to be laid before us without delay, and for his Majesty's gracious assurance that they have been framed with the strictest attention to economy :

That we also learn with satisfaction that the total amount of the demands for the public service will be less in the present than it has been on any former occasion within recent experience :

To state to his Majesty the sincere pleasure with which we learn that the satisfactory state of the trade and commerce of the country, and of the public revenue, fully justifies the expectation that, notwithstanding the reductions in taxation which were made in the last session, and which, when, they shall have taken full effect, will tend to diminish the existing surplus of the public revenue, there will remain sufficient balance to meet the additional annual charge which will arise from providing the compensation granted by Parliament on account of the abolition of slavery throughout the British dominions :

That, in common with his Majesty, we deeply lament that the agricultural interest continues in a state of great depression :

To assure his Majesty that, in compliance with his gracious recommendation we shall be ready to consider whether it may not be in your power, after providing for the exigencies of the public service, and consistently with the steadfast maintenance of the public credit, to devise a method for mitigating the pressure of those local charges which bear heavily on the owners and occupiers of land, and for diminishing the burden of some more onerous than other descriptions of property :

To thank his Majesty for having directed the information received from the governors of his colonies, together with

the acts passed in execution of the law for the abolition of slavery to be communicated to us :

That we participate in the satisfaction felt by his Majesty, in observing the general concurrence of the colonial legislatures in giving effect to this important measure ; and that, notwithstanding the difficulties with which this subject is necessarily attended, his Majesty has seen no reason to abate his earnest hopes of a favourable issue ; and that we rely with confidence on his Majesty's gracious assurance of his anxious desire and unceasing efforts fully to realise the benevolent intentions of Parliament :

To assure his Majesty that our attention shall be directed to the important subjects, some of which have already undergone partial discussion in Parliament, the adjustment of which, at as early a period as is consistent with the mature consideration of them, would be of great advantage to the public interests ; and that we humbly agree with his Majesty in considering that, among the first in point of urgency, is the state of the tithe question in Ireland, and the means of effecting an equitable and final adjustment of it :

That we shall also be ready to direct our attention to those measures which his Majesty informs us will be proposed for our consideration, which will have for their respective objects, to promote the *commutation of tithe in England and Wales*, to improve our civil jurisprudence, and the administration of justice in ecclesiastical causes, to make provision for the more effectual maintenance of ecclesiastical discipline, and to relieve those who dissent from the doctrines of the discipline of the church from the necessity of celebrating the ceremony of marriage according to its rites :

To thank his Majesty for informing us that, although he has not yet received the report of the commissioners appointed to inquire into the state of municipal corporations, he has reason to believe that it will be made, and that his Majesty will be enabled to communicate it to us at an early period :

To express our acknowledgments to his Majesty, for informing us that he has appointed a commission for consider-

ing the state of the several dioceses in England and Wales, with reference to the amount of their revenues, and to the more equal distribution of episcopal duties ; the state of the several cathedral and collegiate churches, with a view to the suggestion of such measures as may render them most conducive to the efficiency of the established church, and for devising the best mode of providing for the cure of souls, with reference to the residence of the clergy in their respective benefices ; and that the especial object which his Majesty has in view in the appointment of this commission, is to extend more widely the means of religious worship according to the doctrines of the established church, and to confirm its hold upon the affections and veneration of his people :

To assure his Majesty that we will take into our consideration the condition of the church of Scotland, and the means by which it may be enabled to increase the opportunities of religious worship for the poorer classes of society in that part of the United Kingdom :

That his Majesty, having directed our consideration to various important matters connected with our domestic policy, his Majesty may rely with entire confidence on our willing co-operation in perfecting all such measures as may be calculated to remove just causes of complaint, and to promote the happiness and concord of his subjects :

That his Majesty may also rely with equal confidence on the caution and circumspection with which we will apply ourselves to the alteration of laws which affect very extensive and complicated interests, and are interwoven with ancient usages to which the habits and feelings of his people have conformed :

To assure his Majesty that, in common with his Majesty, it will be our object in supplying that which may be defective, or in renovating that which may be impaired, to strengthen the foundations of those institutions in church and state which are the inheritance and birthright of his people, and which, amidst all the vicissitudes of public affairs, have proved under the blessing of Almighty God the

surest guarantees of their liberties, their rights, and their religion.

Amendment proposed, after the paragraph ending with the words "to promote the happiness and concord of his subjects," to insert the words "To assure his Majesty, that his Majesty's faithful Commons acknowledge, with grateful recollection, that the acts for amending the representation of the people were submitted to Parliament with his Majesty's sanction, and carried into law by his Majesty's assent:— That, confidently expecting to derive further advantages from these wise and necessary measures, we trust that his Majesty's councils will be directed in the spirit of well-considered and effective reform; and that the liberal and comprehensive policy which restored to the people the right of choosing their representatives, and which provided for the emancipation of all persons held in slavery in his Majesty's colonies and possessions abroad, will, with the same enlarged views, place without delay our municipal corporations under vigilant popular control, remove all the well-founded grievances of the Protestant Dissenters, and correct those abuses in the church which impair its efficiency in England, disturb the peace of society in Ireland, and lower the character of the Establishment in both Countries:—

"To represent to his Majesty that his Majesty's faithful Commons beg leave submissively to add, that they cannot but lament that the progress of these and other reforms should have been interrupted and endangered, by the unnecessary dissolution of a parliament earnestly intent upon the vigorous prosecution of measures to which the wishes of the people were most anxiously and justly directed."

THE POOR-LAW AND THE DEBT

On Thursday evening a public meeting was held in the Manor court-room, Brown-street, for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of petitioning Parliament for a repeal of the

Poor-law Amendment Bill, and also for an adjustment of the (so called) *national* debt, or exemption from payment of any part of the interest of that debt, of all those whose property consists in their labour alone.

Mr. CONDY professed, unlike his friend Mr. Seed, to possess the most cool and equable temper in the world; he could look on with moderate composure, whilst the most infinite mischief was being inflicted on society, provided that mischief were not inflicted by the Whigs (laughter), but when he found these Whigs, who laid claim to all the philanthropy and philosophy in the universe; who professed to have come into the world for the sole purpose of improving both the law and the gospel; when he found that these men were the authors of such blasphemous and horribly-iniquitous measures as the Poor-law Amendment Bill, it required every particle of the patience in his most patient composition, to look on at the most monstrous villainies thus inflicted upon the labourers of England. (Loud cheers). Before, however, he indulged in the little degree of warmth which the contemplation of this subject was wont to excite in him, he (Mr. Condry) hoped he should be allowed the opportunity of a slight justification of himself from a charge which he understood was being most industriously circulated. It was a very current report, that he was about to turn Tory. (Laughter). Now if it were a proof that he was about to turn Tory, that he did not enter into the rejoicings of the Whigs at their triumph over humanity and the ancient law of the land; if it were a proof of his turning Tory, that he did not bray in the universal chords of the faction which the Whigs were seeking to stir up in the country, because the King, in the humane and enlightened exercise of his prerogative, had kicked them out of office (loud cheers); if it were a proof of incipient Toryism, that he could not, as had been done in the late House of Commons, cry "Cock-a-doodle-do," when the Whigs had succeeded in trampling on the last remnant of the rights and just liberties of the people; if such were evidences of an ac-

tual or contemplated alliance with Toryism, why then he was indeed turning Tory (Loud cheers). But Tory or not a Tory, he would become the adherent of the first Government which would revert back to the principle of the good old Government of this country, of taking care of the industrious portion of the community. (Cheers). They might call him papist, infidel, or Turk, but they should never call him Whig. (Loud cheers). This, then, was his Toryism: if he could inflate his vanity with the idea that any ministry would think it worth its while to bribe him, he would tell the meeting what was the bribe that he would take: that they should immediately come back from the contumely, and the insolence, and the oppression which had been heaped upon the working classes, to that which was the purpose of all good Government, the paternal guardianship of their welfare. (Cheers). The meeting had sense enough to know that the man who took this ground could be in a hurry to make his fortune by selling their rights. But he (Mr. Condry) would tell them more; God had given him a station of independence which made him above the contemplation of any such unworthy motives. He had few patrons to bow down to; and he had strength enough to provide for himself; he regretted to say, a great deal better than most of the industrious classes were able to do; and therefore it was nonsense to talk of him selling himself. He knew, to be sure, the fortune which it was hinted was to be given in exchange for his independence; but he was not the man to pay the price of such fortune; and no man could honestly charge him with the inclination to do so. (Loud cheers). Having said so much in vindication of himself, Mr. Condry proceeded to discuss the resolution. The Poor-law Bill, he said, was founded on a principle which had been urged for with the strongest reasons of equity, not only that the poor had no right to a provision out of the State, but also that such legalised provision for the poor was contrary to human policy. Lord Brougham, indeed, had gone much further than this: he (Mr. Condry) would not say that Lord Brougham had stated

such provision to be contrary to the law of God, though he verily believed he had gone so far; but he had certainly said, that it was against human policy; and he (Mr. C.) would endeavour, in that calm and philosophic tone of which he had already told the meeting he was possessed (laughter), to show that Lord Brougham himself had sinned against human policy in giving utterance to such a proposition. Mr. Condry then proceeded at great length to show that throughout the whole of the Mosaic and Christian dispensations, as set forth in the scripture, there were no injunctions more emphatic or more frequently expressed, than those which had reference to kind treatment of the poor, the aged, the widow, and the fatherless; and in the denunciations directed against those cities which for their sins were the especial objects of the divine wrath, the oppression of the poor was set forth as among the chief abominations of those against whom such denunciations were directed. In the early ages of Christianity, too, the church was the chief almoner of the poor, and at least one third of the land of the whole nation was devoted to the maintenance of religion and the relief of the poor and needy. Afterwards, when the land began to be alienated from these holy and humane purposes, laws were passed having special reference to the securing of a provision for the indigent; and even to this very day, if a parson demand his full tithe, and a modus were set up (a composition in lieu of tithe) on the other side, the parson could plead the statute of Richard II. in justification of his full claim, the force of which plea consisted in this, that the parson professed to be not merely a consumer of the tithe himself, but a guardian of the poor, in respect to one-fourth part of that tithe. So that, even to this very day, the claim of the poor upon the land was recognised by that very appeal which the parson was allowed to make in bar of his claim to the statute of Richard II. Then as to the pretences which the Whigs had put forth in apology for their infamous bill, what were they? Why, they talked of the increasing demoralization of the working classes, while it was known that the arms and the arts of England—her

industry and her talent—had prevailed all over the world; and that there was no greater theme of admiration with all commentators on the English constitution, until Lord Brougham mounted the woolsack—no greater incentive to industry, than that very law of Elizabeth which the Whigs had overturned by their Poor-law Amendment Bill (cheers); but the Whigs had turned all these facts upside down—the had read the Lord's prayer backwards, in order to prove the contrary of this. (Cheers and laughter.) Their conduct in regard to this bill was a sin against every thing which produced good and kindly feeling, and made every man's rights secure; let them denounce such conduct: and if the Whigs still turned a deaf ear, let the consequence rest on their own execrable heads. (Cheers.) The genius of whiggery was to pull down every thing above it, and to trample on every thing that was below it. As Burke, in his definition of jacobinism, had defined it to be all the intellect against all the property of the nation, he (Mr. Condy) would define whiggery to be, all the cunning and stupidity of the nation against all the privileges of the great and all the rights of the poor.

From the LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 20,

INSOLVENTS.

ADAMS, W., jun., Brown's-lane, Spitalfields, brewer.
 WARMINGTON, J., Union-street, Southwark, grocer.
 WELLS, R., Ivinghoe, Buckinghamshire, shop-keeper.

BANKRUPTS.

AYR S. J. T., Tooley-st., Southwark, silversmith.
 BLADON, L., Hanway-street, tailor.
 DAKIN, W. H., Heigham, Norfolk, innkeeper.
 DORRINGTON, J., Fordingbridge, Hampshire, plumber.
 HAWKESLEY, C., Liverpool, merchant.
 JACOBS, S., Manchester, merchant.
 KING, J., Cambridge, grocer.
 KING, S., Kinnerton-street, Knightsbridge, baker.
 NIXON, H., Warwick-lane, carpenter.
 SMITH, W. B., Newcastle-upon-Tyne, draper.

VOSS, J., Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, Dorsetshire, grocer.
 WHITEHOUSE, T., King's Norton, Worcestershire, brickmaker.
 WILSON, W. and G. Lockwood, Liverpool, merchants.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 24.

BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

PITMAN, R., Park-lane, Piccadilly, saddler.
 SOLOMAN, I., and Benjamin Aaron, Bristol, woollen-drapers.

BANKRUPTS.

ARCHER, W., Messing, Essex, grocer.
 BETTS, J., Spital, near Windsor, victualler.
 BRYCE, G., Manchester, pawnbroker.
 CAMBRIDGE, L., Bristol, shipowner.
 COX, P., Fairford, Gloucestershire, builder.
 CRICK, E., Newport Pagnell, printer.
 DAWE, T., East Stonehouse, Devonshire, painter.
 DEAN, R., Milner-place, Lambeth, builder.
 GOULDEN, J., Hope-street, Hackney-road, carpenter.
 HUDDLESTON, S., Manchester, saddler.
 JORIE, J., Bagillt, Flintshire, brewer.
 LUPTON, J., Bishop-Thornton, Yorkshire, oil-merchant.
 MECHELEN, J., Clifton, Gloucestershire, publisher.
 MITCHELL, W., Strand, lodging-house-keeper.
 NIPPIN, G., Northampton, upholsterer.
 PINSON, J., Norwich, linen-draper.
 RETEMEYER, M., Liverpool, salt-dealer.
 WILLIAMS, J., Salford, Lancashire, inn-keeper.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Feb. 23.—We had a large arrival of Wheat, Flour, and Oats last week, with a fair supply of Barley and other grain. This morning we had but few fresh arrivals, owing, in a great measure, to the stormy weather; but there was a full market of business over unsold.

The Wheat trade continues very heavy, fine qualities with difficulty supporting prices, while the secondary sorts are very unsaleable, and even offered at a reduction.

Making Flour, &c. sale, and is, per quarter, cheaper than last Monday; in prices of Indian Meal, Beans and Peas, no material change.

We experienced a full, limited demand for Oats to-day, with a reduction of 6d. per qr. from last Monday's prices.

Wheat, English, White, new	42s. to 52s.
Old	48s. to 52s.
Red, new	38s. to 42s.
Old	40s. to 42s.
Lincolnshire, red	36s. to 41s.
White	42s. to 43s.
Yorkshire, red	36s. to 40s.
White	40s. to 42s.
Northumberl. & Berwick	37s. to 40s.
Fine white	37s. to 41s.
Dundee & choice Scotch	42s. to 43s.
Irish red, good	35s. to 36s.
White	38s. to 40s.
Rye	30s. to 34s.
New	34s. to 36s.
Barley, English, grinding	26s. to 28s.
Distilling	28s. to 32s.
Malting	32s. to 35s.
Chevalier	38s. to 43s.
Malt	44s. to 54s.
Fine new	56s. to 64s.
Beans, Tick, new	34s. to 36s.
Old	38s. to 40s.
Harrow, new	36s. to 38s.
Old	40s. to 43s.
Peas, White, English	36s. to 38s.
Foreign	35s. to 36s.
Gray or Hog	36s. to 40s.
Maples	38s. to 42s.
Oats, Polands	23s. to 26s.
Lincolnshire, short small	23s. to 24s.
Lincolnshire, feed	21s. to 23s.
Yorkshire, feed	22s. to 24s.
Black	23s. to 25s.
Northumberland and Ber-	
wick Potato	25s. to 26s.
Ditto, Angus	24s. to 25s.
Banff and Aberdeen, com.	24s. to 25s.
Potato	25s. to 27s.
Irish Potato, new	22s. to 23s.
Feed, new light	19s. to 20s.
Black, new	20s. to 21s.
Foreign feed	22s. to 24s.
Danish and Fomorian, old	20s. to 21s.
Peterborough, Riga, &c.	22s. to 23s.
Foreign, in bond, feed	12s. to 14s.
Brew	16s. to 18s.

SMITHFIELD, February 23.

This day's supply was, throughout, good, both as to numbers and quality; and its trade was, with each kind of meat very dull, at barely Friday's quotations.

About 2,000 of the Beasts, nearly or quite a moiety of which were prime Scots; the remainder about equal numbers of Shorthorn, Devon, Norfolk Horned, and Welsh runs, were from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 150, or about equal numbers of Devon, Shorthorn, Welsh, Scotch, Scots, and Irish Beasts, from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, and others of the northern districts; about 200, chiefly Herefords, Devons, and Welsh runs, with a

few Irish Beasts, from our western and mid-land districts; about 120, chiefly prime Sussex steers and Oxen, with a few runts, Devons, and Irish Beasts, from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, and most of the remainder, including about 30 lusty Townsend Cows, from the stall-feeders, &c., near London.

Fully three-fifths of the Sheep were new Leicesters, in about equal numbers of the Southdown and white-faced crosses; about a fifth Southdowns; and the remainder about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, and Kentish half-breds, with a few pens of horned and polled Norfolds, old Lincolns, horned Dorsets and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

Per stone of 8lbs. sinking offal.

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Inferior Beef	2	0	to	2 2
Ditto Mutton	2	2	to	2 4
Middling Beef	2	4	to	2 8
Ditto Mutton	2	8	to	3 0
Prime Beef	3	6	to	4 0
Ditto Mutton	3	6	to	4 0
Veal	3	0	to	5 4
Pork	3	0	to	4 0

THE FUNDS.

per Cent. }	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
Cons. Ann. }	91½	51½	91½	92½	92½	92½

Neatly bound for the pocket, with gilt edges, price 3s.,

THE PARLIAMENTARY TEST BOOK for 1835.

In which may be seen, in addition to the Names and Residences of the Members, the Pledges by which they bound themselves to their Constituents at the late General Election, their avowed Political Principles, with their manner of Voting upon every leading Question in the last Parliament.

London: Effingham Wilson, 88, Royal Exchange; and all Booksellers.

This day is published,

A LATIN GRAMMAR, for the use of English Boys; being, an Explanation of the Nomenclature of the Latin Language. By JAMES FAY, COXETER.

Price 2s. boards.

Printed by William Collett, Johnson's-court; and published by him at 11, Bell-court, Fleet-street.



PROCEEDINGS

IN THE
HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Choice of Speaker.

King's Speech.

Address.

Miserable State of the Whigs.

TO THE PEOPLE OF OLDHAM.

Normandy, 3. March, 1835.

MY FRIENDS,—I am very anxious that you should well understand what has just been passing in the House of Commons, particularly with regard to the matters which I have placed at the head of this paper, beginning with the choice of the Speaker. This was a matter of perfect indifference in itself to any independent member of Parliament; but a great deal was made of it, and monstrous efforts on both sides to obtain a majority; the Whigs looking upon it as a question that would decide the fate of the new Ministry. Every man of sense knew that it would not; but this the Whigs thought; and, therefore, every man that voted on their side, did, in fact, vote for bringing the Whigs again into power. How those who call themselves Radicals could possibly reconcile a vote of this sort to the just abhorrence which they had so long been expressing against the conduct of these Whigs, appears, at first sight, not accountable enough; but I have heard that they justify this vote in this way: "Let us have the Whigs back again;

and then they will be so low, they will be so stripped of all party-power, that they will be compelled to yield to us Radicals; and to do any thing that we want them to do; they will be compelled, indeed, to take some of us into 'the Ministry': and, indeed, it was openly acknowledged, that Mr. O'CONNELL and some others were to form a part of this new Whig Ministry! For my part, I was quite sure that the Whig-faction would never agree to this; but would rather either join the Tories, or support them. However, as far as I was concerned, I had nothing to do with this. If I had voted for Mr. ASHERCROMBY, I should have voted for forcing the Whigs back again upon the King; I should have voted for those who had passed the Dead-body Bill, the Poor-law Bill, and who had rescinded the vote for the repeal of the malt-tax. If I had voted for Mr. MANNERS SUTTON I should have voted in the teeth of the principles which guided my vote when he was put in by the Whigs; and, therefore, I did not vote at all.

Next came the Address on the King's Speech. The tone and the language of this speech was so good; so kind towards the people; so different from the tone and the language of every speech which we have ever heard, from the beginning of the French war to the present day; and it formed such a striking contrast with the ill-natured, the angry, the threatening, the sanguinary speeches which the Whigs put into the mouth of the King, that I was extremely anxious to vote for it; but there were two passages in it (which, of course, were echoed in the Address) to which I could not say "AYE," namely, the passage which describes the various states of agriculture to have arisen from the PRESSION OF LOCAL CHARGES, and I well knew not only to be a monstrous absurdity, but a mischievous absurdity at the same time, and a most mischievous one too; the local charges having always been the local charges falling upon the consumer, in

fact, and not upon the land; the charges properly local, as to agriculture, not amounting to two millions a year, while the gross produce of the land sells, this year, for, probably, *thirty millions less than it sold for last year!* The other passage related to the reforms in the *church of England*, which I know are more delusive than I can describe them to be. Therefore, I could not vote for this Address.

Then came the "*Amendment*," which, in the first place, left the whole of the original Address just as it was; with all the absurdity and delusion that I have just been describing; and then made the addition to this amount: "*That we regretted*

that the King had dissolved the late Parliament, which was just then earnestly intent, in making all those reforms which the people most anxiously wished for." For me to vote for this, who had to the last moment of their sitting represented them as engaged in doing every thing that was bad, and intending every thing that was bad; for Mr. FIELDEN to vote for this, who, in public meeting at MANCHESTER, had expressed his hope that the King would dismiss this worst and most unfeeling of all Parliaments; for us to vote, that we regretted the dismissal of those whose last act was that of passing the Poor Law Bill; for us to express our opinion that that Parliament was doing just the things which you wished to have done, would have been, not folly, not inconsistency, but it would have been downright, bare-faced infamy. Yet, as we could not vote *against* this Amendment, without voting for the Address, containing the two dangerous and prodigious errors before-mentioned, we did not vote at all.

The Whigs, united with those who call themselves Radicals, carried their Speaker by a majority of ten; and carried their Amendment to the Address by a majority of seven. What could induce some gentlemen to vote with them upon those occasions I cannot say. Most assuredly the tendency, and even the object, of both these divisions were, *to bring the Whigs back again into power.* Now, then, I suppose, that Lord JOHN RUSSELL and his late colleagues had satisfied Mr. O'Con-

NELL, and the Irish members that voted with him, that, if they came into power again, they would not only not recommend the King to mark Mr. O'CONNELL out in his Speech as a person to be counteracted and dealt with; that they would not only carefully abstain from doing this in future; but that they would repeal the Irish Coercion Bill, which still remains in force, as to all its severities towards the people of Ireland; when we have it declared, distinctly, that they pledged themselves to act thus when they got into power again, then we shall see that Mr. O'CONNELL had good reason for the votes which he gave in this case.

We remember, that Mr. ATTWOOD and Mr. O'CONNELL both, at NEWHALL-hill, supported an address to the King, to turn out the Whig Ministers. Now, if they have satisfied Mr. ATTWOOD, that they will, when they come in again, act in a manner different from what they did before; if they have satisfied him that they will, when they come in, not be again that COARSER-FOOD MINISTRY which he described them to be; if they have satisfied him that they will repeal that horrible Poor-law Bill, and send LEWIS and his tribe, and penny-a-line CHADWICK, to cracking of stones; if he will tell us, that they have satisfied him as to these matters, then we shall be ready to allow that Mr. Attwood, in voting to get them back again into power, has acted a very consistent part; especially, if they have further satisfied him that they will make an expansion of the currency; and, instead of jeering at him, scoffing at him, giving the hint to their battalion to let him be counted out; or, when that is impracticable, to set up a braying, a cock-crowing, a laughing, a scoffing, such as the world never heard before, in any assembly whatever; if, indeed, they have promised him, that they will give him a patient hearing in future, in addition to all the other promises that I have mentioned; then, indeed, Mr. ATTWOOD has done right in the votes which he gave for bringing the Whigs back into power.

If the Whigs have pledged themselves to Mr. TENNYSON, that, when they get back into power, they will agree to his motion, for *shortening the duration of*

Parliaments, instead of scouting his motion, and lashing the author of it, with the best and sharpest sarcasm that they had at their command; cutting him back-stroke and fore-stroke, with ridicule too much, one would have thought, for mortal to endure: if they have pledged themselves to Mr. TENNYSON, that, when they come into power again, they will agree to this motion of his; then, indeed, Mr. TENNYSON can easily account to his constituents of LAMBETH, why he endeavoured to get these Whigs back again into power; because the pious people of LAMBETH well know, that as Christians, we are to exercise *forgiveness of injuries*; and that, though our brother offend us seventy times seven, still we are to forgive our brother; but the condition is, that he first *repent*, and, if he be able, *make atonement*. Upon the supposition, therefore, that they have agreed to support Mr. TENNYSON, when they again come into power, the people of LAMBETH ought to applaud Mr. TENNYSON for his vote.

In like manner, I must suppose, that they have pledged themselves to Mr. HARVEY that, when they come in again, they will not oppose his motion for *an inquiry into the pension-list*; and that, so far from accusing him of a want of "*gentlemanlike feeling*"; so far from accusing him of *malignant motives*, they will see the reasonableness, and the justice of his motion; and will adopt it accordingly; and I say, that, on the supposition that they have given him this assurance, Mr. HARVEY has done right in supporting them, and doing his best to get them back again into power.

To me, however, they have given no assurance at all; nor can they, for I would not believe them, say what they would upon such a subject. But, my friends, mark the situation in which the Whigs would be, if they were to get back again into power. Suppose Messrs. O'CONNELL, ATTWOOD, HARVEY, TENNYSON, to repeat their motions (and they are bound to repeat them), the Whigs would be compelled again to resort to the Tories, to give them their support against these motions, just as they did before; for as to their agreeing to the motions, none

but a madman can suppose the thing possible; and, indeed, they have told us this already, in pretty plain language, as I shall show by and by.

Well, then, suppose the present Ministry to continue: what is the situation in which Mr. O'CONNELL, Mr. ATTWOOD, Mr. TENNYSON, and Mr. HARVEY have placed themselves? Mr. O'CONNELL must move for a repeal of the Coercion-Bill; Mr. ATTWOOD must move for an enlargement of the currency; Mr. TENNYSON must move for shortening the duration of Parliaments; Mr. HARVEY must move for the *ungentleman-like* inquiry into the pension-list. And what has Sir ROBERT PEEL to do, when these motions are made? Simply this, addressing Mr. HARVEY, for instance: "The honourable member made this same motion on such a day: our predecessors in office gave him such and such an answer; on these grounds, our predecessors rejected the motion of the honourable member: the honourable member has recently expressed *his confidence* in these our predecessors. We know that the honourable member would not do this, unless the conduct of those predecessors had received and merited his approbation. Ambitious, therefore, of succeeding to the approbation of the honourable member, we, in imitation of our predecessors, hesitate not to reject his motion!"

Why, my friends, this is easy work, indeed! The thing is as clear as daylight. Either the Whigs did right in rejecting Mr. HARVEY's motion, or they did wrong; if they did right, why does he renew the motion? If they did wrong, why does he support the Whigs, and want them back again into power? Aye, but the Tories are worse than the Whigs. I deem this to be a moral impossibility; because I believe that nothing in human shape is so bad. But, admitting that they may be worse in other respects, they cannot be worse, as far as relates to the case of Mr. HARVEY. They rejected his motion with disdain. The Tories may do the same; indeed, but they cannot do more; and so it is in all the other cases that I have supposed. So that these gentlemen, whose motions were rejected by

the Whigs, have provided for the Tories the best possible argument for their motions being rejected by them. If they meant, again, to bring forward these motions, they should not, by any vote given in this preliminary stage, have expressed their confidence in men, who, when in power, had rejected these very motions.

Far better would it have been for them to have voted for the Tories in these preliminary motions, for then they would not have stood pledged for confidence in men by whom those motions had been rejected. Messrs. WILKS, BAILES, and others, the advocates of the Dissenters, are just in the same situation; they have expressed their confidence in men who rejected the claims of the Dissenters; and, if they be willing to confide in one set of men, who really have rejected their claims, what complaint have they against another set of men who shall imitate those in whom they have expressed their confidence.

But, now let us see *what hopes the Radicals can have in the Whigs*. Towards the close of the debate on the Address, Mr. GIBBORNE, one of the members for Derbyshire (with what motive, God only knows!) observed, that he wished to see a Ministry made up by a junction between the Whigs, and such men as Mr. WARBURTON and Mr. GEORGE, who were a sort of moderate Radicals; but Lord HOWICK, who spoke after this, took care most solemnly to *protest against any such junction*; and, indeed, Lord MORPETH, who moved the Amendment, said something to nearly the same amount, in answer to Lord SANDON, who had observed, that the Whigs must make a junction with the Radicals. So that there is not the smallest intention on the part of the Whig faction to form any such junction; and sorrowful will be the disappointment of all the patriotic place-hunters. Messrs. ATTWOOD, TENNYSON, HARVEY, GEORGE, and the rest of that description of persons will bring forward their motions as before. These motions will, of course, be opposed by the Tories; and in this opposition the Whigs; the grateful Whigs; the sincere Whigs, will join the Tories, as the Tories joined

them, against the people. And how will these gentlemen who make the motions look, when they see that? Will they then boast of having beaten the Tories? Or will they look a little foolish, and think that they would have acted a wiser part if they had had *an amendment of their own*. and had both the parties to vote against them at once. By their support of the Whigs, in this case, and especially by their vote on the Address, they are become curs, lurking at the heels of the Whigs, who would kick them away with scorn, the moment they propose any one thing that the people want to have done.

It will not be many days before the sincerity of all parties will be put to the test. Mr. ATTWOOD, Mr. O'CONNELL, Mr. HARVEY, Mr. TENNYSON; all the Radical supporters of the Whigs will vote for the *repeal of the malt-tax*. But, WILL THE WHIGS DO IT? Will these patriots vote for that repeal? Not one single man of them; and Lord JOHN RUSSELL, Mr. POWLETT THOMSON, Mr. SPRING RICE, and the whole band, will join the Tories, and vote against that measure; and still saddle the millions of the people, if they can, with treble price for their drink, made out of the produce of their own soil! I beg you, my friends, to keep your eye upon the division on this subject. The motion is to be made by Lord CHANDOS next Tuesday night; and, if the Minister have but the wisdom to *give way* upon this question, the night closes upon the dastardly and perfidious Whigs for ever and ever. If he have not the wisdom to give way, he, with Lord JOHN RUSSELL, and all his tag-rag, is left in a minority. This is my real belief; and this, observe, puts the Whigs to the test; and puts to the test also, the soundness of the judgment of those who, being Radicals, voted for the Whigs. When Mr. ATTWOOD, for instance, finds the faction whom he has now been supporting, voting against the repeal of this tax (and he assuredly will find them doing it), what will he say; how will he justify his vote in support of this faction? For my part, I can conceive nothing more embarrassing than this. Find fault of the horrible, perfidious faction, he cannot; for he has just

been supporting them, and endeavouring to get them back again into power. *Straight lines* are always *shortest*; and the straight line here was, not to assist one faction against the other; but to cast aside both the Address and the Amendment, and propose an Address of your own, against which both the parties would have joined. However, the event of Tuesday night will place all the parties in their proper light before the people. Great care must be taken to have the names of all the Whigs, and of their pretended Radical supporters; the names of all those who made part of the majority on the two great divisions, and who will now be found voting against a repeal of the malt-tax; and, I verily believe, that the greater part of the opponents of the repeal will be found amongst those *who supported the Whigs in carrying the amended Address*. This will be a nice fact for the people to be made acquainted with; and, in making them acquainted with it, nothing shall be wanting on the part of your faithful friend and representative,

And most obliged and obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

STOPPING THE SUPPLIES.

I HAVE come down here to try to get rid of a monstrous hoarseness, which I caught in haranguing the *pure patriots* of STAFFORD, in the county-hall in that town, for which haranguing Lord TALBOT and Lord SANDON, two magistrates of the county, gave leave to the pure people of that place. It being understood that it was my object to persuade them to choose Sir CHARLES WOLSELEY, on account of his public spirit and excellent character as a Staffordshire gentleman, while others were thought to be ready to give them considerable sums for their votes. This being understood, generally, I dare say the two noble lords were highly amused with the idea of my coming there to exercise my powers of moral conversion. I had the whole town assembled before me, male and female; and they so heartily cheered my expressions of reprobation of bribery and corruption; my texts from scripture to show that it was actually a

bond fide sale of their souls to the devil, that I really thought I had converted them; and, perhaps, if the Evangelists had been put to their lips, then and there, and without the sight of a bribe, or hearing the chink of the money, I might have succeeded to a considerable extent. But, alas! there were several days between the harangue and the election; and out of between twelve and fourteen hundred voters, Sir CHARLES WOLSELEY got only *twenty-nine*! So that I had my sweating, my cold, my cough, and my hoarseness, only to save these twenty-nine from the common fate of their townsmen; and, indeed, it is most probable that these were virtuous persons who wanted no haranguing from me, or from anybody else.

Brought down hither chiefly, at this time, by this hoarseness, which exposes me to the excruciating torment of sitting silent, at times when I am hursting to speak, in answer to what I will not here describe, but which, under such circumstances, would drive any other man out of his senses, I must now take my information from the newspapers, which tell me, that the long-made threat of *opposing the Supplies* was not put into execution. I think that there are about a hundred officers of the army and navy in the House, on full or half-pay. Add the relations of such who are in the House; add the pensioners, placemen, sinecurists, grantees, retired-allowance people; add pretty nearly a hundred bankers; add members with thumping shares in the funds; and then expect the House to stop the supplies: but, first, get provided for yourself a good comfortable lodging in Bedlam; for out of Bedlam you can express no such opinion, without exciting the ridicule of even the blackguard boys in the streets.

On the 2^d instant a sort of explanation took place; a sort of questioning, in order to discover whether the present Ministers would quit their places, in consequence of the majorities against them. This questioning and answering became a very interesting matter; and from the tone of the parties, we may pretty safely conclude, that the Whigs are without any hope of getting at the loaves and fishes again, for

the present at any rate. Lord JOHN RUSSELL, you will find, had not the heart to attempt a stopping of the Supplies; and that, too, because if he had made the motion, he would have had a majority against him of ten to one. Oh, no! there has been no stopping of Supplies, since the Parliament created bands of usurers called fundholders, to swallow up the earnings of the people. This step, therefore, was always out of the question. The Mutiny Bill is now talked of, which is much about the same thing; and by the time that that bill has passed, my opinion is, that the ranks of the Whigs will have become so thin, as for the battalion to be perfectly despicable. I think that a great part of the Whigs will actually join the Tories, for what they deem their own safety's sake; and the rump of the Whigs will not form a party, such as used to exist in the time of Fox; for there is now a third party more powerful than they, and will be more and more powerful every day; so that the Whig faction will, in future, be a mere adjunct, or set, of mercenary auxiliaries, bound to fight for the Tories, like *Swisses*. Just like them, fighting for the preservation of their pay. What a folly to suppose that the people were to get any thing out of this faction, which is all encrusted over with public property of one description or another. I will now insert the evening's talk, of which I spoke before. I beg the reader to go through it with care: he will see how completely the Whigs are chop-fallen; and he will see that they are making preparations for drawing off from the Radicals, who gave them their famous majorities. Tuesday night, will, however, settle the whole matter; and, the next day, we shall hear what the noble Whig papers will say about their "*Black List*." The *real Black List* will be that which will be found voting against receiving the public; voting, not about nonsense, but voting whether the millions of England and Wales, and also Scotland and Ireland, shall still be pressed on the earth, degraded and ruined, on the ground that their degradation and ruin are necessary to the support of "PUBLIC CREDIT"; seeming to take

it for granted, that the notorious insolvency of the great mass of farmers and of tradesmen is not to be considered as worthy of the slightest notice; taking it for granted, that their credit is not public credit. We shall see the names of those who will vote for the continuation of the ruin of the nation for the benefit of a band of usurers.

MINISTERIAL EXPLANATIONS.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL rose to ask some question of the right hon. Baronet in respect to a dissolution of Parliament which it was rumoured it was the intention of his Majesty's Ministers to recommend, if the present House of Commons showed a disposition to adopt different measures from those brought forward. It has (said the noble Lord) called for measures of a more decided character than the Ministers had advised his Majesty to recommend in his speech from the throne, and the rumour is, that the only measure which was to be adopted is now considered to be unnecessary, though the Ministers felt that the late vote of the House was a censure upon them. (Hear, hear). I never knew any Ministry to stand with respect to the House of Commons in such an extraordinary situation before, and I thought it necessary to call the attention of the House, before we went into any committee of supply whatever, to the rumours which prevailed. I want to ask whether the right hon. Baronet has given any authority to these rumours—whether his Majesty's Ministers, having advised his Majesty to appeal to the sense of his people, will not be content, if the House advises to any views and measures brought forward by the right hon. Baronet—whether they will appeal again to the sense of the people, and endeavour to wear out and vex the country by repeated elections? There have been rumours of a more extraordinary nature—that, if we came to a case in which it should be thought advisable to dissolve the Parliament before the passing of the Mutiny Act, the right hon. Baronet would feel authorized in maintaining a standing army in a time of peace. (Hear, hear, and laughter from the Ministerial side).

I admit that the rumour is in itself absurd, and though it may have entered into the heads of some sanguine persons to advise his Majesty to such a course, a great deal of the force of such a suspicion is dispelled by the answer of his Majesty to the Address. After quoting that Address the noble Lord observed—Now, sir, I cannot believe that they (the Ministers) have given any such notice, or that they have a dissolution of Parliament at all in contemplation. I have, therefore, changed my mind on the subject, and shall not ask the question which on a former night I intimated to be my intention to propose to the right hon. Baronet opposite, when he should make his motion for the Supplies; but, judging from the answer that his Majesty has been graciously pleased to give to the amended Address, I infer that it is not the intention of Ministers to interrupt the House in the forwarding of those measures which they think necessary for the welfare of the state, and which, as the chief council of the nation, they may deem it conducive to its interests to offer. With regard to the general supplies, I do not intend, as I have before observed, to put any formal questions to the right hon. Baronet; but at the same time, while I refrain from doing so, I do think that we ought not to go into the details of that subject incautiously, or until, at least, full explanations are given by Ministers, after the success of the amended Address, of the course they intend to pursue. I do not agree with the honourable member for Middlesex (Mr. Hume); that his Majesty's answer, in reply to the amended Address, ought to have stated any thing definite as to the intention of Ministers regarding corporation and other reforms; but I am of opinion that they must state their intentions as to the measures of reform they promise to introduce; especially they are bound now to give those explanations, as the conversations which are rumoured to have recently taken place in the old Palace of Westminster tend to increase the doubts heretofore entertained of the sincerity of Ministers as to corporation reform, or that they wish to give to the people that control over their bodies that they formerly exercised, and that ought

to be, most indubitably, at once restored to them. (Hear, hear). My hon. and learned friend the member for Edinburgh (Sir John Campbell) has given a notice that in case the Government do not bring forward a measure of municipal reform, he shall propose a bill on the subject. I trust my honourable and learned friend will persevere in his motion, and that, whatever his Majesty's Ministers may do, he will carry into effect the wishes of the people. With regard to the question of the Irish church, the right hon. gentleman opposite (Sir Rob. Peel) stated, in answer to a question proposed to him on the first night's debate, that his Majesty's Ministers were determined to lay the report of the commissioners on the table of the House, but that they might not expect any thing from them in the way of a motion. Having made no motion on the subject, it is my intention, as soon as the report shall be laid on the table, to bring the question formally before the House. I shall then allude to the reforms which it was the intention of his Majesty's late Government to introduce. Having stated what our course will be upon these two questions, in order that the right hon. gentleman may answer the call which will, I should state, be made upon him, I shall now leave it to him to state the course the Government intend to pursue in the new and extraordinary circumstances in which it is placed.

SIR ROBERT PEEL then rose and said Sir, it is always my wish to give to the House as unreserved an explanation of the course which I mean to pursue as a public man as it is consistent with my duty as a Minister; and I do not require any stated time to give an answer to the questions of the noble Lord. (Cries of Hear, hear, hear). I have not felt it my duty, in consequence of the vote of the other night, to tender my resignation to his Majesty (loud cheering from the Ministerialists), and I do intend to persevere (renewed cheering) in that which I consider my duty, and which is, notwithstanding that vote, to submit to the consideration of the House those upon which his Majesty's Government have formed their opinions. I am aware that the House of Commons did not

a small majority (loud cries, of Hear, hear) in an especially full House—a majority of 309 to 302—not pass a censure on the King's Government, but did by that majority of seven imply a difference of opinion as to the necessity of a dissolution of Parliament, and an apprehension, which I think was unfounded, that measures which would be conducive to the general interest will be interrupted by the appeal which his Majesty has made to the sense of his people. (Hear). But I did not believe that that majority which came to the vote on the subject of the Amendment did mean to imply an opinion that that vote was tantamount to a vote for the removal of his Majesty's Ministers. (Cries of Hear, hear). I know that there are many who concurred in that vote who will admit that I should have been acting inconsistently with my duty, if I considered that that vote implied an opinion that it was my duty to retire from the post to which his Majesty had called me. Some hon. Members voting for that Amendment declared that such was their opinion. With respect to the Irish church (for I shall take the several questions of the noble Lord in the order which their importance merits, not in the order in which they were put to me), I do intend to present to this House the report which may be made by the commissioners of public instruction appointed by the late Government. When I came into office, I ascertained that that commission had applied itself sedulously to the duties that had been pointed out to it. I ascertained that they had completed their inquiries in one-half the parishes of Ireland, that they were proceeding to make them in the others; and his Majesty's servants did not consider it consistent with their duty, the commission having been appointed by his Majesty, to interfere with the progress of it. On the contrary, without committing myself to the adoption of any of its sentiments or the principle of any of the measures which it might propose, I do intend to lay the report upon the table of the House. The noble Lord has intimated an opinion that I found any measure upon the report of this commission. The noble Lord apprehended me. What I

said was this, that I still remained of opinion that ecclesiastical property ought not to be diverted from actual ecclesiastical purposes. (Cheers). That was the principle which I always have maintained, and on which I am still disposed to act; but I did not preclude myself, by that declaration, from adopting any measures recommended by that commission, if I approved of them. (Hear). Before the subject of the corporation commission I know not to what conversations the noble Lord alluded. I speak only for myself; and I mean, when the report of the corporation commission shall be presented and concluded (which I hope it will be in a short time, as we were led to expect it at the conclusion of the last month), when that report and evidence shall be laid upon the table, I mean to give its suggestions and evidence my best consideration. I assure the noble Lord that I have no lurking prejudices in favour of the abuses of corporations. (Hear, hear). I cannot conceive how I can have any interest in maintaining the abuses of corporations; on the contrary, I can feel that both I and the public have a deep interest in putting an end to those abuses; but it would be inconsistent with my duty as a Minister of the Crown, looking at the report of the committee of 1833, of which you, sir (addressing the Speaker) was chairman, and which stated that the remedies suggested would suit small corporations, but would not suit great ones, and that the most popular corporations were not the most pure, I should not be enabled to form a sound conclusion as to the most natural course I ought to pursue, until I have an opportunity of seeing the report of the commissioners, of weighing the evidence, and of ascertaining what abuses really exist. I have the honour of presiding over a corporation, and I am sure they will give their unanimous assent, if the result of the commission prove that abuses exist, to any improvement that should be suggested; and I trust that I am not committing any dereliction of the trusts confided in me when I say, that on the part of my own corporation there is a general disposition to concur in the same course. I am sure that the noble Lord will scarcely charge

me with any intention of blinding corporation reform. I repeat, I have no interest in doing so; my only wish is that I should know the nature and extent of the remedy before I commit myself to it. (Hear, hear). With respect to the last, but in point of fact the most important question with which I was threatened on a former day, but from which the noble Lord has now receded (loud cheers from the Ministerial benches), it is possible in the interval the noble Lord may have referred to a question put, in April, 1831, to Lord Grey. There were then rumours very prevalent of an intention to dissolve Parliament, and with good reason, for the question was put on the 21. of April, and on the 22. Parliament was dissolved. (Loud laughter). Lord Wharncliffe then said that as allusion had been made to the subject he wished to ask the noble Lord (Grey) whether there was any truth in those rumours, and whether the noble Lord had advised his Majesty to dissolve Parliament. Earl Grey in answer said, "That he believed the question was one of a very unusual nature (great cheering from the Ministerial benches), and he could hardly bring himself to believe when the question was put by the noble Lord that he expected an answer." I will be more explicit. The noble Lord has asked me whether or not I have countenanced rumours that are prevalent respecting an intended dissolution of Parliament, and I answer that by no act or expression of mine, either directly or indirectly given, have I given any sanction to such rumours; and I also add, that I never even put a case hypothetically in which such a dissolution would be justifiable. It is only respectful to the House that I should state this; nothing would be more unbecoming in me than to hold out any menace to this House in consequence of any course which this House may think fit to pursue. Another rumour referred to by the noble Lord was, that we are to govern by means of standing armies, in case the House of Commons should refuse to vote the supplies, or to pass the Mutiny Act. (Tremendous laughter). I trust this rumour is of recent origin, as I declare that the first time I ever heard a whisper of it was

from the lips of the noble Lord. There was another question with which I was threatened the other day, but which the noble Lord has not put to-day, viz., whether or not I should pledge myself to the House that his Majesty's prerogative respecting the dissolution of Parliament should not be exercised. It would be unbecoming of me, as one of the Ministers of the Crown, to place any of the prerogatives of the Crown in abeyance. (Loud cheers). As a privy councillor, and adviser of the Crown, I have never advised the exercise of this prerogative. To the extent to which I have gone I venture to anticipate that my answer to the noble Lord will be satisfactory. (Cheers).

LORD JOHN RUSSELL: I did not mean that the right hon. Baronet was to govern by a standing army. What I meant was that there were rumours abroad that the right hon. Baronet would consider himself justified in keeping up the army, though there was no Mutiny Bill in existence. (Hear).

MR. SPRING RICE inquired whether it was the intention of the present Government to make any alteration in the system of education established in Ireland by the late Ministers.

SIR HENRY HARDINGE replied that it was not the intention of the present Government to make any alteration in that system; but he would take that opportunity of stating that the estimate for that purpose would be larger this year than it was during last.

MR. HUME asked whether, notwithstanding the majorities against Ministers—~~notwithstanding the feeling of that House against them~~—and consequently, notwithstanding public opinion, which the majority of that House represented, the right hon. Baronet and his colleagues intended to persevere in maintaining their places, in the face of repeated majorities against them, and in spite of the voice of the nation. (Cries of Oh, oh). Would they still persevere in retaining their places notwithstanding all these demonstrations of public opinion against them? We have a right (continued the hon. Gentleman) to expect a steady, straight-forward answer, and my question is, whether I understood the right hon.

Baronet correctly, that, notwithstanding the majority of this House being decidedly against him and his colleagues, it is his intention to persevere; or whether he doubts the opinion already expressed to be the opinion of the majority of this House? I should be very glad to know, because the right hon. Baronet must see that the people of England have no means of stating their opinions but through their representatives in this House; and if the opinions of their representatives are to be set at nought and at defiance, I do not know what unpleasant consequences may arise. (Hear, hear, hear). It may bring about a collision with the other House, which it is extremely desirable to avoid. (Hear, hear). It is contrary to almost all precedents, although it is perfectly well known that William Pitt continued in office under similar circumstances for a considerable time, but certainly during that time the people out of doors were eventually with Mr. Pitt. (Cheers from the Ministerial side). That is not the case now (laughter, and cheers from the opposition); although I have no doubt there are hon. Members on the other side of the House who are under that delusion. (Continued laughter and cheering). I am sure I speak as far as regards my own constituents. (Cries of Oh, oh). Aye, I will say three out of four. I have not the smallest hesitation in saying that three out of four in the county of Middlesex are against the present Government, and I therefore do hope that the right hon. Baronet will, with his usual frankness, answer my questions; first, whether he considers the decisions that have taken place do not show a majority of the people against him, or whether he intends to wait for a future period in order to try the strength of the House.

Sir R. Peel: When I answered the question put to me by the noble Lord I stated a simple fact, namely, that in consequence of the vote the other night I had not considered it my duty to tender my resignation, and I do assure the honourable gentleman, that in my situation I find it quite sufficient to dispose of the practical questions that are put to me (cheers from the Ministerial benches), without meeting

the hypothetical points to which the hon. gentleman asks for an answer. I have not resigned, and I mean to proceed in the execution of my duty, and submit to the consideration of Parliament those measures which the Government have decided upon. (Cheers from the opposition). But with respect to the course which I intend to pursue, until the measures are actually brought before the consideration of the House, on that question I cannot pronounce an opinion.

Mr. HUMF: I regret I cannot make myself understood to the right hon. Baronet. The right hon. Baronet speaks hypothetically, but I speak an actual fact. The right hon. Baronet was in a minority on the Address to the Crown, an actual majority of this House being against him, and a large majority out of the House being against him. (No, no). Such might not be the case with the constituencies of some honourable gentlemen, but for his own he would say, nine out of ten did not place confidence in the Government of the right hon. gentleman. Now those were actual facts, and admitted of no hypothesis at all. If the right hon. gentleman is balancing between two courses, I have no doubt that the right honourable gentleman finds great difficulty how he is to proceed. I think, however, that we ought to know what we are to do, for since the question now before the House is a matter of supply, it becomes us to be fully acquainted with the proceedings of those who demand them. Others might be merely matters of form; this is a case preparatory to granting the Supplies; and if we are told that the present Ministry, not enjoying the confidence of the people, are to maintain their places, for they cannot carry on the Government, it is for us to consider whether or no we should be right were we to place at the disposal of his Majesty and his Majesty's Ministers any supply whatever. (Hear, hear). Anything that curbs the prerogative of the Crown is extremely dangerous, and ought not to be resorted to on any occasion except on the greatest emergency; but if, after public opinion has been expressed in this manner, we commit our supplies to the present Ministry, I should like to know whose fault it is. I do not think that the

majority of the House of Commons are to be treated in direct defiance, and I should therefore like to ask the right honourable baronet the actual fact, and not hypothetically.

Sir R. PEEL: I really appeal to the House whether I have shown any reluctance to answer any question. The House of Commons came to a division the other night on the Address by a majority of 309 to 302 against Ministers. I have said, looking at that majority, that I did not feel it my duty to abandon my place on this occasion. If the honourable Member thinks that he ought to put himself in direct opposition before he understands what Ministers intend doing, I shall then know how to proceed. It would be quite out of my power to answer the question of the honourable Gentleman before I know the actual feeling of the House with respect to the measures intended to be proposed by the Government.

Mr. HUME—I ask the right hon. Baronet whether he thinks that the late vote against the Ministry be a vote of confidence or want of confidence in them? It was stated by the friends of the right hon. Baronet as being a direct display of want of confidence.

Sir ROBERT PEEL said, on looking to the vote, he did not think it had decided that it was his duty to retire.

Mr. EWART would ask the right hon. Baronet if he thought the vote was not a censure upon Ministers? (Hear, hear).

Sir ROBERT PEEL: I can construe the Address, and I can construe the answer to the Address; but I leave it to those who voted for the Amendment to construe their own course of conduct. (Cheers and laughter from the Ministerial side).

Mr. C. BARCLAY said it had been stated that the majority of the people out of doors agreed with those that carried the Amendment. Now, as representing a very large body of the people, he would deny that statement; at least the balance would be found to be quite as nice out of doors as within that House. During his canvass he never heard any lamentations for the loss of the late Ministry. (Cheers from the Ministerial side). He found the people out of doors to consist either of Conservatives or Destructives. (Laughter).

If the hon. member for Middlesex would try the question by a motion, either condemnatory or commendatory of the late Ministers, he would find that there would be no majority either one way or the other. (Hear and laughter.)

Major BEAUCLEER thought the House was travelling away from the real question before it, though he could say with justice and truth he had no confidence in Ministers, as they did not go far enough to satisfy him. (Hear, hear). At the same time he was willing to vote for so much of the Supplies as would enable them to go on: he would not throw any impediment in the way of their bringing forward their measures. It was of little consequence whether the Government was Whig, Tory, or Radical, provided the measures introduced by the Government were good. If the Ministers could not make up their minds to bring forward any satisfactory measures he could not support them; but if they did he would be bound to do so. He thought the attacks which had been made on both sides of the House were not likely to be productive of any good. (Hear). He should only vote for a certain supply, that Ministers might have an opportunity of bringing before the House their measures; but if those measures were not satisfactory he should feel it his duty to stop the Supplies. (Hear, hear).

Mr. O'CONNELL: The right hon. Baronet has said something with regard to the temporalities of the Irish church, which I understood him to say are to be applied to ecclesiastical purposes. I wish to know if I am to understand them to be limited to the purposes of the established church?

Sir R. PEEL: I am bound to state that it is confined to purposes connected with the doctrines of the established church. (Hear, hear). In a short time the report of the commissioners will be laid before the House, and I submit whether it is not premature to discuss these details at present.

Mr. O'CONNELL: I did not mean to excite any discussion, nor do I think my question is calculated to do so.

Sir R. PEEL rose and said, I beg leave to make a motion which some gentlemen

may not be prepared for, and to which other gentlemen may attribute motives that have really no foundation. It is with the greatest satisfaction that I have the honour to propose that Mr. Bernal should take the chair as Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means (Immense cheering from all sides of the House). I protest against misconstruction of my motives. What might have been the fate of another proposition I will not now inquire. (Cheers and laughter from the opposition). It is enough for me that I am for the present — (Laughter). Honourable members may laugh and cheer, but I can say with truth that I never contemplated any other appointment (cheers); for I have witnessed with pleasure the great impartiality with which the honourable Gentleman has presided in the chair; and there are many present who can bear me out in my assertion that I never had any other proposition to make. If the House is unanimous in calling that hon. Gentleman to the chair, it will, in my opinion, be only paying him the compliment to which he is justly entitled. (Great cheering).

LORD JOHN RUSSELL said he rose merely for the purpose of bearing his testimony to the fact that Mr. Bernal was now only reaping the advantages which his strict impartiality and gentlemanly behaviour in the chair had justly entitled him to at the hands of the House. (Cheers).

MR. BERNAL then went and took the chair, amidst the most enthusiastic cheering.

The honourable Member then read (*pro forma*) the paragraph of his Majesty's Speech which was addressed to the House of Commons. He then put the question, "That a supply be granted to his Majesty," which passed without comment, and was reported to the House.

THE RATHCORMAC AFFAIR.

MR. H. GRATTAN said that he did not wish to excite any debate on the motion of which he had given notice on a former evening, respecting the melancholy affair of Rathcormac. (Hear, hear). If the right hon. Gentleman opposite, (Sir H. Hardinge) would consent to the produc-

tion of the letter of the noble Lord from the Horse Guards, he (Mr. G.) should abstain from making any observations on the subject.

SIR H. HARDINGE was obliged to the hon. Member for the course he pursued; but as to the letter of the noble Lord, much misapprehension was abroad as to the purport of it. All it said respecting the melancholy affair in question was the approval of the conduct of the military for acting in obedience to the orders of the magistracy, but not one word did it contain of approbation as to how they acted on that occasion. He (Sir H. Hardinge) did not certainly know how it came into the public newspapers, and if his explanation was not satisfactory to the hon. Gentleman opposite, he would refer him to Bristol and to other places, in which instances it was always a practice of the Government to congratulate the military for the services which they rendered. (Hear, hear).

MR. O'CONNELL said, without participating in the motion, he hoped the letter would be laid on the table, and from the explanation which the right hon. Baronet had given, and as the question was still *sub judice*, he hoped that no discussion would take place. The explanation which had been given, until replied to, if it ever should, would have all the weight it deserved.

SIR JOHN BYNG, without desiring to provoke a discussion, would wish to know what would justify the expression of "forbearance" contained in the noble Lord's letter of congratulation to the military.

MR. LITTLETON defended the late Government from the responsibility imposed upon them respecting this affair; neither it nor the present Government were chargeable for any blame on this subject. (Hear, hear). After a few observations from the right hon. Gentleman, the motion was agreed to, and the House adjourned.

STATE OF AGRICULTURE.

AFTER all, this is the most important matter; for, though farmers do not clamour; though they make little noise, if they be broken up, there must be what is

generally called a "revolution," in England; that is to say, a convulsive movement, which will cause property to change hands to a very great extent, openly, visibly, and by force. Men may dream about prosperity in manufactures, and in trade, but if the tillage of the land becomes unprofitable, even without any rent at all, what is to become of any branch of the nation's concerns? I will first insert a table, taken from the public prints, of the price of wheat throughout Great Britain; and then I will pursue my remarks.

WHEAT.	Per Qr.
	s. d.
Glasgow	40 a 52
Edinburgh	38 52
Bristol	36 44
Newcastle	33 42
Sunderland	36 42
Alnwick	32 26
Hexham	32 40
Morpeth	33 38
Gainsborough	38 46
Maidstone	40 48
Haddington	39 48
Carlisle	40 46
Penrith	40 46
Leeds	36 50
Wisbeach	42 50
Sheffield	40 42
Lynn	31 40
Stanford	34 42
Boston	36 42
Spalding	36 40
Sleaford	40 44
Uppingham	34 39
Exeter	52 56
Gloucester	48 56
Newbury	45 52
Reading	30 52
Salisbury	42 52
Shepton Mallet	39 44
Sherborne	42 48
Taunton	35 43
Andover	30 48
Basingstoke	50 51
Bath	40 56
Bridgewater	40 46
Cirencester	34 42
Lincoln	32 40
Derby	40 43
Nottingham	40 44
Newark	38 44

Northampton	35 a 39
Peterborough	33 41
Chesterfield	42 48
Grantham	35 38
Blandford	40 45
Warminster	44 56
Wantage	46 59
Yeovil	44 56
Brigg	36 40
Long Sutton	32 38
Huntingdon	34 44
Oakham	40 48
East Retford	44 53
Devizes	32 46
Chard	42 46
Horncastle	35 38
Louth	37 42
Spilsby	36 40
Grimsby	37 42
Calster	34 45
Cumberland	40 48
Westmoreland	40 46
Lancashire	40 48
Cheshire	40 46
Durham	38 45
Yorkshire	40 46

Here is an average price of wheat throughout the kingdom of Great Britain, of forty-two shillings and one penny the quarter; that is to say, five shillings and the fraction of a farthing the bushel, but the reader will observe, that the farmer does not get this much. It is the price that wheat will sell for when arrived in Mark Lane, or on the wharfs at Glasgow, or in other large places where there is great consumption; and the best judge of these matters that I have ever known in my life, thinks that an average of four shillings and sixpence is as much as the farmer gets. At home, in the counties that I am acquainted with, are selling for five shillings a score; that is to say, three-pence a pound. These prices are lower than those of 1822. The measure of corn had not been then, for the sake of gratifying a gang of Scotch jobbers augmented in capacity by that beastly bill, which cost the nation more than a million of money, which is now costing every county two or three hundred a year in maintaining a jobber to superintend these weights and measures; so that the bushel is now larger than it was then, to gratify

the greedy and scabby wretches before-mentioned. By the by, we owe this measure in great part, if not in toto, to the scientific and economical Mr. JOSEPH HUME, who here wasted a couple of millions of money, at the least, on a thing that could never, by possibility, be of any use.

But, to return, fat hogs were eight shillings a score in 1822; so that farm-produce is now greatly less in price than it was then. It is less in price by a fourth, or a fifth, at least, than it was last year; and it must go on, coming down lower and lower, till an arable farm, rent-free, will be a burden. And, is Sir ROBERT PEEL going to carry on the Government upon the principle, or rather, upon the opinion, that the distress of agriculture arises from the "pressure of local charges"; and that all farmers, landlords, and tradesmen, may be insolvent, and that a nation may be sustained, and great and flourishing, in spite of their ruin, so long as the fundholders have their interest duly paid in full. If these be the opinions and principles upon which he intends to carry on the Government; and if he be permitted to attempt to carry it on for two years longer, this nation must be revolutionized; most likely, the Government totally destroyed, and an American Government established in its stead. It is impossible to collect fifty millions of taxes a year with wheat at four and sixpence a bushel, without producing a revolution in the kingdom.

MR. COBBETT'S SPEECH,

AND THE OTHER SPEECHES ON HIS MOTION FOR AN ABOLITION OF THE MALT-TAX.

My readers are aware that I have, for many years, contended that this tax was the most mischievous thing existing in the country; and, being in Parliament, they would naturally expect that I should do my utmost to get it repealed and abolished. I did my utmost, during the last session of Parliament; and I am now about to lay before my readers in general, and my constituents in particular, an ac-

count of what has been done, as to this matter, during the present session of Parliament, and particularly the part which I have taken in the discussions relative to it.

On the 27. Feb. Sir William Ingilby made a motion for the House to go into a committee of the whole House, to consider whether there ought to be a repeal, partial and entire, of this mischief doing tax. I spoke upon that occasion, against the further continuance of the tax; but I did not vote, because the motion was not direct, and because it was not positive as to a repeal of the whole of the tax. There was, upon that occasion, a division, when there were 170 for the motion, and 271 against it.

Things standing thus, and I, seeing the ground all forestalled until the 27. of May, gave notice that I would make a motion on that day, for a repeal of the whole of that tax; but, upon further consideration, I withdrew that notice, and fixed the notice for a similar motion on the 17. of March, to be made upon the motion for the House to go into a committee of supply. My motion was, "*Resolved, that it is expedient, that from and after the 5. of October next, all the duties on malt shall cease and determine.*" This motion I made on the 17. of March; and this motion was decided in the manner hereafter to be described. It would be irksome to myself, as well as to my readers, for me to be in the habit of reporting my own speeches in the *Register*; but, this is a subject of such vast importance, that I gave as correct a report as I could of the speech made upon that occasion, and also an analysis of what other gentlemen said in the same debate. I have here put the speeches one after the other, just as they occurred, giving them all with as much accuracy as my memory will enable me to do it, with the assistance of the reports in the newspapers.

Mr. COBBETT: Mr. Speaker, I rise to submit a motion to the House, for the total repeal of the malt-tax, which motion is in the following words:—"Resolved, that it is expedient that from and after

"the 5. of October next, all the duties on malt shall cease and determine."

Certainly, sir, such a motion ought not to be submitted to the House, without reasons given for the measure of which it proposes the adoption; and yet, to give those reasons will require the consumption of a much larger portion of the time of the House, than I shall like to call upon it to bestow; but, when duty bids me to proceed, and reluctance to occupy the time of the House would draw me back, I feel myself under the necessity of obeying the former.

Before I proceed to the reasons which I deem more than sufficient for the total repeal of this tax, it is my duty to endeavour to remove two very gross and mischievous errors, which, from what we have heard recently in this House, appear to me to be generally prevalent throughout the country; or, at least, amongst almost the whole of those who are prominent in discussing political affairs.

The first of these errors is, that the landlords, the farmers, and all the persons immediately concerned in the cultivation of the land, would be exclusively benefited by the repeal of these duties; and that the inhabitants of towns are very little interested in the matter; that they have an interest in the repeal of the house and window-tax, but that they have scarcely any interest at all in the repeal of this tax; that the tax being taken off, the honourable Member for Bridport recently told us, would only be so much money put into the pockets of the landlords, who would be the sole persons that would gain by the change.

An error so monstrous as this, has scarcely ever found its way into the human mind. What, sir, do all the people in towns, and, particularly, the hard-working people in towns, think beer? And, is not their beer paid for with, as well as the beer of the country people? The fact is, that the repeal of the malt-tax would be greatly more beneficial to the tradesmen and workmen in towns, than the repeal of the house and window-tax, both put together. Scarcely do working-people pay any part of the house-tax or window-tax; but the malt-tax lies heavily on them all, causing their beer

which is absolutely necessary to them, to cost more than twice as much as it would cost if there were no tax upon malt. Further, nineteen-twentieths of the tradesmen, though they may pay from three pounds to twelve pounds a year, on account of house and window-tax, pay, on an average, a great deal more on account of the malt-tax.

This gross error is, then, backed up by another, if possible still more gross; namely, that the persons owning, occupying, labouring upon, and deriving their subsistence out of, the land, are a mere nothing in number, compared with those who are employed in manufactures, trade, and commerce, and, especially, in manufactures. The right honourable Member for Manchester has called upon us to thank God, that England was the great manufacturing shop of the world; the noble Lord, who is one of the representatives of the West-Riding of Yorkshire, calls those who are hostile to the corn-laws, the body of the people; the honourable Member for Middlesex has told us, that this is now a manufacturing nation, and that England was poor before it was a manufacturing nation. I wish, sir, that the honourable Member for Middlesex had drawn a little upon his store-house of knowledge, and had named the time when England was poor, and when she was not a manufacturing nation. I state, sir, without fear of contradiction from that honourable Member or any other, that England was always the richest, and always the most manufacturing nation in the world.

The ground-work of this great error, with regard to the number engaged in the different pursuits, are and have been for many years, the population returns, laid before this House, which, by reckoning all persons as manufacturers, traders, or, except the mere occupiers and workers upon the land; that is to say, except the mere husbandmen, the ploughmen, the reapers, the mowers, the threshers, and woodmen - by considering all these as not belonging to agriculture, have led to the conclusion that the husbandmen and all belonging to the land, are a mere handful compared with the rest of the community. I can give an instance with

regard to the village of BOTLEY, a village in Hampshire, with which I am well acquainted. The return states, that there are fifty-five families belonging to agriculture, forty-four to manufactures, trade, &c.; and thirty-five of all other sorts. Now I take upon me to assert, that there is not a soul in that parish, who is not either husbandman, miller, or tanner; the miller to grind the corn; the tanner to dress the hides; or, parson or doctor; the parson collects the great and small tithes of the parish, and he lives upon them; the doctor bleeds and sets the bones of the husbandmen; and as to other sorts of persons, there are none, who are not employed in purchasing the produce of the land, or in selling clothing or other necessaries, to those who raise that produce.

To the parishes of TUNSWAY and WHITLEY, in Surrey, are ascribed eighty-three families, engaged in trade, manufactures, commerce, &c. If the hon. Member for West-Surrey were in his place, who lives in one of those parishes, which are united by law, I would ask him, what sort of manufacture these eighty-three families carry on; from what foreign country they receive the raw material upon which they work; to what foreign country they export the produce of their looms or their other ingenious contrivances? Sir, these returns make up a mass of fallacies such as never were before heard of in the world: in these two parishes, there is not a single soul (except, perchance, there may be a fundholder or two) who is not either husbandman, wheelwright, blacksmith, carpenter, butcher, or who does not follow some pursuit or other immediately connected with the land; not a soul who could live upon the spot for a week, if there were no produce sent out of the produce of the land of those two parishes. But, sir, there is one instance which I quite conclude to be a gross error, and the matter may be settled at once by only three words from an honest member when I was asked, what the domestic bench was. There is a parish in Surrey called Wanborough, and the return tells us that it contains twenty families chiefly employed in agriculture, and one family chiefly em-

ployed in commerce, manufactures, &c. Now, sir, there sits the hon. Member for Guildford, in Surrey; he is the sole proprietor of all the houses and all the land in this parish of Wanborough; and I call upon him to have the goodness to tell us whether this family of manufacturers have any connexion with foreign parts, or whether their manufacture consists in making or new laying of ploughshares for his farms, and of shoes for the horses which work upon those farms! Short-sighted, indeed, must that man be, who cannot see far enough to know, that these manufacturers are husbandmen in fact, just as much as those who plough and reap and mow, and thrash out the corn. Yet these ridiculous fallacies have led to the mischievous conclusions which we have heard in this House; they have led the right hon. Member for Manchester to tell us, that there are nine hundred thousand families only, belonging to the land, while there are fourteen hundred thousand families belonging to manufactures and trade.

The hon. Member for Marybonne has frequently asserted the great populousness of the borough which he has the honour to represent; and, when speaking of what he has been pleased to call the oppressions of the corn-laws, he has invariably represented his numerous constituents as having an interest distinct and independent, relative to the part of the community, immediately and obviously concerned in the land. The returns tell us, that there are, in the borough of MARYBONNE, a hundred and forty-three persons, chiefly employed in agriculture; that is to say, in the gardens and the hay-fields, which lie on the outskirts of the borough or parish; but is this all? I verily believe, that I speak very far within compass, when I say that there are a thousand families, and I think might say, thousands of families, all the males of which are husbandmen, and solely employed, in making and selling ploughs, harrows, drags, carts, chaff-cutters, butter-churns, cheese-presses, spades, prongs, rakes, sieves, forks, and other implements; tools and necessaries for husbandry. Were there no husbandry, these people would not be in the borough of Marybonne;

and were the land to produce nothing to send up rents into the fine streets and the squares, what would become of the tradesmen of Marybonne? And look, sir, over the whole of this metropolis: look at the seedsmen, the salesmen of meat, the lightermen that bring up the corn, the multitudes whose centre is at Mark-lane; the hop-merchants and their people; look at all these, and imagine, if you can, the extent of the madness, or, rather, the blindness and absurdity of those who would attempt to designate any part of the people as not having an interest in agriculture.

But, if these gentlemen will insist upon the separation; I will face them, even with the admission of their own absurdity to be sense; and I will take the statement contained in the summary of even these fallacious returns. What says this summary? why this: that the male occupiers and labourers in agriculture, twenty years of age and upwards, are *one million and seventy-five thousand*; and that male persons of the same age engaged in manufactures, &c., are *three hundred and twenty thousand*.

Thus, then, if I were to adopt that erroneous view of the matter, according to which the malt-tax is considered as a burden to nobody but persons belonging to agriculture; I should say that there were three for one, at any rate, and that therefore they were worthy of our particular consideration. I, however, scout this idea as unworthy of the mind of a man of sense: I say that all are equally interested; and as such I must speak of them as likely to be benefited by the adoption of the measure which I have had the honour to propose in the House. In stating the reasons which I have to offer for the adoption of this measure, I must first observe, that I do not object to the tax on account of any particular measure which it has because I am fully aware, that every tax, lay it where you will, finds its way first or last to every person in the community. I must further observe, that I do not object to the tax on account of its money being so because if the tax be wanted to carry on the affairs of the Government; and if it be collected at something near the ordinary expense

of collection, and being unproductive of any mischiefs beyond those arising out of its mere burden, money-burden, it would be improper to propose its repeal. But, sir, if a tax be, as I contend this tax is, peculiar as to its expenses of collection; and if it be productive of great moral evils, then it ought not to remain, even if a property-tax or poll-tax were necessary to be imposed in its stead; and I think myself capable of proving to the House, that this tax is of this description, and that therefore it ought to be repealed. I beg it to be observed, that I urge not the repeal as peculiarly beneficial to the landlord or the farmer. As consumers of malt, they would share in the benefit with the rest of the community; as great sufferers from the immoralities produced by this tax, they would certainly derive an extraordinary degree of benefit; but in this benefit the rest of the community must necessarily share, though their share might not be so obvious. It is impossible for the morals of millions of working-people to be mended without the effect being felt in every part and by every person of the community.

The first objection to this tax is, the extraordinary expense of collecting and managing it. I hold in my hand a statement which I received last year from a gentleman at Nottingham, many years in the office, and he proves, to my satisfaction, that five-sixths of the expenses of the whole of the excise establishment may be fairly ascribed to the malt-tax. Now, I have no means immediately at hand for ascertaining how much the whole of the expenses of the excise establishment is annually. At a guess, I should say it amounted to a million of money or more; so that to begin with, here is a million to be paid to five million and a half, before the money comes into the Exchequer. I believe this to be the fact; but we could best ascertain it here, if I might say so. At the rate we know that the expense is very great, much greater than the collection of any other tax or rates, to wit, that the gross amount; and this is the only possible objection to this tax, in the case of the others, for instance, where the penny goes into the Exchequer, and not more to the com-

paratively speaking. The six millions cost only 168,000*l.* in the collection and management, while here are five millions and a half cost, as I believe, pretty nearly or quite a million in the collection and management. The second and still greater objection is, the monopoly which the tax necessarily gives rise to. Upon the same authority, which I have just mentioned, I state to the House these astounding facts; that, taking barley at twenty-eight shillings a quarter, and suppose four millions of quarters, which is about the quantity, the amount of such barley would be five millions six hundred thousand pounds; that eight quarters of barley make nine quarters of malt, and that this increase pays all the expenses of malting. So that, the four millions of quarters of barley made into malt, would, were it not for the tax, cost the people five millions six hundred thousand pounds in the year; that the duty added to this, would make the cost nine millions seven hundred thousand pounds a year; but that, in consequence of the monopoly, created by the tax, the malt, before the result of it reaches the lips of the people, either by private brewing or public brewing, does cost the people fourteen millions four hundred thousand pounds a year, instead of costing them five millions six hundred thousand pounds a year. When, a few evenings ago, I stated the price of malt at 8*s.* a bushel, an hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets produced a Mark-lane account, showing, that large quantities of it had been sold that week at about six and sixpence a bushel; but I spoke of the price of malt as I could get it for my use. The tax enables men with large capital to get the malt at a price at which men for private brewing cannot get it. And here I beg leave to refer to some of the evidence taken before the beer-shop committee of last year. Mr. CROFTLAND, a magistrate of Berkshire, stated to the committee, that there was a beer-shop set up by a very respectable man in his neighbourhood; that this man bought his beer of a brewer, until the beer which he brewed himself should have attained a proper age; and that then he sold this one first — that the brewer

“up another beer-shop in the parish; and he can brew it so much cheaper than the publican who has to go to a dealer in malt and buy it at 9*s.* 6*d.* a bushel, when the brewer can make it at about 6*s.* 3*d.*, that the publican cannot compete with him; and the second beer-house being set up, the man that set up the other was obliged to give it up after the first twelvemonth, and to leave the brewer's beer-house in the parish.”

Mr. EDWARD GREEN, who is a maltster, but also a farmer, of WARGRAVE, in Berkshire, gave the committee this information: “If there is so much advantage attending brewing, how is it that the ale-houses sell brewers' beer?—There are very few of them that have capital enough to buy their malt at the first hand; I could now furnish malt at 6*s.* 3*d.* a bushel; and our poor people, if they go to buy malt retail of a maltster are charged 8*s.* 6*d.*”

Mr. STROCK, a brewer of Essex, gave the following information: “What is the cost of your malt to you?—Fifty-two shillings a quarter, covering every expense.”—What have you given for your barley?—The highest price of our barley has been 30*s.* to 35*s.*, and the lowest is 24*s.*”

But, after all, no one stated any of the grounds for believing that this monopoly arose directly out of the tax. One of its effects, however, I will state to the House. The malt-duty is paid in every six weeks. A man possessed of apparent great means can obtain bondsmen, to a certain amount, for the payment of the duty; and in this case, the collector permits the maltster to be three collections in arrear, while the maltster with small means is compelled to pay up. The man who has the benefit of the first, is enabled to enter largely into business, and the greater his duty the more he injures society in the end. In numerous instances, these large maltsters have been known to crush the little ones entirely; and thus it is that the malt-houses, formerly so numerous, are now become comparatively very few in number. I remember, that at STOW in the WOOD I learned, that formerly there were fourteen malt-houses.

and that now there is only one. In the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, there used to be a malt-house in almost every village. The monopoly created by this tax has demolished, perhaps, nineteen out of every twenty. Large brewers are also maltsters. The monopolists, in fact, carry on their trade with *public money*: they have always two collections in their hands to carry on their trade with: so that the people are placed at their mercy, and so placed, too, by the use of the people's own money, which they have paid for the services of the state, and which is allowed to be kept in the hands of these monopolists. It is not, then, the tax itself, but the evils that arise out of the tax at every step that it takes; and here, on account of this monopoly alone, the people pay, as I have, I think, very clearly shown, four millions, seven hundred thousand pounds a year; which is an evil, an injustice, an oppression, arising entirely out of the tax. If I be asked, what is to become of all the capital now employed by these monopolists in this way, I answer, in the first place, that it is the people's capital in great part, as I have just shown; and, in the next place, if the monopolists have any capital, which is really their own, there is the land, there is lawful commerce; there are plenty of honest means for the profitable employment of this capital.

The third objection to this tax is, that it prevents people, and particularly the poorer part of the people, from brewing beer in their own houses, and thereby drives them to beer-shops, and other places of resort, for the purpose of getting beer; a drink which they ought to have, which they always have had, and which, let gentlemen there say or do what they may, they always will have. I know it has been contended that the poorer sort of people have been driven out of the habit of brewing at their own houses, that they would not take to it again, even if this tax were taken off; and if they could get the malt for a low price, as they then would. It is a great mistake to suppose that this is one of the cases in which habit becomes second nature. In morals and in manners, there is great submission to the power of habit. Early

rising, late rising, sobriety, drunkenness, love of ease, love of activity; in these and numerous other instances, habit has a great deal to do in determining the conduct of men; but, when you come to eating and drinking, when you come to the means of providing a bellyful, the case is wholly different. When you are withheld from any natural enjoyment by force, you return to it the moment the force is removed. From having constantly a plenty to eat, you may, by compulsion, be confined to a quarter of a meal, for years together; but when the full meal returns, you instantly take it, without consideration had of the small quantity of food upon which you have recently lived. For a long time the labourers have been compelled to do without the bits of bacon in their pot; but, does any man imagine, that if they had the bits of bacon again they would not boil them and eat them? But it is said, that they want the utensils for brewing; said, indeed, only by those who cannot know any thing at all about the matter. It was asked, by the committee of last year, whether the utensils could not be had for a few shillings? There are no utensils wanting, but those which they have. A gallon of malt can be brewed in a porridge-pot which will hold five gallons of water; and twelve quarts of good beer I have seen made out of a gallon of malt in that very way. It is a great mistake to suppose that there requires large quantities of malt to be brewed together, in order to get the greatest proportion of strength. Malt is, in this respect, like tea: whether you put little or much of the latter into the pot, you get all the strength out of it in one case as well as in the other, and it is strong or weak in proportion to the quantity of water as compared with the quantity of tea. As to the expense, in the case of the labourer, it is absolutely nothing at all. The old maxim was: "If you would have good beer, you must go to bed with your liver." The wife of the labourer, the very poorest and meanest of that part of the class of the family, she likes the beer herself better than water, and she has the other most powerful motive, that of keeping her husband at home. In support of these, my opinions, the House will

permit me to read the evidence given by several persons, before the Beer-bill Committee of last year. At the head of these stands Mr. SIMMON, a magistrate for Oxfordshire and Berkshire, who, in order to be able to lay accurate opinions upon the subject before the committee, sent a circular to the overseers and ministers of fifteen parishes; and the answer of all, except one, was, that the cure for the evils of beer-shops, and the greatest possible advantage to the country, would be, to enable the poor people to make their malt, and to brew at home. The evidence of these gentlemen, every word of which is worthy of the best attention of the House, was in the following words:

Mr. SIMMON, a magistrate for Oxfordshire and Berkshire. The last question is, "Would great advantages result from enabling the poor people to make their malt and brew at home, both as regards their comfort and morality?"—That is the most important question of all. The answers are, "fourteen parties say it would be highly desirable; one fears it might lead the labourers to steal barley."

"Are those answers indiscriminately the answers of the overseers and ministers of the different parishes, or is there any difference of opinion between the ministers and the overseers?"—I should say that generally they all agree in their answers. I believe that the answers are indiscriminately the same from the ministers and from the overseers.

"Are the answers from the overseers and the ministers jointly or separately?"—Separately. The application was made separately to each of them, and neither knew that the other had an application to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. GIBSON, a magistrate for Berkshire. "The malt tax has been in consequence of the malt being put down?"—It is certainly not an impediment to the malt being all accounted for, and sold at a profit.

Colonel BARNARD, a magistrate for Berkshire.—"The tax constitutes the absolute necessity of the power of selling beer in this manner. I think it would be a dangerous measure

"without the repeal of the malt-tax, and the tax again put upon the beer; I think if the tax were put upon the beer and the malt-tax repealed, it would induce the lower class of people to brew their own beer."

"Will you state why without that alteration, you think it would be dangerous to repeal the present Beer-bill?—Because I think it has tended to increase the price of barley, and to give a little fillip to agriculture."

"Do you think that it has any effect in checking the consumption of spirits, and giving the lower orders an inclination to drink beer rather than spirits?"—"I think the lower orders have had an inclination to drink beer rather than spirits; but it has been reported to me that smuggled spirits have been introduced into those beer-houses, but to my knowledge I do not know it."

"Do you think that the greater facility of drinking beer has rather conduced to encourage the love of beer than the love of spirits?"—"I think it has, and the lower order of people have an idea that beer is much more wholesome for them."

BROOK (Sussex) Parish Vestry.—"Had the malt-duty been taken off, the agricultural labourer would have had his beer at home, and we think he would seldom be seen at the beer-shop: small beer is the natural beverage of the labourers in agriculture; at once the most nutritious, the most wholesome, and the best support to the labourer, being part of the subsistence for the production of his physical powers, to enable him to perform a fair day's work."

HOOR (Sussex) Parish Vestry.—"We are decidedly of opinion if the malt-tax had been repealed, it would have been far preferable to the tax."

PRYING (Sussex) Parish Vestry.—"We also are of opinion that the abolition of the malt-duty would have had a far more beneficial effect upon the health and morals of the labouring class."

There was, indeed, one witness, who gave a different opinion, and that was

Mr. THURNALL, of Cambridgeshire, but he is a great maltster. His evidence was as follows: "Do you, or do you not believe, if the malt-duty was taken off so as to enable every man to brew at home, that the evils complained of would be greatly reduced, and a better morality amongst the poor be obtained?—I do not think it is possible for the labourer to brew his own beer; *I am not sure they would not in my county; in the first place he could brew so small a quantity*, and there are very few cottages where the whole house is above the size of this room; he is not furnished with a copper; it is totally impossible for a labourer to brew his beer in the districts I have been in.

"How was it done formerly, do you know?—Persons brewed their own beer, but I should think not a *tithe of the population brewed; but their habits have altogether altered.*

"Is it not a serious thing for a poor man if he brews a quantity of beer, and that beer *turns sour*?—Yes.

"He avoids that risk, does he not, by purchasing his beer?—*Undoubtedly.*

"You are aware that a brewing apparatus would cost to a poor man only 5s.?—I am aware it would cost a small sum; *but half of them would not be sober while the beer lasted; they would drink it in a day.*

[Mr. CHILDERS, a member for Cambridgeshire, observed, that I had read only a part of the evidence of this man; that this man was his tenant, and a very respectable man. It is very true, that I read only a part, and I cited the evidence merely to contradict the notion of the habits of the people having changed. I did not read the whole, I was merely to save time; and if the orders of the House would have permitted me to do so, I should have observed, that Mr. CHILDERS left out, in his reading, the first of the two notes which will be found in the second member of the first sentence of the answers of this witness. I believe that Mr. CHILDERS gave the correct meaning of the witness, but that meaning is just the contrary of that which is found in the print; for, in the print the witness is

made to say, that he is *not* sure that the labourer would not brew his own beer; and Mr. CHILDERS made him say, that he *was* sure that he would not brew it: the context shows, that Mr. CHILDERS's reading was correct, but not according with the evidence reported by the committee. If I could have replied, I should have answered the opinion of this man, that not a third of the people formerly brewed their own beer, by citing the positive evidence given by Mr. JOHN ELLMAN, before the committee of 1821, "that when he became a farmer, forty-five years before that, every man in his parish had his own beer, and enjoyed it by his own fire-side"; and that this evidence was then corroborated by a magistrate of Somersetshire, and by a gentleman who was then sheriff of Wiltshire. I did not like to waste time, as I never do, setting a very high value on time myself, or I should have observed, on the latter part of the evidence of this witness, the tenant of Mr. CHILDERS, who tells us, in one breath, that the labourer's beer "would turn sour," and in the next breath, "that he would drink it in a day"! However, no observation from me was necessary here; a general smile in the House showed that they smelled out the maltster, and rendered any reply to Mr. CHILDERS wholly unnecessary.]

In short, sir, I am satisfied that there is no argument to be offered in support of the belief, that labourers would not again brew their own beer, if this tax were repealed, and wholly abolished; and of all the benefits arising from this change, I defy pen or tongue to give an adequate description. But there would be another great change take place; that is to say, that farmers would have beer to give to their men who went out of their house, or rather to men who are not inmates of the house. On this subject we have the following evidence, taken before the agricultural committee of last year, of Mr. SAMPSON, of Staffordshire, and of Mr. BROWN, a well-known and a celebrated agriculturist of Wiltshire: "The evidence of the following nature is very worthy of the best attention of the House.

Mr. SAMPSON.—"Does not the malt-tax press more immediately on a man

"who gives beer to his labourers, directly as well as indirectly?—I have no doubt if the malt-tax were removed, it would be a great improvement in his condition."

MR. RUDDELL BROWN.—"Would the labourers in your neighbourhood, if the law were to abolish the beer-shops and restore only the public-house, be likely to complain?—They would like it quite as well. The greatest possible relief that could be given to the agricultural labourers, would be by putting on the beer-duty again, and taking off the malt-duty, which would enable them to make or buy small quantities of malt, and brew their own beer."

"Do you not think if that were the case, the farmers would be more ready to give their labourers beer in agricultural districts?—I am quite sure of it; it is nothing but the high duty which has kept them from it; the taking off the beer-duty has been no relief to the agricultural labourer."

"What do you think the people of Devon would say to the putting on the beer-duty again?—Probably if the malt duty were not taken off at the same time, they would complain; but if the malt-duty were taken off, I am sure they would rejoice."

"Is there, without them, convenience for a labouring man to obtain beer for his dinner?—I have myself given my labourers beer, though it has cost me an immense sum for my malt bill every year; but still I know a man cannot work well without beer, and I wish as much as possible to keep my labourers away from the beer-shops."

"The advantage to the farmer, as well as to the labourer, from giving beer instead of money, is of so much importance, as hardly to admit of exaggeration in the statement. Every one acquainted with these matters knows well, that in times of pressing haste, particularly in harvest, a farmer can do more with one pound's worth of beer than with four pounds in money. Money is too far from the lips to produce immediate effect. Then, as to regular hard work in hot weather. Set a company of men to work at mowing: they ask you for beer, and, as is generally

the case, you allow them sixpence an acre, or something an acre, in lieu of beer. The hot sun comes and clogs the spittle in their mouths, and draws the sweat from their bodies. Away they go, perhaps a mile, to lay out their sixpence in beer. Being there, they do not stop with the sixpence. Very likely the field does not see them again for that day: then follows the loss of time, so precious then to the farmer, and they have to thirst for the remainder of the hard work of mowing, or to slake their thirst with water, which communicates weakness instead of strength. Whereas, if they had beer from the farm-house, they would go to the bottles deposited in the hedge, take their drink and return to their work. The beer would be wholesome and strengthening; and it is the deeply-interested master who would then determine the quantity. MR. RUDDELL BROWN told the committee, that he does this now; but MR. RUDDELL BROWN is a great farmer and a rich man: it costs him, he tells the committee, "an immense sum" for malt every year. That immense sum it is not in the power of a common farmer to expend; and, therefore, generally, and almost universally, speaking, hard working men, and the best of labourers, too, are driven to the beer-shops from this cause; or to some place or other where they have to swallow the adulterated stuff made by the brewers."

Besides all these evils, there is the great evil of evils, the driving of the young people from the farm-houses. Great as the other objections to this tax are, this objection is greater than all the rest put together. This it is, which has been the great cause of the lamentable change which has taken place in the manners and the morals of the working-people of England. Every gentleman must know how slender the authority of poor and indigent parents must necessarily be over young people from the age of twelve years upwards. In proportion as the parents are poor and miserable, in that same proportion, in nature's spite, their authority will be small. To have good grown-up men and women, you must begin the work when they are young. The hand of the poor parent is not strong

enough; and if the hand of the parent were strong enough, the heart would not be stout enough, for this work. Besides, there is no room in the cottage for any body but the father and mother and little children. In the farm-house is their proper place from the age of twelve to that of twenty, or some years more. There there are a master and a mistress, not liable to indulgence on account of kindred; but bound by the law to provide for the parties in sickness and health for the whole year through; bound still more strongly by the most weighty interest, to attend, not only to the good habits and the industry, but to the morals and manners of the young people living under the same roof with themselves. Let gentlemen figure to themselves a parish with a hundred young people, distributed amongst the farm-houses, subjected to the control of masters and mistresses, who, of necessity, will compel them to keep good hours, to rise early, to be diligent during the day, to be cleanly in their persons, to go to church on the Sunday, and who have the magistrate always at hand to punish disobedience of their lawful commands. Then suppose these young people all to be turned out and to be upon their own hands; strolling about on the Sunday, without any regard to the decencies of dress; assembling in groups, either in beer-shops or out of beer-shops; assemble they will, and whoever saw such an assemblage, without seeing mischief of some sort or other being the ultimate consequence. In short, this is the main cause of that fatal change which has taken place in the manners, the morals, the expertness, and the bodily strength, of the labourers of England; and every man, who is a judge of the matter, knows well, that this has been produced, in very great part, by the heavy expense required to furnish beer for the servants in husbandry; and that this heavy expense arises from the tax upon malt, and solely from that tax, no man will attempt to deny. This evil is so great, that, unless it can be removed, all hope of restoring the country to a state of good morals and happiness, and even of safety, may be abandoned at once in despair. The right hon. Member for MANCHESTER

drew an astounding picture of the awful consequences of rejecting the proposition for an alteration of the corn-laws. He seems to have thought little of the present really awful situation of those who are concerned in the cultivation of the land. But I trust that this House will have that situation constantly in its mind, till it has done its best to restore content to the labouring millions, and restored something like peace and security to the property and the dwelling of the farmer; and, sir, I am perfectly satisfied that nothing would so powerfully assist in the accomplishing of this, so desirable an object, as the adoption of the motion which I now have the honour to submit to the House.

Gladly would I see the work performed by the noble Lord and his colleagues. Then, indeed, would the Government have strength; for then it would become dear to the hearts of the whole people. The honourable Gentlemen seem as firmly fixed now as is the seat upon which they are; but this measure would fix them firmly as the hills.

I here read my motion, which was seconded by my colleague, Mr. FIELDEN. It was my intention to give the mere points in the other speeches made upon this occasion: but to avoid a charge of unfairness in doing this, I will give the report as I find it in the Times, which, to the best of my recollection, is substantially correct. Whether the country be destined to be plunged into confusion or not, is more than I can say, but if it be destined to be saved from that horrible state, I know that amongst the means of salvation there must be a total abolition of this tax. For my own part, as long as I have a seat in Parliament, I will never cease my endeavours to secure this repeal. I wish the matter to be well and clearly understood by the whole of the people, and therefore it is that I have published the above speech, and the whole of the other speeches made on this occasion in a separate pamphlet.

Lord ALTHORP said, that as the question had been so recently discussed, it

was hardly to be supposed that the House had changed its opinion upon it. He therefore did not feel himself called upon to enter minutely into its merits. The hon. Member had stated, that had it not been for the malt-tax the labouring agriculturists would have been able to brew their beer and drink it in their own houses. There could be no question of the advantage of the revival of such a practice, but it might be a question, whether it was dependent on the tax under discussion. The real question was, in what way in the present state of the finances of the country, it was possible to reduce the malt-tax. It had been very truly stated, that while the present amount of the establishments of the country was maintained, it would be difficult to effect any material reductions in taxation. He entirely agreed with the hon. Member in the preference he gave to a repeal of the whole rather than half of the duty, but with regard to his assertion that it would benefit the people living in towns as much as those in the country, he would remark, that the only advantage the agriculturists would gain from a reduction of the duty, would be in their capacity of consumers, but undoubtedly every other class would profit in a like degree. He had stated, however, in a former debate, and he now repeated it, that the effect of carrying a resolution like that before the House, and founding a bill upon it, would be to produce a total stagnation in every financial measure which had been introduced to Parliament. Under these circumstances, therefore, he would refrain from following the hon. Member in detail. If the taking off the tax on malt were considered merely abstractedly, the arguments in favour of it would apply to the repeal of every other tax. With regard to what had fallen from the hon. Member on the advantage brewers would derive from brewing their beer in their own houses, he (Lord Althorpe) confessed he did not believe in that; that brewers would not brew their beer in their own houses. Whatever alterations were to be made in the duties on beer, still convinced that they would be able to buy their beer cheaper than they could brew it. It was quite certain that people with large capital

could make the article at a cheaper rate than those with small; and in the present state of society, he confessed he had no hope of seeing the practice in question revived. In opposing the motion he was only sorry that he felt it to be his duty so frequently to do so.

Mr. H. CURTIS said, that had it been in accordance with the forms of the House, he would have moved, as an amendment proposed by the hon. Member for Oldham, that from and after the 5. of October, 1835, one half of the duty on malt should cease and determine; and he thought Government would have consented to it. The hon. Member for Bridport (Mr. Warburton) had on a former occasion accused the agriculturists of wishing to put their hands into the pockets of the manufacturers; but this was not surely the case, since the landed proprietors had been as forward as any in recommending the repeal of the tax on beer. It was true a deficiency would be experienced in the Exchequer on the reduction of the malt-tax; but then how many eligible modes were there not only of repairing that deficiency, but of still further increasing the revenue! He had no hesitation in avowing his opinion that a tax on lotteries would be a most legitimate impost. By such a tax, 10,000,000*l.* a year might be raised. There was another article which he would subject to a higher scale of duty, that was gin; and he calculated that from 4,000,000*l.* to 5,000,000*l.* might be obtained from an increased land-tax. The hon. Member concluded by expressing a hope that the question would be pressed to a division.

Sir W. INGILBY observed, that though the question had been before disposed of, it was right it should be again tried. It was all very well to turn into ridicule the address with which he had introduced his motion on this subject; but that course could not be adopted now, for they had in the present instance the opportunity of hearing it discussed by one who was, perhaps, the most competent man to do so in the King's dominions. (A laugh). Why his (Sir W. Ingilby's) address should have been treated as burlesque he could not imagine, for when he made his motion last year, he had been taunted by the

noble Lord (Althorp) for not having named a substitute for the malt-tax he proposed to repeal. He had been called upon to state what equivalent he would throw into the Exchequer to make up the deficiency of some 4,000,000*l.* or 5,000,000*l.* of revenue; but when he last addressed the House he had taken care to specify some sources of revenue which, in his opinion, might form this equivalent. Even now he did not feel disposed to abandon his "budget," although attempts had been made to turn it into ridicule. People talked of buffoonery—he should like to know what greater buffoonery there could be than to vote one night in one way, with respect to the malt-tax, and next day to vote in a manner directly the reverse. He would vote with the hon. Member for Oldham, or with any other man who proposed a relief of taxation. He denied that his speech was buffoonery. He did not undertake the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer but by particular desire (laughter), and should never resume the office more. (Renewed laughter). However, buffoonery or no buffoonery, the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Curteis) was now found priggish in part from his budget with respect to a tax on gin, &c. (A laugh). As to the malt-tax, it was scarcely necessary for him to repeat his previously expressed opinion, that it was a most iniquitous and demoralizing mode of taxation, and that it ought to be altogether repealed. He should vote with the hon. Member for Oldham; who, he hoped, would divide the House, in order that the country might see who were the friends of agriculture, and, he would add, of trade and manufactures, upon the present occasion.

Mr. CHILDERS next addressed the House, but in a tone which rendered him inaudible in the gallery throughout the greater part of his speech. We understood him to resist the motion, and to express his belief that a repeal of the malt-tax would not afford that degree of relief which many imagined. He was satisfied that the humbler classes would not be enabled to brew their own beer by a repeal of the duty. At present, the beer-house keepers found that they could

not brew in competition with the brewers; what pretence was there for saying that the poor man could do so under any circumstances? In conclusion he observed, that the question having been already disposed of by a large majority, he did not see upon what grounds it could now be sustained.

Mr. C. FERGUSSON was a friend and a member of the landed interest, but would nevertheless vote against the motion. He could not vote for taking off the whole of the malt-tax without seeing how the deficiency was to be supplied. He dared to say the hon. Member for Oldham would find means of supplying the deficiency by reducing the interest of the national debt [an hon. Member, we believe Mr. T. Attwood, here said, "And why not?"]; but he was not prepared to accede to such a proposition: the only other means of supplying the deficiency consisted in a property-tax. (Hear from the opposition). Perhaps those that cheered that sentiment thought that we should have a property-tax (hear, hear, from the opposition), but he was against such an inquisitorial and odious imposition, and therefore could not be expected to vote with the hon. Member, whose motion could not be carried into effect without shaking public credit or imposing an odious tax. (Hear).

Mr. SINCLAIR observed that he should rejoice to see a property-tax re-established, inasmuch as only by means of it could the fundholder be compelled to contribute a due proportion towards the support of the state.

Mr. M. PHILIPS said, that when, on reference to the division of last year, he found that of 66 county members who voted for the repeal of the malt tax, but 24 had supported a property-tax (the only effectual substitute), he could not vote with the hon. Member for Oldham. He was not insensible to the heavy pressure of this tax, and would gladly see it repealed, if its repeal could be effected consistently with raising the necessary amount of revenue. But it being determined to keep faith with the public creditor, he could not see how the malt-duty was to be dispensed with, after the refusal of the House to sanction a property-tax. He wished to support and aid

agriculture as much as possible; being satisfied that if it were put in jeopardy, trade could not long continue prosperous. As before stated, his vote rested solely on the divisions of last year, and till he saw a different disposition in the House, he did not consider himself warranted in voting otherwise.

Mr. MAXWELL said, that if the hon. Member for Oldham thought proper to divide the House, it would be his duty to vote with him, and although he might go out in an extremely small minority (No, no, from the opposition), as he used to do with the hon. Member for Middlesex, he foresaw that that minority would ere long rule the House. (Hear; and a laugh).

Mr. ROMILLY would vote with the hon. Member for Oldham on this occasion.

Mr. T. ATTWOOD thought it his duty to vote with the hon. Member for Oldham, and he trusted he should do so not in a contemptible but in a considerable minority. No man could look at any breach of national faith, or at an unjust reduction of the interest of the public debt, with greater disapprobation than himself. He wished that the hon. Member for Kirkcudbright would display a little sympathy for trade and commerce, as well as for the fundholder. The only "public faith" to which he (Mr. Attwood) objected, was the unhallowed support of the fundholder in the possession of enormous and unnatural wealth, while the farmer, manufacturer, and merchant, were beat down to the earth. Take England throughout, at this moment, and you will find three farmers out of four in a state of insolvency. When he saw the wholesale destruction of other classes of the community, he could not perceive any impropriety in taking up the case of the fundholders. The noble Lord had imposed a heavier burden on agriculture than Pharaoh did upon the Egyptians (a laugh), he meant upon the children of Israel, when they were required to make bricks without straw. The noble Lord asked the agriculturists to pay rent without money—to meet their mortgages without the means. He called upon the noble Lord, as a man with a heart in his

bosom, and a head, which he had (a laugh), to bring down the public burdens to a level with the public means of sustaining them. He (Mr. Attwood) wanted to make all classes flourish, happy, and united under the shadow of the King's throne. Was there any class, with the exception of the fundholders, mortgagees, and placemen, that was now contented? The noble Lord's measures had placed industry, capital, trade, and agriculture, at the feet of the monied interest. The monied interest itself must finally sink if the present system were continued. He called upon the noble Lord to do justice to all parties; that was the true way to preserve the public faith. The tax in question was about 5,000,000*l.* per annum, but he was satisfied that in order to produce that amount 10,000,000*l.* per annum was charged upon the English people. He paid 8*s.* 6*d.* per bushel for malt: the barley cost 3*s.* 6*d.*, and the tax was 2*s.* 7½*d.*, making in all 6*s.* 1½*d.*; instead of which, as before stated, he had to pay 8*s.* 6*d.* It would be seen from this how much above the amount of the actual duty the cost of malt was augmented by the present system. The removal of the tax would probably raise the price of barley from 3*s.* 6*d.* to 5*s.* per bushel, and the people would put 3*s.* 6*d.* in their pockets, and the farmer's perhaps 1*s.* 6*d.* This was a question in which the people at large, and not merely the agriculturists were interested, and as the representative of a great body of manufacturers, he joined heart and hand with the agriculturists in urging the great boon of the total abolition of the malt-tax. The hon. Member proceeded to touch upon the subject of wages and subsistence, and argued, that if the wages of labour were to be reduced, the taxes which enhanced the prices of the necessities of life ought to be proportionably diminished, if we wished to see our population in comfortable circumstances. The French and Austrian soldiers had only 3*d.* a day; would the noble Lord attempt to reduce the allowance of the English soldiers to the continental level? In defiance of all the trades' unions in the kingdom, the wages of labour would sink under a metallic standard to the level of

1792. Such being the case, must not the price of necessities be reduced; and, in order to effect this, must not the taxes upon necessities be lowered or removed? "But," said the noble Lord, "if we take off 5,000,000*l.* of taxation, how are we to get on?" He (Mr. Attwood) knew that in the event of such a reduction the noble Lord could not go on with the present system; but had the noble Lord considered how the landholder was to go on with his mortgages, and the necessary provisions for his family? How, with his benevolent and manly mind, could the noble Lord see this great nation "swept with the besom of destruction"? It had been said that it would be a robbery of the noble Lord opposite to deprive him of the malt-tax; but he (Mr. Attwood) hoped the noble Lord would soon not only be robbed of the malt-tax, but also of many other imposts which pressed so heavily upon the industry of the country. Until the noble Lord thus relieved the people, he trusted he would be as restless upon his pillow, as millions were rendered by the pressure of taxation, indeed he could not understand how the noble Lord could rest tranquilly in the same bed with his victims. (Cries of Oh, oh, and question). He (Mr. Attwood) should most unquestionably give his vote in favour of the motion of the hon. Member for Oldham.

(To be continued.)

DISTRESSING CASE.

Normandy, 5. March, 1835.

I HEAR from the *WEN*, that great trouble prevails amongst the *WHIGS* and *ANTI-TORIES*; that is to say, amongst the *WHIGS*, and those *MEMBERS* who always opposed them, who called them the *worst of tyrants*, who addressed the King to turn them out, and who have now *endeavoured to vote them in again*, even before they see what their successors will do! These two parties are *dear friends* at present: they have sunk "all minor considerations"; and by their amiable ardour of mutual affection, remind me of the maxim, so familiar to

my ears fifty years ago, "The falling out of lovers is the *renewal of love*." "Ah! dame," said the mother of a very pretty girl, that I yet recollect, who had had a quarrel with her chap, "it doon't signify tawken, "they were made for one another, and "they wool come together." Yes; but then she meant that they would *bide* together, which these unhappy lovers of the House of Commons, alas, cannot! Next Tuesday night severs them, for a time, if not for ever. The *Whigs*, the greedy, the voracious, the perfidious faction, must vote against the repeal of the malt-tax, or openly and brazenly repeat that of which I accused them: *being merciful from motives of malignity!* If they do oppose the repeal of the tax, they must be opposed by their *anti-Tory associates!* And then it is that we shall see who has acted the wise and consistent part: those who rushed into the arms of the perfidious Whigs, or those who kept aloof from both the factions. Tuesday night will show us who and who are together. It will be so curious a thing to see about a hundred men, who have tried, as far as voting would go, to get the Whigs back again into office; it will be a curious thing, to see these hundred men *voting against these same Whigs*, and exposing them to the hatred of the people! Yet *this must take place on Tuesday night*, unless, indeed, the sensible "anti-Tories" are so in love with political damnation as still to cling to the Whigs, though to the notorious injury of the people. It is Tuesday night that will give us a list of "*Ayes*" and "*Noes*," that will be worth preserving. It will be so beautiful to hear Sir ROBERT PEEL and his colleagues on one side of the House; and Mr. POULERT THOMSON, Lord JOHN RUSSELL and their colleagues on the other side of the House, all speaking against the repeal; just as if they were all of one party; and then it will be so pleasant to see the "*Anti-Tories*" voting *FOR* Sir ROBERT PEEL! I say voting *for* Sir ROBERT PEEL and the Tory Administration. Tuesday night will tell us who ought to be put upon the "*black-list*." Millions of mouths are feeling imaginary thirst after a pot of home-brewed beer. All eyes are fixed upon

Tuesday night; every one will be remembered for his conduct on that night: that night is to decide whether the working-people be to expect anything like justice; or whether they be not. And on that night it is that the Whigs, the perfidious Whigs, the savage Whigs, will, if Sir ROBERT PEEL be wise, receive their death-blow; and this monstrous, this grinding, this sanguinary faction, who have been the scourge of England for two hundred years, will be annihilated for ever. Lord ALTHORP attempted to frighten us with "a PROPERTY-TAX." Now, if the House determine that it is just and necessary to have a tax to supply the place of what arises from the malt-tax; and if I be convinced, that the necessity does exist, I have no objection to a property-tax. In such a case; it may be my share to pay a hundred pounds a year in a property-tax; but then, that which I pay will go into the Exchequer, at once, and not into the hands of monopolists. But, and to this it is that I wish I could draw the attention of the Minister; I wish I could make him know that which I know about the *effects* of this malt-tax. I wish to draw his attention to this. I know very well that it is to be very shallow, not to be able to trade a property-tax down to a working-man; and to see that he bears his share of it, and a very large share of it, too. I know, and so does every man, who has thought much on the matter, that people deceive themselves, when they think that no tax reaches a man which he *does not actually pay himself*. It is not, therefore, the mere amount of the malt-tax that I complain of. It is not the *weight* of it upon the working-man; but it is of the immense cost of its consequences. There arises out of it a monopoly which costs the consumers *eight millions a year, not farthing of which never goes into the Exchequer*. It costs, besides this, half a million of money annually in the collection; and, oh, God! what does it cost in the destruction of the character of the people, in the country, especially! It drives young men from the farm-houses, and into the beer-houses, where it destroys their health by the drugs that it causes them to swallow, besides the utter ruin

of their morals and of their value as working men. It drives the married man away from his family. In short, it is one of the great causes of the breaking-up of the agricultural community of England, which, under the wise laws to secure service in husbandry, was the happiest community; and the most virtuous, that the world ever saw. Every man, three-score years old, can remember, that, for a young man in the country *not to be in yearly service*, was taken to be, without any inquiry, evidence against his character; and, there must have been some peculiar circumstances; such as a widowed mother to live with, and take care of; an aged father, who stood in need of the assistance of his son: there must have been some circumstances of a peculiar nature to prevent justices of the peace from bringing before them young men not in yearly service, and making them account for *why they were not in service*. How all is changed! The rare thing now is, to find one that is in yearly service; and their reluctance to be in service, and under the consequent control of service, is quite astonishing. Now, as I could, if I had time, fully explain how large a share the malt-tax has had in producing these sorrowful effects, let me observe, with regard to a property-tax, it can have no such tendency. In the first place, the cost of collecting it is nothing worth speaking of; in the next place, it creates no monopoly; it does not draw the fruits of industry into great heaps, to give it to idlers. It does not drive men from the farm-houses; and send them by thousands into the jails for poaching and hen-roost robbing. It does not drive the married men away from their families. In short, it is free from all the prodigious objections to the malt-tax. If Sir ROBERT PEEL had been brought up in a village; had personally known every human being in it, he would naturally have been an observer of their conduct, for he must have observed it; and, if he had, not one moment would he have hesitated about the repeal of the malt-tax. I see no one who can reasonably object to a property-tax, first establishing that it is *necessary*.

This was the measure to adopt, instead

of an irritating, an insulting, a rebellion-creating, Poor-law Bill. What was the great complaint? Why, *that sturdy young men come and demand relief as a right*. And the charge against them was (and I beg Sir ROBERT PEEL to observe it), that they *spent all their summer earnings, and then came to the parish to keep them in the winter*. Now, I put it to any man of common sense and of common humanity, to say, whether they could be reasonably blamed for this? Who, that has any consideration for others, will not see that this would inevitably be the case? Do you find young men, in any state of life, very prone to husband their resources; especially when they have no fixed home, and no one to control or to guide them? But, is it then, their faults? Not at all. They ought to be in yearly service, as they formerly were; and, why are they not? "The farmers and their wives and daughters are got to be so proud, that they will not admit them into their farm-houses." Well, then, it is not the fault of the poor young men; nor is it the fault of the Poor-law Act of ELIZABETH. The new Poor-law Bill may create a rebellion, after having caused mischiefs enormous; but it never can mend the morals and manners of the people. It never can take the two hundred and eighty poachers out of DEVIZES-jail, who are there now, grinding corn upon a tread-mill. If a convulsive revolution should, at last, be produced by unwise efforts to keep up what is called *public credit*, the new Poor-law Bill may, possibly, make that revolution bloody; but it never can answer any of the purposes for which it was hatched. All men who understand the matter agree with me, that we must get the young people back into the farm-houses; or that there must be a breaking-up of society in England.

But, how is this to be done? The farmers will not have them back; but we assemble at Westminster to very little purpose, if we are incapable of devising any means of inducing the farmers to act, in this respect, for their own good. There is the statute (as wise a one as ever was framed) for regulating the service in husbandry, making it convenient, advanta-

geous, creditable, and safe, to both master and man. It was not necessary, at the time of passing that statute (which was only a continuation and correction of similar statutes, succeeding each other for seven hundred years); it was not necessary, when that statute was passed, to make provision to create a disposition in masters and men to give effect to that statute; for they had the disposition on both sides. This is necessary now: the pride, the whims, the vulgar notions, of the upstart, are not to be suffered to endanger the peace, the happiness, and the greatness of a nation. "What!" the bull-frog farmer will exclaim, "Has the Parliament any right to compel me, against my will, to keep and feed people under my roof?" Yes, the perfect right, if, by these people you cultivate your farm and gain your profits; and for this there are thousands of cases in point in the wise laws of this country. But, *direct* compulsion is not what a wise Parliament would resort to; and I would forfeit my life, if a law could not be so framed, as to give no man, labourer, or farmer, just cause of complaint; and that should leave none but the men disorderly, here and there one in a parish, chargeable to the parish, during the very next winter. By one month after next Michaelmas-day, the whole of this monstrous evil might be made to cease to disgrace this formerly happy agricultural community. The malt-tax is the *first step*: the rest would easily follow; and that, too, without any Poor-law Commissioners and penny-a-line CHADWICKS, and eight-hundred-a-year runners, scouring the country, and driving the labourers up into groups, to consult on their *means of defence*.

LEGACY TO PARSONS.

THIS work, owing to a change in the printing-office of my printers, cannot come out until the 31. of this month. When it is out, we shall hear no more talk about "*Dissenters' grievances*," without hearing of church-people's *grievances* at the same time. I say, that this church (tak-

ing temporalities and spiritualities both together) is a greater abuse than any other that ever existed in the world, in any country, or in any age; and when Sir ROBERT PEELE said that he was ready to correct every *proved abuse*, he could not have had, and he certainly had not, the most distant idea of the astounding facts, which will now be brought to light. I intended to have this book sold for half-a-crown; but considering that that is beyond the reach of a great many of those whom I wish to read it, I shall sell it for EIGHTEEN-PENCE, bound in the same manner as the "*Legacy to Labourers*."

Will be published,

On Tuesday, the 31. March,

COBBETT'S

LEGACY TO PARSONS;

OR,

Have the Clergy of the Established Church an equitable right to the Tithes, or to any other thing called Church Property, greater than the Dissenters have to the same? And ought there or ought there not, to be a separation of the Church from the State? In Six Letters, addressed to the Hampshire Parsons.

CONTENTS.

1. How came there to be an established Church?
2. How came there people to be called Dissenters?
3. What is the foundation of the domination of the former over the latter?
4. Does the Establishment conduce to religious instruction?
5. What is the state of the Establishment? and, is it possible to reform it?
6. What is that compound thing, called Church and State? and what would be the effects of a separating of them?

In a neat little volume, bound in leather, price 1s. 6d. same form (but thicker) as *Legacy to Labourers*.

SEED BAGS.

Normandy Farm, 14. February, 1835.

The following is a list of the Seeds in the bag. A copy of it will be found in each bag. Each bag is 10s. 6d. There are *no larger bags*; because it has been found inconvenient; and, in the case of LARGE GARDENS, two or three bags may be had; which will be convenient, too, for *different sowings*. I trust that the Seeds will now be found to be *safely done up*; and I pledge myself for their *goodness*. The *number* on the bags tells the *sort* that is within. Owing to an accident, the list is *not quite alphabetical*; but, this is of no importance.

No.

1. Asparagus.
2. Windsor Bean.
3. Long-pod Bean.
4. Early Masagan Bean.
5. Scarlet Running Kidney Bean.
6. White Running Kidney Bean.
7. Black Dwarf Kidney Bean.
8. Dun ditto
9. Speckled ditto.
10. Beet, blood Red.
11. White Brocoli.
12. Purple ditto.
13. Early York Cabbage.
14. Savoy.
15. Scotch Calf.
16. Carrot.
17. Cauliflower.
18. Celery.
19. Chervil.
20. Cress.
21. Endive.
22. Leek.
23. White Coss Lettuce.
24. Mustard.
25. Onion.
26. Parsnip.
27. Parsley.
28. Knight Pea.
29. Early Scarlet Radish.
30. White Turnip Radish.
31. Spinage.
32. Squash.
33. Garden Turnip.
34. Cucumber.
35. Green Cabbage Lettuce.

36. Green Coss Lettuce.
37. Cobbett Corn.
38. Early Dwarf Cabbage.
39. Early Battersea Cabbage.
40. Early-frame Pea.
41. Dwarf Marrowfat Pea.
42. Tall Marrowfat Pea.

N.B. I have no *Cis-Alpine Strawberry Seed*; but, packets of *fine plants*, at 2s. 6d. each packet; which will bear great crops this year. To be had at Bolt-court.

From the *LONDON GAZETTE*.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 27.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

PORTER, W., Gower-street, and Keppel-st., surgeon.

BANKRUPTS.

ADAMS, W., jun., Brown's-lane, Spitalfields, brewer.
 ALLEN, L., Pinner-green, Middlesex, inn-keeper.
 BARNARD, E., Little Baddow, Essex, cattle and sheep salesman.
 BAYNTON, T., Cheltenham, Gloucestershire, dealer in horses.
 BIRD, P., Cowbridge, Glamorganshire, grocer and tea-dealer.
 BURROW, J. and T. Hanley, Staffordshire, grocers.
 COATES, J., Manchester, merchant.
 COLLINSON, Thomas-street, Stamford-st., Blackfriars, hat-manufacturer.
 FORSTER, T. and R. Forster, Trygal, Northumberland, flour-dealers.
 FOX, J., Liverpool, wine-merchant.
 GOODBURN, J., Bishopsgate-street-within, silversmith and jeweller.
 M'CARTHY, D. T., Bristol, stationer.
 POPE, J. W., Wood-street, Cheapside, carpet-warehouseman.
 SLEE, N., Princess-street, Blackfriars, leather-dealer.
 TURNBULL, J., Northumberland, cabinet-maker and grocer.
 WILLIAMS, J., Chester-le-street, Durham, linen and woollen-draper.
 WRIGHT, B., Liverpool, ship-broker and merchant.

TUESDAY, MARCH 3.

INSOLVENT.

LEWIS, T., Liverpool, merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

BROWN, G., Marlborough, ironmonger.
 BUSWELL, J., and R. Wood, Derby, joiners.
 CROSBY, S., Coventry, dyer.
 DEACON, J., Reeth, Yorkshire, corn-factor.
 FLOOK, M., Kingswood-hill, Gloucestershire, currier.
 HATTON, P., Heaton Norris, Lancashire, inn-keeper.
 HOGG, B., jun., Arinley, Leeds, cloth-manufacturer.
 HOLDEN, J., Bacup, Lancashire, cotton-spinner.
 HOYLE, J., Manchester, victualler.
 JAMES, W., Western-street, Brighton, grocer.
 KNAPE, E., Walsoken, Norfolk, cattle-salesman.
 RAY, G. A., Ramsgate, Kent, lodging-house-keeper.
 SWIFT, I. and G., Lane End, Stoke-upon-Trent, tailors.
 TAYLOR, W., Great Yarmouth, surgeon.
 WEST, J., Keate-street, Christchurch, Middlesex, victualler.
 WILKES, W. V., Birmingham, factor.
 WIL MOT, S. R., Bristol, brewer.
 WRIGHT, J., Newcastle-upon-Tyne, jeweller.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, March 2.
 —We had but few arrivals of any grain during last week, owing in a great measure to the stormy weather: this morning we had a fair, but not a large supply of Wheat, Barley, Oats, and other grain.

Fine Wheat was taken off this morning at last Monday's prices, but there was hardly any sale for secondary qualities, even at lower prices.

Malting Barley was neglected, though offered 1s. per quarter cheaper than on last Monday, as the trade think it most prudent not to increase their stocks, in the uncertainty as to what Parliament may do in the malt duty. In grinding Barley, Beans, and Peas, no alteration.

Oats sold this morning on much the same terms as this day week, but the demand was not so brisk: prices keep up in Ireland about 1s. per barrel over what this market will net.

Wheat, English, White, new	42s. to 50s.
Old	48s. to 50s.
Red, new	38s. to 42s.
Old	38s. to 42s.
Lincolnshire, red	36s. to 41s.
White	42s. to 43s.
Yorkshire, red	36s. to 40s.
White	40s. to 42s.
Northumberl. & Berwick	37s. to 40s.
Fine white	37s. to 41s.
Dundee & choice Scotch	40s. to 42s.
Irish red, good	35s. to 36s.
White	38s. to 40s.

Rye	30s. to 34s.
New	34s. to 36s.
Barley, English, grinding	26s. to 28s.
Distilling	28s. to 32s.
Malting	32s. to 35s.
Chevalier	38s. to 42s.
Malt	44s. to 54s.
Fine new	56s. to 64s.
Beans, Tick, new	34s. to 36s.
Old	38s. to 40s.
Harrow, new	36s. to 38s.
Old	40s. to 43s.
Peas, White, English	36s. to 38s.
Foreign	35s. to 36s.
Gray or Hog	36s. to 38s.
Maples	38s. to 40s.
Oats, Polands	23s. to 26s.
Lincolnshire, short small	23s. to 24s.
Lincolnshire, feed	21s. to 23s.
Yorkshire, feed	22s. to 24s.
Black	25s. to 25s.
Northumberland and Berwick Potato	25s. to 26s.
Ditto, Angus	24s. to 26s.
Banff and Aberdeen, com.	24s. to 25s.
Potato	25s. to 27s.
Irish Potato, new	20s. to 23s.
Feed, new light	19s. to 20s.
Black, new	20s. to 21s.
Foreign feed	22s. to 24s.
Danish and Pomerian, old	20s. to 21s.
Petersburgh, Riga, &c. ..	22s. to 23s.
Foreign, in bond, feed ..	12s. to 14s.
Brew	16s. to 18s.

SMITHFIELD, March 2.

This day's supply of Beasts and Sheep, for the time of the year, and Porkers, was moderately good: of calves rather limited. With prime small Veal trade was somewhat brisk; with Beef, Mutton, and Pork dull, at Friday's quotations.

About 1,900 of the Beasts, fully 1,000 of which were Scots, the remainder about equal numbers of Shorthorns, Devons, and Welsh runts, with a few hembreds and Irish Beasts, were from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 550, in about equal numbers of Shorthorns, Devons, Welsh runts, Scots, and Irish Beasts, from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, and others of our northern districts; about 250, chiefly Herefords, Devons, and Welsh runts, with a few Irish Beasts, from our western and midland districts; about 100, chiefly Sussex Beasts, from Kent, Sussex and Surrey; and most of the remainder from the stall-feeders, &c. near London.

A full moiety of the Sheep were new Leicesters; about equal numbers of the Southdown and white-faced crosses; about a fourth Southdowns, and the remainder about equal numbers of Kents, and Kentish half-breds, horned and polled Norfolks, and old Leicesters, with a few pens of old Lincolns, horned Dor-

sets and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c. There were about 200, for the most part Dorset, Lambs in the market.

Per stone of 8lbs. sinking offal.

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Inferior Beef	2	0	to	2 2
Ditto Mutton	2	2	to	2 4
Middling Beef	2	4	to	2 8
Ditto Mutton	2	8	to	3 0
Prime Beef	3	6	to	4 0
Ditto Mutton	3	6	to	4 0
Veal	3	0	to	5 4
Pork	3	0	to	4 0
Lamb	5	0	to	6 0

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. Cons Ann.	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thurs.
	91½	91½	91½	91	90½	91½

COBBETT-LIBRARY.

Fourth Edition.

COBBETT'S Spelling-Book.

(Price 2s.)

Containing, besides all the usual matter of such a book, a clear and concise

INTRODUCTION TO ENGLISH GRAMMAR.

This I have written by way of

A Stepping-Stone to my own Grammar;

such a thing having been frequently suggested to me by Teachers as necessary.

Just published, price 1s. 4d. bound in leather,

COBBETT'S LEGACY TO LABOURERS,

OR,

What is the Right which the Lords, Baronets, and 'Squires, have to the Lands of England?

In Six Letters, addressed to the Working People of England.

WITH A

DEDICATION TO SIR ROBERT PEEL, BART.

By WILLIAM COBBETT, M.P.

FOR OLDHAM.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him at 11, Bell-court, Fleet-street.



MALT-TAX.

PERFIDIOUS WHIGS AND STUPID LUMBER TROOP.

TO THE PEOPLE OF OLDHAM AND OF MANCHESTER.

London, 11. March, 1835.

MY FRIENDS,—Last night, leaving the perfidious Whigs and their stupid culls, whom I call the "*Lumber Troop*," only six clear days wherein to represent me and my colleague as persons to be fixed upon a "*black list*"; because we declined to vote for the purpose of forcing these perfidious Whigs back again into power; yes, leaving the unmannerly *True Sun*, the weathercock *True Sun*, the wholly stupid and only half principled *True Sun*, only six clear days wherein to show me and Mr. FIDELITY about the country, in its base and nasty columns, as persons worthy of being placed on a "*BLACK LIST*"; and that, too, for no other reason than because we would not join the perfidious Whigs in an effort to force themselves back again upon the King: last night was the finisher to the half-stupid, and half-corrupt wretches of the city of London; the spits of the "*Lumber Troop*" and the "*Common Council*," whose clacks had been set a-going by the wretches of the Common Council, and by their "*comrades*," the members for the city, particularly GAORZ: last night was the finisher of all these swarms of wretches, without principle and without sense, that inhabit these two great cities and their environs; and by the means of duping and cajoling whom, the base and most infamous *Morning Chronicle*

has been able to obtain countenance to the political frauds which it has been practising for the last six weeks or two months.

I will first give you a short history of the proceedings of the last memorable night; for every little fact is of importance here: this matter will form the great and lasting ground of charge on the part of the people of this kingdom against the two factions who have so long been despoiling them. Last night's proceedings will bring the people to a fixed determination of how they ought to act towards the aristocracy, and the decision has removed from my mind every scruple upon that score, and made me resolve, as my power will go, to cause to be taken from that aristocracy every thing which it has unjustly taken from the people during the last three hundred years, and which it still retains; whether it has taken it under the name of religion, or under whatever pretence, I shall not only exert myself to the utmost to accomplish this end, but I wish it to be known distinctly, that *this is the end in view*. We now clearly see what this aristocracy really is, and all that we have to do is, to deal with it in the most effectual manner.

The proceedings of the evening commenced by the presenting of about a hundred and forty or two hundred petitions for the repeal of the malt-tax, amongst which were one from the borough of *Oldham*, signed by about five thousand persons, presented by my hon. Colleague; and then the borough of *Manchester*, signed by about the same number of persons, presented by three adjoining parishes in the county of *Norfolk*, which was presented the honour to present.

After this, the *Marquis of Cambridge* made a motion, and in a manner which showed the admiration of every one. He was seconded by the *Baronet*, one of the members of parliament, in a sensible, straight-forward, and most manly speech. Next came Sir *Roger Pass*.

His speech was about an hour and a half long; very clever, very ingenious, but being a series of sophistries, of fallacies, of errors, from one end to the other, and concluding at last with Lord ALTHAMPS' old piece of eloquence; that, if this tax were repealed, the affairs of the Government could not be carried on, and what he called "*public credit*" sustained; and that, therefore, if the House did not agree to the noble Marquis's motion, he (Sir ROBERT), after laying the consequences respectfully before the House, must leave to the House "*the responsibility of those consequences.*" These were his very words; and I understood them to mean, that, if the House did agree to the motion for the repeal of the malt-tax, he must quit his post; and that this was a right interpretation of his meaning appeared clearly enough from the conduct of two or three of his supporters, who said, that they wished the tax to be repealed; but that they believed that anarchy and confusion must come if he was driven from his post; and that therefore, though, one of them said, he had positively pledged himself to vote for the repeal, he thought it his duty to depart from his pledge; that is, to say, to break it, rather than run the risk of producing an evil to the country so dreadful as that of driving the right hon. gentleman from his post.

Sir ROBERT PEEL made his speech; I who sat opposite him, wrote down notes of what he said upon every point of the subject; and on every point was prepared to answer him. I was not, in his speech, contented to serve as a mere instrument of writing from his words; but of knowledge on the subject. I took a relation to matters which were of great importance in life, and the turn and tone of his mind have furnished him with the possibility of understanding, even to the slightest degree. In short, I was prepared to over-set every thing which he had said against the motion, being quite ready to show, that, even if a substitute were adopted, there was at once a substitute without any new tax, and without any restriction at all from the usual expenditure, solely by making the stamp-duty a just tax, instead of an unjust one, which indeed was Mr.

herwards (without any concert with me) stated by Mr. HUMPHREY in that speech which he delivered at the close of the debate, and for the delivering of which he is entitled to the gratitude of every tax-payer in this whole kingdom, and particularly of every working man.

In so perfect a state of readiness to answer the speech of Sir ROBERT PEEL; not to rival him in what is called eloquence; but to answer him by incontrovertible facts; I being so ready, judge you, my friends, of my mortification at not being able to make myself heard even across the table at which I was standing. I was perfectly well in health; I sat upon the bench, without going out of the House, from a quarter after two o'clock till the House divided at very nearly one in the morning, being determined to hear every word that should be uttered upon that occasion. I grew hungry and thirsty about ten o'clock; and a member very kindly went out and brought me a plum-cake and two oranges; but the relics of a cough had left me so hoarse that I could not be heard. The only mode that I have of retrieving that which I lost here is that of writing an answer to Sir ROBERT PEEL's speech. This is quite necessary, because he called in question the accuracy of facts which had been stated by me in the former discussion; a thing of which I by no means complain; because he made the statement to my face, and did not know at that time that I had no tongue to answer with. Not the same with regard to Sir JAMES GRAHAM, Mr. SPRING RICE, and Mr. DOULETT THOMSON; they most seriously repeated the observations of Sir ROBERT PEEL with regard to what they called my "*errors*" after they knew that I had no tongue to answer them with. I will, therefore, next week, publish and promulgate as widely as I can, my answer to Sir ROBERT PEEL's speech; not at all complaining of any unfairness on his part, and being ready to allow that he only resorted to those means which, under similar circumstances, men of his means always resort to.

I have inserted below the speech of Sir ROBERT PEEL, preceded by the two excellent speeches of the mover and se-

condemned of the motion; and to these I have added the speech of Mr. HOWE, which was the very best (all things considered), the most effective, calculated to do the greatest good, of any speech that I now recollect ever delivered in Parliament. I request you, my friends, to read these speeches all through with great attention; and to have the goodness to wait with patience until next week for my answer to the speech of Sir ROBERT PEEL, some cheap copies of which I will take care shall be to be had very soon, at MANCHESTER and OLDHAM.

And now, my friends, let us take a look at the conduct of the Whigs; let us see whether we were right or wrong, when we thanked the king for dismissing that band of men from his presence; let us see who acted the wisest part, I and my colleague, who were put upon the "*Black List*" of the *True Sun*, because we disdained to give a vote having a tendency to force this band back again upon the king; let us see who acted the wisest part, we, or those Radicals, who joined the *Whigs*, and gave them their two majorities. Before the debate began, I had heard, of course, what the conduct of that perfidious faction was to be upon this occasion; indeed, I wanted to hear nothing to convince me what it would be; and, in fact, I had described it accurately enough in the preceding *Register*; but, in recording the petition from OLDHAM, I congratulated the petitioners, that, for once, their prayer would be granted in a few hours after its communication to the House; "for," said I, "the motion to be made this night is sure to be carried here" (turning myself round to the great block of members sitting on that side of the House), "here sit that majority who carried so triumphantly the Amendment to the Address! Impossible, sir, that it should separate one part from another, this night: firmly bound together by the ties of reason and of principle, having had no ground of quarrel, fastened together in the strictest embraces; having the further great stimulus of now doing so great a good for the people, it is impossible that they should be separated to-morrow, and, therefore, the noble margin

condemner of the motion; and to these I have added the speech of Mr. HOWE, which was the very best (all things considered), the most effective, calculated to do the greatest good, of any speech that I now recollect ever delivered in Parliament. I request you, my friends, to read these speeches all through with great attention; and to have the goodness to wait with patience until next week for my answer to the speech of Sir ROBERT PEELE, some cheap copies of which I will take care shall be to be had very soon, at MANCHESTER and OLDHAM.

And now, my friends, let us take a look at the conduct of the Whigs; let us see whether we were right or wrong, when we thanked the king for dismissing that band of men from his presence; let us see who acted the wisest part, I and my colleague, who were put upon the "*Black List*" of the *True Sun*, because we disdained to give a vote having a tendency to force this band back again upon the king; let us see who acted the wisest part, we, or those Radicals, who joined the *Whigs*, and gave them their two majorities. Before the debate began, I had heard, of course, what the conduct of that perfidious faction was to be upon this occasion; indeed, I wanted to hear nothing to convince me what it would be; and, in fact, I had described it accurately enough in the preceding *Register*; but, in accordance the petition from *OLDHAM*, I congratulated the petitioners, that, for once, their prayer would be granted in a few hours after its communication to the House; "for," said I, "the motion to be made this night is sure to be carried here" (turning myself round to the great block of members sitting on that side of the House), "here sit that majority who carried so triumphantly the Amendment to the Address; impossible, sir, that it should separate one part from another; this night: firmly bound together by the ties of reason and of principle," having had no ground of separation.

fastened together in the strictest embraces; having the further goal of mulish of now doing so great a good for the people, it is impossible that they should be separated to-morrow, and therefore, the noble martyr, Mr. Grey, should think it their

duty to vote against the repeal of the tax. After a due interval came Mr. SPRING RICE, and stated, on the part of the LANSDOWN and such-like party of it (I suppose), that he reprobated the idea of repealing this tax; that he was actuated by a *great public principle*; and that he would not be deterred by my mocking cheers, which seemed to say, that thought this a vile coalition. After another interval of due length came Mr. POULETT THOMSON, on the part of the free-trading and philosophical branch of the Whig-band, and declared that he should support the right honourable Baronet against this unholy attack upon the resources of the country. A large part of these several speeches consisted of very mild comments on the conduct of the new Ministers, consisting of words which they were now going to give with the votes which they formerly gave upon the same subject; but I observed with what scrupulous care all the orators avoided saying anything of an ill natured cast towards the prime minister himself, on the same bench with whom they appeared to me to be very anxious to bespeak themselves a seat; for your true Whig is never scrupulous in this way: he is a prudent animal; he will take what he can get, and from whatever hand he can get it; it was the maxim of a great Whig teacher at the University of Oxford; "That if nothing was to be got out of the country but old fraud," was right to get the bill. But how far beyond forbearance they branched him to the skies. I remember and I regret the flattery of him, which went out of my mouth, how they used to couch at him, bend their bodies in humblest adoration, kissing his hand, and kissing each other in turning their backs to him, when he was endeavouring to swerve my assent from its May 1832. But now, I think, they were a possible more servile than ever in the history of the talents: his words were the words of a statesman, and not of a politician, and all this in a room, where they looked the Radicals to believe, that it was necessary to turn out of office in order to

make room for themselves! In short, such a scene eyes never before beheld; and for my part, I should have sunk down through the boards with shame if I had formed one of the recent majority of this depraved faction.

But now, what could be the motive from which the Whigs acted thus? That they wish him out of his office is certain: that they say with Macbeth, "Would he were rotten, marrow, bones, and all," is most undoubted; that the orators who lauded him to the skies would hear in his knell the sweetest of music, that these things are all true there can be no doubt whatever. Why, then, did they not put him out of his office, when they might have done it at that very hour? Why, the reason you will find to be a very good one. To put him out is nothing, unless they *put themselves in*; and to put themselves in is nothing, unless they have plenty of the people's money to handle; and plenty of that money to handle they would not have, if the malt-tax were taken off. They are going to stop, if they can, and if the Radicals be still fools enough to help them, the granting of Supplies to him; or, at any rate, they are going to grant them to him only for a limited period, and with a very stingy hand. It will be asked why, if they wish to withhold Supplies from him, they should wish to leave him in possession of the malt-tax? Oh! there is all the difference in the world between these two things: the Supplies are the **FRUIT** of the taxes; the **RIPE FRUIT** of the **TREE** is **THE TREE** that annually bears its crop. By withholding the Supplies they merely withhold the result of the gathering, which they take from his hands, or supply him with a very moderate quantity without any hindrance to the gathering of the distribution of the fruit of future years; but to repeal a tax is to **CUT DOWN THE TREE**, and to render all future harvests impossible! Keep this in your mind, reader: you will always see, that Whigs fight for the fruit; and by no means with a hostile feeling against the tree itself: and, indeed, this is the principle of both the factions; the Whigs being only rather more greedy and more insatiate in their voracity than the other faction.

Cease, therefore, to wonder at this apparent inconsistency in their conduct; and I pray you watch them on other occasions, of which there will be plenty. In the *estimates* of the year, you will find them constantly supporting the Ministers against any opposition that they may meet with. But they will be brought again to a sweet state of exposure on the motion of Mr HARVEY, for an INQUIRY INTO THE PENSION LIST! This will be a pincher. They cannot allege the necessity of supporting *public credit* there, at any rate. That is a sum of money barefacedly taken away from the industrious part of the nation, to be given to aristocratical idlers and their families. We want the industrious part of the nation not to be taxed for this purpose any longer. Mr. HARVEY merely wishes to inquire *what grounds* there are for giving the people's money to these people. Now the question is: Will the Whigs join the Tories, in opposition to Mr. HARVEY? Yes; every man of them; I think that that ought to be the finisher. Indeed; there was *finisher* enough last night; but, in this case, there will be no pretence about "*public credit*"; that false shuffling pretence cannot be played off here. It will be clear to all the world, that the Whigs might cause Mr. HARVEY's motion to be carried, if they would; and if it be seen that they oppose it, even with more bitterness than the Tories, will not that man deserve a halter; or, at least, broken bones, who shall, after that, deny that this is the most *perfidious faction* that ever was suffered to exist under the sun? After that, the very name of Whig ought to be held in such reprobation and detestation, so strong as to call for instant blows, upon the body of every man who shall call himself by that hellish name.

It appears to me likely that the Whigs may endeavour to creep in under the coat of ROBERT PEELE, and to carry on a ministry in which they have prevailed upon the Radicals to express want of confidence. But in the first place, this is a disgrace; it is an infamy to which I do not think Sir ROBERT PEELE would submit; and in the next place it would only be an accession

of feebleness. The wretches themselves would do it in a moment. They would follow the example of the great thundering Baronet, who brought upon himself the lashing of Mr. HUME: they would do it: they would do anything to get at spoil: but it could not be! they must therefore be kept as a band of mercenaries, to come forth, when wanted, against the Radicals; and this sort of servility, of base subserviency to those whom they hate; this sham opposition and real support will continue until the people shall be able no longer to bear it. In the meantime great good is done by this exposure of the factions. By their being thus placed in such a strong light before the people; by its being made known that, when the good of the people is the question, they both scold and unite against that question; by their railings at one another, and accusing one another, they bring to light things which would otherwise remain wholly unknown. They destroy their own power, of doing mischief, and they prepare the way for the people doing themselves right at last.

There will be many questions to try them to the quick: I have given notice of a motion relative to the *interest of the Debt*; of another, on the *monstrous Stamp duties*; of another, on the *Poor-Law Amendment Bill*. These are matters to try them well. My first motion stands for the 7th of April, before which time I shall, I hope, have recovered my voice. Of course, if I have no voice, I shall come up to Mr. HARVEY's motion; and that motion, I hope, will follow. I take it, be quite sure that the Whigs are sure to oppose it, and then we must punish in all sorts of ways, an opposition to the cause. *Faith must never be put in the Whigs on any terms or conditions*. They must be kept out at all events while the other faction is watched, scolded, worried, and tormented, the Whigs must absolutely be kept out; or we shamefully neglect our duty. One would think that there was not so much baseness in the world as to furnish the means of a defence for this perfidious faction, who sat *sheering upon the*

benches last night, when the majority, myself for the minister was declared who sat there chuckling in triumph over those who had given them a majority; and the nights before: one would think that there was not so much baseness in one's heart as to suggest a single word in defence of these men: yet the base *Morning Chronicle* has found baseness enough in itself and its owners and scribes. The same paper found a defence for all the villainous acts of the Whigs, but now it certainly can deceive no longer.

Thus, my friends, you have a pretty good account of what is doing in the House of Commons; you will see clearly, that we have gained greatly by the turning out of the ministers; and the turning out of the Parliament. Both the factions are now before us in the most fightable and you are able to judge of them, and to fashion your proceedings accordingly. As to the Radicals in the House, they will be the weakest of all mankind; if they ever give the Whigs the smallest assistance in any way what, ever, I shall insert next week the best list that I am able to obtain of the names of the majority and minority upon this important occasion, and I will endeavour to find some means of giving it circulation to a very extensive degree. In the meanwhile,

I am

Your faithful friend

And most obedient servant,

Wm. CORBETT.

THE CHURCH

Sir, — As the Hon. Mr. St. John's entitles them to respect, and as they who cannot acquiesce in their position and as consequently they are of considerable influence on the public mind, I hope you will permit me to ask you one question in reference to your declared opinion respecting the propriety of doing away with a Church establishment. I must premise that I have higher feelings for supporting a Church establishment than those which I find induced, but as they do not of course induce you (which I cannot complain of though I may lament the small confine

ment to a question involving a principle which you can fully appreciate. I have several children growing up; my sons I intend to educate as highly as circumstances will allow, feeling satisfied that if they acquire a good education they have that which cannot fail them, whilst their intellects are whole. With such an education, there are three professions open for their choice: the *medical and surgical*; the *law*, and the *church*. Now, without expressing any predilection for one of those before the others, I would ask you as a sensible, thinking man, how far it is prudent to *annihilate*—not place on a footing which may make it a more desirable profession—but utterly annihilate one of those professions, and thus cut off one channel of provision for my sons as a "professional" man, and render his chance of succeeding in the others considerably less, by forcing into them the third which are thrown upon them by the annihilation of the church? Sir, I would wish you to answer me this. Mind I do not want to know what I know already, that even as a profession now the church is (perhaps) bad. I want to know if improved, to satisfy those who will be satisfied with it in an improved state, it would not be unwise to those whose sons are growing up to be looking for subsistence to the professions to have the church as a "profession" annihilated?

I am, sir,

Your very obedient servant.

JAMES H. GRIFFEN.

Feb. 25, 1835.

Wm. Corbett, M.P.

ANSWER.

Normandy, 4. March, 1835.

Sir, — Now, that is honest, at any rate. — Are you, now, to cant about "religious instruction": none of the stuff about "the church": none of the stuff about "the spiritual" of the people: nothing about being "called by the Holy Ghost" to take upon them the *cure of souls*. Honest Mr. JAMES H. GRIFFEN puts the question looks upon the church as a *branch of business*, yielding a

good profit without vulgar toils; and the accordingly remonstrates with me against the efforts which I am making to destroy this branch of business. I will be as honest as Mr. JAMES GRIFFEN; and tell him plainly, that I want to cut off this branch at the very root; for I see no greater curse that can befall a country, than to have twenty or thirty thousand lazy parsons, with their twenty or thirty thousand pound wives, engaged in breeding gentlemen and ladies for the industrious part of the nation to keep. I know of no other country in the world, where the parsons are kept at the public expense, and allowed to marry. If, indeed, they be voluntarily maintained, that is another matter; but to have a law to compel the people to keep them, and then, in fact, to compel the people to keep their offspring, is a thing never before heard of, and it is an injury which no legislature has a right to inflict upon a people.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

CURIOUS DILEMMA.

It is stated in the newspapers, that Sir FRANCIS BURDETT voted in the majority on the question of the malt-tax, and of course voted against that tax being taken from the shoulders of his constituents, on which shoulders it weighs so heavily. The other member for Westminster, Colonel EVANS, voted for taking off the tax. The constituents of the honourable baronet baited him like a badger, because he did not vote for the Whigs, on the questions of the SPEAKER and the Amendment to the Address: "Stop," said the baronet, "till some MEASURE be brought forward; and THEN you shall see how I will vote." Now then, a measure has been brought forward, and they have seen how he voted, and to him the wise men will now go, of course, and demand his resignation at once!

Mr. LUMBER TROOP.—Sir FRANCIS, we have now, according to your request, waited till a measure has been brought forward, and until you have given your

vote on that measure, and here are my excellent friends, Mr. Codger and Mr. Old-fellow, and myself, come as a deputation from your constituents to demand

Heaven! Demand! What demands have you upon me? I owe you nothing, unless you come upon your right of "Stand and deliver."

Mr. LUMBER TROOP. Perhaps the word "demand," Sir FRANCIS, is a little too strong. I should have said request.

BURDETT. Well, and what the devil have you now to request of me?

Mr. CODGER. Why, Sir FRANCIS, you having acted directly in the teeth of the wishes of your constituents, and you holding your seat in trust for them, we are bound to request you to resign that trust to our hands.

BURDETT. As to the teeth of their wishes, or the ground of their wishes, it would be pretty difficult, I believe, to know what those are, for any one twenty-four hours at a time.

Mr. CODGER. Why, Sir FRANCIS, your colleague, Colonel EVANS, could understand our wishes. You see that he has voted for the relief of the people from this burdensome tax, the whole of which falls upon the industrious classes, and from which the aristocracy completely escape.

BURDETT. If he understand your wishes, he is a cleverer fellow than I am. The other day you were ready to tear me to pieces, because I did not vote with the Whigs; and then you reminded me of the good conduct of Colonel EVANS in voting with the Whigs, and told me how you were pleased at that conduct in him, and how displeased you were at my conduct in not voting with the Whigs.

Mr. LUMBER TROOP. Well, Sir FRANCIS, are we not content? Have you not voted with the Tories now?

BURDETT. No. I have voted with the Whigs now, for they voted against the repeal of the tax as well as the Tories; and that will do.

Mr. CODGER. You take advantage, Sir FRANCIS, of the Whigs, and demand you to vote with Whigs, we called them "Reformers," as the *Morning Chronicle* always does now!

brought forward. Made, by the favour of God, to this people, pretty nearly as stupid as they are perfidious and malignant, they thought that Sir ROBERT PEEL would not penetrate their profound views. He did, however; and he observed some of us resolve not to incur the shame of having supported this perfidious faction, for one moment. He suffered a great measure in behalf of the people to be brought forward. He resolved to oppose it; and he knew that he should have the Whig faction with him to the last man; and that thus he should destroy them for ever; there they are now, as much his auxiliaries as ever a band of Swisses were in the army of any despot in Europe.

LAST SHIP

THERE has been a circular letter sent round to all the members of parliament who voted for Mr. ABERCROMBY, and who voted for the Amendment to the Address. It is signed by Mr. DENISON, the member for Surrey, Mr. ORD, member for NEWCASTLE, Lord MORPETH, Mr. BANNERMAN, member for ABERDEEN; that is to say, by the two movers and two seconds of the motions which produced the Whig majorities. This circular calls upon these gentlemen to join in giving a public dinner to Lord JOHN RUSSELL. So; here are the Radical members, who gave them those majorities still regarded as so base, or so foolish, as to give a public dinner to the man, who voted against the repeal of the malt tax, and who led his party to do the same; and who joined the Minister in opposing the motion for preventing new business from being done after twelve o'clock at night. Yes, called upon to do honour to the faction, which is now become the desperate auxiliary of the Tory Ministry. It is a desperate effort, to get up something to cause the public to believe that there is a strong Whig party still. It will do nothing; and particularly the Ministers and the wretches will all be dragged in the dirt, covered all over with the mud and slime of faction, before the end of July. I trust that Mr. HUME, who rendered such service to the country the

other night, will not suffer himself to be drawn aside by this faction. He may be assured, that if he treat this faction, as he did the Tory faction when they were out of power, he will see both the factions at his feet. The people are awake to their interests. They now clearly understand the whole matter; and both factions must come down, if the Radicals do their duty.

N. B. I cannot give the lists of the division on the malt-tax, until next week. I will then do it in the *Register* completely. I will, at the same time, give a short history of the whole of the transactions and especially of the conduct of *Mr. W. H. H. H.*; I will publish the article separately, not to be sold for a half-penny; and I will take great pains for taking great numbers of it, and my friends to be prepared to deliver the country; to get masses of them into the hands of the people. It will be *useful* to sell them without stamp, because they will be on a single open piece of paper. They may be sent for in great numbers, by any gentleman, and given to a man out of work, and he will earn very good profits by hawking them about the country. The hundred will sell by retail for four and twopence; and they will be sold at the shop for half-a-crown a hundred; so that the vender will get twenty pence for selling a hundred at a half-penny a piece. I shall entitle it, "*Malt-tax kept on by the perfidious Whigs.*"

It is a most useful and important work.

REPEAL OF THE MALT-TAX.

MR. H. H. H. H. said, that in consequence of the motion he had given him the liberty to address the House on a question of considerable importance, not only to the large body of nonconformists, which he had the honour to represent, but to the general interests of the country at large. Whatever motion might be attributed to him in making the motion, he could conscientiously assure the House and the country that the result, which, in his opinion, would be derived to the country from its success was, his sole motive, and object in suggesting the measure, which he should pro-

pose in the malt tax. (Hear, hear.) He assured his right hon friend at the head of the Administration that he had no other slightest wish or desire to weaken the Government the least embarrassed, but a sense of duty to the country and his constituents and a recollection of what he had promised them, impelled him to take the course which he was now pursuing (hear, hear), and which nothing under heaven could have induced him to forego. The subject to which he called the attention of the House had been often discussed, so frequently that he could bring forward nothing new in reference to it, and he therefore felt that he must content himself with again telling the noble repeated tale of the worst consequences and distress experienced by the agricultural interest (Hear, hear), and with imploring the House to afford them relief. The malt tax was first imposed in the reign of William and Mary, when it was estimated, in 1787 it was raised to 80s. 6d.; in 1791 to 12s. 6d.; in 1802 to 18s. 8d.; in 1804 to 38s. 8d.; but in 1817 it had been diminished to 20s. 8d. a quarter, at which amount it now stood. Many gentlemen in that House, and many persons throughout the country, were of opinion that a partial reduction of the tax would be extremely beneficial to the agricultural interest, and certainly he did not deny that even a partial remission would be of use, but it should be borne in mind that if they reduced the tax one-half, the expense of raising and bottling still remained (hear, hear), so that what relief the farmer and the husbandry would be fully benefited by, should be not on the contrary, they were made to feel that the whole tax, they got rid of, and were able to save to the country, and conferred a great benefit on the farmer (Hear, hear). The effects of the malt duty were felt by the farmer in a variety of ways. It caused a diminution in the cultivation of barley—it prevented the farmer from receiving in 1810, 1811, and 1812, the good old national price of 100s. for the bush, and in private houses the price was still lower. The labourers were not able to obtain the same wages as in the year 1810, and it deprived the farmer of the advantage from that rise which would be effected in the market by a reduction of the duty. He might here state that the malt tax was formerly annually passed like the sugar and other duties, but in 1822 it was made a permanent tax and consequently Parliament had no longer any control over it from year to year. The extreme pressure of the malt duty had caused an extraordinary increase in the consumption of ardent spirits, and the gin-shop had consequently usurped the place of the private brewery (Hear, hear). There was nothing more injurious to the country, more demoralizing and destructive of the lower orders, than the rapid increase of gin palaces which had occurred in the metropolis (Hear, hear). To prove the baneful effects on the morals and habits of our fellow-countrymen, he would refer to returns, from which it appeared that in the seven years ending with the year 1819 the number of persons charged with criminal offences in England and Wales was 72,216, in the seven years between 1819 and 1826 the number amounted to 95,628, and in the seven years ending in 1833 it had increased to 131,818. In one year (1833) 12,000 women had been brought to the police offices of this metropolis on charges of drunkenness, from excessive use of ardent spirits. It would be a moral as well as a pecuniary benefit, if the malt-duty were taken off, and private breweries in farmers' houses encouraged. What he complained of was, that whilst relief had been given to other classes of the community, the necessary assistance had not yet taken the direction of the agricultural interest. In the year 1833, a petition was presented to the throne in this and the last year allusion was made to the distress felt by the farmers, and a hope of relief was graciously afforded; but he regretted that his right hon friend at the head of the Government had not been as yet able to state to the House in what the extension of relief was to consist. If, however, they could rely upon the speeches they had made, and on the opinion expressed by the committee of last year, his right hon friend must allude to certain local and parochial burdens on agriculture in the shape of county and church rates and

other charges. Now he must say, that if the proposed relief were confined to these matters, it must prove quite inadequate. (Hear, hear). He had made some calculation with a view to show how small would be the effect of the relief contemplated by his right hon. friend, compared with the remission of the malt-tax. In a farm of 250 acres, the benefit to the farmer from the relief which he supposed his right hon. Friend to contemplate would be only 8*l.* per annum, but by taking off the malt duty, the same farmer would be relieved to the extent of between 70*l.* and 80*l.* a year. Thus it clearly appeared, that the farmer would benefit far more by a reduction of the malt-tax than by the relief in the shape of local taxation, which he had alluded to. (Hear, hear). If you looked at the state of farm-houses and farmers throughout the country, you would find that there was scarcely a single man in the same advantageous position as he occupied some years ago. Then he was able to brew his own beer, and to maintain in his house farm-servants hired by the year; but now the farmer was compelled to enter into short hirings with his labourers, and depend upon the common brewer for the beverage which they drank. What could be more beneficial to the country than the state of things that subsisted at a period when the farmer saw a circle of labourers by his fire-side, who drank a wholesome home-brewed beverage? Now the agricultural labourers being unable to purchase beer out of their wages, and the farmer being unable to provide it for them, they were obliged to quench their thirst at the pump in the farmyard. He hoped and trusted that he should not appeal in vain to the feelings of a British House of Commons, which contained so many country gentlemen who depended for their station and existence as gentlemen on those in whose behalf he was now speaking. (Hear, hear). The agricultural interests had been for years laid down with distress; the landholders were obliged to leave their homes, and go to a foreign soil; the old manors of the country were shut up, and the poor were obliged to go to the workhouse. (Hear, hear). The farmer found it impossible

to go on; and it was absolutely necessary for the Government and the House of Commons to take the subject into consideration, and to remedy the distress to which he alluded. He hoped they would follow the plan which he proposed, and which he thought would afford relief. It might be said that he asked a boon at the expense of other classes of the community; but, if he felt he was asking a partial favour, he would at once admit that he was doing what was not correct. He felt, however, that in relieving the agricultural interest you relieved the community at large, and the tradesmen who depended on the farmer would not grudge him relief in the shape of the Marquis of Chandos proposed, but would hail it with joy and satisfaction. (Hear, hear). If we looked at the question in another point of view, we found that the great profit of the malt-trade found its way into the pockets of the maltsters. The consumption of malt he found in the tables of the revenue (page 94) to be for the year ending the 10. of October, 1833, 40,075,890 bushels, which at 8*s.* per bushel, amounted in money to 16,080,306*l.* Barley in malting increased about one-tenth, so that you would find about 36,300,000 bushels of barley required to make the specified quantity of malt. Taking the barley at 4*s.* per bushel, it would amount to 7,260,000*l.* Now what was the duty paid to Government on malt in 1830? It amounted to 4,923,074*l.* The expenses of the maltster in manufacturing malt were about 3*l.* a quarter, and, taking this account of their extra charges, arising from the mode of proceeding of the Excise, the expense might be taken at 3*s.* a quarter. Of the whole sum then of 16,080,306*l.*, only 4,923,074*l.* found its way into the Exchequer. What became of the rest? The rest was the profit of some individual or other, and a proportion of it, more or less, found its way into the pocket of the maltster. It was for the maltster to find a right to realize, as a community which received the malt, and which was a course which should be taken to get into the pockets of individuals. If any alterations were made in the duty, if even half of it were

commend, as a means to supply the deficiency occasioned by a remission of the malt-tax, an increase of the duties on wines, spirits, and other articles of excise, so as not to trespass on the lower orders, but rather to throw the burden of taxation on the higher classes of the community. (Hear, hear). He would himself willingly sustain a greater burden if by so doing, he could afford relief to the farmer and labourer. (Hear). It was impossible that the agriculturists should go on year after year, with local taxation and other charges constantly increasing, without assistance from Parliament, not in the shape of a remission or alteration of trifling taxes, but by some decided reduction, such as the repeal of the malt-tax. (Hear, hear). This was the highest place in that and the other what the farmers now looked for, and the House of Parliament, expressing their opinion was originally induced to think that in any measure that the subject required attention, proposing the present motion to the House he should have had to move more at length, and in greater detail, than that which he would now submit to the House. He certainly wished to propose the exact period of time at which this burden on the agriculturists should be taken off, after having procured the concurrence of the House in the expediency of its removal. But considering the situation of all parties—the maltster's claim to relief for the amount of his stock on hand, and not wishing that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should be called on for a drawback on the present amount of stock—making every allowance for the difficulties that must arise from taking at one moment a large sum as 5,000,000*l.* from the consolidated revenue of the country, he felt that he should best consult the interest of the country at large, by proposing a resolution to the effect, that there should be an entire abolition of the duty of malt at the same time leaving it to the Government to bring in a bill which should have for its object the extinguishing of the malt-tax, not all at once, but by degrees. He would fix the time for the commencement of the abolition or diminution of the duty, which he did not propose to do at once, but by a gradual process, in two or three instalments; in order to give the Chancellor of the Exchequer the opportunity of seeing that he feared

(laughter from the opposition) from the embarrassment that would result from its immediate repeal. He wished to give time for the present stock of malt to be disposed of, and was content to make the relief to the farmer gradual. God forbid that he should be the man to propose to the House a measure that might effect an injury to public credit (hear, hear), but he was the man to propose what he considered a decided and substantial measure of relief in reference to a class of men of whose distresses the House could not be ignorant, and whose position in the country must command their attention and respect. (Hear, hear). In looking back for years to the debates on this question, he found individuals now in the highest place in that and the other House of Parliament, expressing their opinion that the subject required attention, and that what was now proposed ought to be done sooner or later. He appealed to the English country gentleman, whose returns had been more or less affected on the express understanding that they were to vote for the repeal of this tax (loud and marked cheering from the opposition), and that they should enter the house as advocates of the British farmer—he called upon those gentlemen to give effect to the present motion. It was not his business to find fault with the conduct or opinions of any man; but he appealed to hon. members to consider the influence of their votes on this occasion. He brought forward this motion, honestly and sincerely in the performance of his duty to his country, and in the discharge of the duty which he owed his constituents, in redemption of the pledge he had given to them, and to the country at large, and, whatever might be the result of the debate and the motion, he should leave the comfort of reflecting that he had done his best to relieve the country from that line of conduct which he thought most conducive to their benefit. (Hear, hear). He could have wished that he had proposed a house more indignant than the present one. He could have wished that he had been more confident to the House, and that he had been more assured that he feared

it might not be so satisfactory as he desired. However, if, as he imagined, the malt duties could not long maintain their position in the financial arrangements of the country, and if it fell to the lot of some advocate for their repeal more worthy than himself to effect the reduction of so oppressive a tax, he should not envy but rejoice in his success. As he had already stated, it was his intention to propose a resolution calling on the House to vote for the extinction altogether of the duty on malt, but at the same time he begged to state, that if he should succeed in the motion, he would afterwards ask leave to bring in a bill in which it would be a matter of arrangement as to the time when those reductions should take place. Therefore, having stated that the object of the present motion was the extinction of the tax, it must be understood that hon. members did not by voting for it bind themselves to any specific time or day of extinction. The question would afterwards arise as to the time when the reduction should commence, and the manner in which it was to be effected, whether by one, two, or more instalments. He thought it right thus briefly to state the object of his motion, which he had constructed in the simplest form, lest in moving a larger resolution he might have encumbered the question with troublesome explanations and details. He could not think of occupying the attention of the House much longer, or of standing between the House and many other members who felt anxious to address it on this occasion. He felt that no words on ability of his feeble as it was, could add strength to the cause which he advocated, or place in a clearer or more forcible light the position which the English farmer now occupied. Last year he had drawn the attention of the House to the agricultural distress under which the country laboured, and with such effect, arising from the strength of the case, that the majority against him was exceedingly inconsiderable. (Hear, hear.) With regard to the state of the farmer now, as compared with his condition then, there was no difference; the distress which then existed still continued, notwithstanding the increase, and though he did not wish

to enter at large into the subject of agricultural distress, still he could not help saying that the English farmer could scarcely be in a worse position than he was at the present moment. (Hear, hear.) The price of agricultural produce was diminished, and certainly the farmer was now in a worse state than before. That should be an inducement to members to give the present question their serious and anxious consideration. He was unwilling to detain the House longer; he thanked them for the patience and kindness with which they had listened to him, and hoped he had not trespassed too long on their attention. He had made his motion as brief and simple as possible; the House now had it before them, and he left the question to a jury of English gentlemen, who were to take into consideration not only whether agricultural distress existed, and ought to be relieved, but also whether the repeal of the malt-tax was the best mode of affording relief. (Hear, hear.) He thought it fair that the question should be distinctly brought before the House, particularly after what he had heard in other quarters, and after the speeches made in different parts of the country. (Hear, hear.) After such declarations, he thought it impossible that gentlemen owing their seats entirely to the agricultural interest (loud and prolonged cheering) could in the hour of need desert those by whom they themselves had been so efficiently supported, and whom he now called on hon. members as country gentlemen, to support in turn by voting for the resolution which he begged to submit to the House. (Hear, hear.) He moved, "That it is expedient that the present duties on malt shall altogether cease and determine." (Cheering).

Mr. HANDLEY in seconding the motion observed, that he was well aware to what degree, in times of political excitement like these, individuals might be exposed to the imputation of party motives for supporting a resolution such as the present, but he disdained all party spirit or motives, his object being not to achieve a party triumph, but to effect what, after mature deliberation, he considered a great public good. (Hear.) The noble Lord

had ably described the distressed state of the agricultural interest; but for himself he regretted that he had not words sufficiently expressive to convey his opinion of the distressed condition of the farmers. He could not persuade himself that Ministers, although they had the advantage of the advice and counsel of the right hon. members for Essex and Kent, could be aware of the actual state of the agricultural interest, or they would not have insulted the feelings of the farmers by such a mockery of relief as was promised in the speech from the throne. (Hear, hear). In 1821, when wheat was 54s 3d. a quarter, a committee of that House pronounced its opinion that the farmer was unable to go on or pay the expense of growing corn. In 1833 a committee again sat, when wheat was 53s. 6d. a quarter, and in reference to the report of the former committee stated that the state of the farmer was not changed, for the better, and that his capital was diminishing rapidly. Now, when 40s. 4d. was the average price of wheat, it could not be supposed that the farmer was better off. But even this was not the average price obtained by the grower, but was increased by many other charges, by profits of carriage and commission. He had himself sold wheat of the best quality last week for 37s. per quarter. Was it possible for the farmer to grow wheat at such a price, even if he were rent-free? (hear),—and must not the consequence of such a state of things be, that one-third of the wheat lands in the country would go out of cultivation? Gentlemen opposite might express their fears at the progress of reform, and declare that they saw a revolution, as regarded all the institutions of the country; but the state of things which he had adverted to was the revolution actually to be dreaded. (Cheers.) This state of things demanded from Parliament and the Government something more than the report of a committee on the empty sympathy expressed in a King's speech. The reduction of the malt-tax would lead to the amelioration of the condition, not of the agricultural interest alone, but of all other interests connected with it. It was the most pernicious, the most partial, and the most unjust of all imposts, inasmuch as it affected only one branch of industry—agriculture, and only one description of land, and that too which from the amount of capital necessarily expended, on its cultivation was least able to bear it. It was oppressive and demoralizing in its effect, because it deprived the labouring classes of their natural beverage, and held out encouragement to the consumption of spirits. It was likewise impolitic, because it placed at the threshold of the malt-house an impediment to consumption. His noble Friend, who had brought forward the motion, had alluded to the circumstance, that in consequence of the heavy duty on malt, the consumption of the article had not increased in proportion to the increase of population. This was a point deserving the serious consideration of the House. He had in consequence of the census of 1821 with that of 1831, and found that though the population had increased to the amount of 2,000,000 between those two periods, the consumption of malt had remained stationary. That this was not to be attributed to the means on the part of the people to purchase malt liquor was proved by the increased consumption of other articles; for instance, the consumption of sugar during the same time had increased 30 per cent., tea 40 per cent., and coffee 200 per cent. He was aware that immediately after the repeal of the beer-tax an increased consumption of malt took place, the quantity consumed in the two years subsequent to that measure exceeded by 16,000,000 bushels that consumed during the two years preceding it. This, however, proved that the repeal of the duty on malt would have the effect of a really augmenting the consumption, and thus relieving the farmer. It might be said that the present fetched a high price in the market; but it should be recollected that this was owing to the partial failure of the spring corn last season. Taking the average of the two last years, the price at this period of the year would be about 36s. a quarter; it was now 32s., and it would not go much higher than that, when coming into competition with foreign barley. He had very little doubt that when duty were repealed the average price of barley in ordinary seasons would be 30s. a quarter.

sons would, during the increased demand, be 31s. a quarter. This would give the farmer 5s. a quarter, above the present average price; or, supposing an acre to be planted in four quarters, an augmentation in the price of an acre. For his part, the agriculturist would be benefited more by the increased value of the inferior descriptions of barley which would acquire than by the rise in price of the best sort. Farmers' labourers would brew from second-rate barley, as they now baked from second-rate flour. There could be no doubt that the moment the tax was repealed malt would be much more extensively used in distillation. At the present moment the price of spirit distilled from malt was from 1s. 10d. to 2s. 4d. per gallon higher than that distilled from raw grain. Another use to which malt would be applied, if the duty was repealed, so as to reduce the price of fattening cattle. Persons conversant with the subject were aware that there was nothing better than malt for fattening cattle. It was a common thing for persons to pay 7s. a head for bullocks which were taken in at distilleries, and fed upon the wash. In all the prize cattle societies with which he was acquainted, candidates were debarred from giving wash to cattle, because its price would prevent all persons from obtaining it, and its fattening properties would give the superiority to the animals of those who were able to purchase it. If the mere wash was of so much use when employed in the feeding of cattle, how much more advantage would it be for cattle-breeders to be able to avail themselves of it? The subject was a matter contained in the following question:—Should graziers be permitted to purchase oil cake for fattening cattle? The answer could have a better and more natural article of food in malt. The farmers of a metropolitan county was situated between being fed upon oil cake. Let the members only vote for the repeal of the malt-tax, and he promised them that they should have beef and mutton in their houses, and that they could get it for less than they might be told that it would cost them. He might be told that the repeal of the malt-tax would benefit only the farmers, and that the labourers who brewed

the farmers of clay lands whether, if the produce of barley should increase threefold, it would not displace so much wheat, and consequently enhance the price of that which remained? There was another point of view in which the repeal of the malt-tax would benefit the farmer, namely, in his character of consumer. He was happy to say that in his county it was still the practice, and God grant it might long continue so, to receive single men into the farm-houses. (Hear, hear). The supplying of them with beer was a source of great expense to farmers, for beer they would and ought to have. In diminishing this branch of expense, therefore, the repeal of the duty would operate most beneficially for the agriculturist. There was another point connected with this part of the subject to which he must direct the attention of the House. The number of beer-shops which existed in rural districts was generally acknowledged to be a great evil, and he was satisfied that any person who looked into the question must come to the conclusion that a great portion of the crime, discontent, insubordination, and imprudence, which had of late years gained ground in rural districts was to be attributed to the establishment of beer-shops. (Hear). He knew not how this evil could be so easily abated as by exposing it to the competition of private brewing. Last year the hon. Member for Oldham quoted the evidence of a magistrate in Gloucestershire, who had taken some pains to ascertain the best means of abating this evil which arose out of the beer-shops. This gentleman stated in his evidence that out of fifteen clergymen he had consulted on the subject, four were of opinion that the best means of abating that object would be the repeal of the malt-tax. Some persons might say that the notion of agricultural labourers brewing their own beer was perfectly chimerical. For his part, he believed that what one man does do another man will do by the same means. He employed labourers, and day-wages who brewed their beer, and those whom he employed by the year were but too happy to brew part of their wages in malt. It was worthy of remark that, owing to the high price of malt, the labourers who brewed

their beer were obliged to adulterate it. They had recourse to coarse sugar, the produce of our colonies, as a substitute, an inefficient one, for that which they produced by the labour of their hands and the sweat of their brows. (Hear, hear.) This, it must be admitted, was a monstrous evil and a crying injustice, but adulteration did not end here. The beer generally sold in beer-houses was little better than poison. Gentlemen resident in the country must be perfectly aware that a labourer who could drink two or three pints of his master's ale would, if he took the same quantity in a beer-house, return home either frantic and infuriated, or stupid and besotted. This observation applied to the beer sold in houses near the metropolis. Last summer a waterman on the Thames told him that he durst not drink the beer which was sold down the river, for if he did he should be unable to pull back again. That the beer usually sold at these houses must be adulterated, was proved by the fact, that whilst the brewer's price was 33s. a barrel, it was retailed at the rate of only 36s. per barrel. It was notoriously the common practice to make three barrels out of two. He knew not the ingredients which were employed in the process of adulteration, but the effects which the manufactured article produced showed that they must be very detrimental to health. The harassing and vexatious exercise superintendence to which the maltster was subjected could only be compensated by large profits. He did not blame the maltsters for obtaining a great profit, but they incurred considerable risk in carrying on their business, and owing to the regulations imposed upon them by the Legislature, they could hardly get their beer from the cistern to the still without rendering themselves liable to heavy penalties from the mistakes of their assayers. He now came to that part of the subject which his noble Friend had treated lightly, and which he certainly would not discuss upon, namely, the financial considerations connected with the question. He remembered that the hon. Baronet, the Member for North Lincolnshire, had said, upon himself much obnoxious in consequence of usurping the

Chancellor of the Exchequer. He had reason to think that the hon. Baronet lost his seat on that account, and therefore it could not be expected that he should run the same risk. (A laugh.) He would not run the risk of incensing the bees of the hive, unless he was to have a share in the honey. (Laughter). Nevertheless, he must declare that he could not subscribe to the doctrine of Mr. Tierney, that it was proper to repeal a large item of taxation without providing a substitute. As far as he himself was concerned, his vote was recorded in favour of the motion of the hon. Member for Worcester, for such a commutation of taxes as would remove the burdens which pressed heavily on the labouring classes, and substituting a property-tax for them. (Hear, hear.) By that vote he was precluded from adding, though he was aware of the unpopularity of a property-tax in that House. However, he was fortunately relieved from the necessity of bringing forward a budget of his own to supply any defalcation of the revenue which the repeal of the malt-tax might occasion, and needed only to refer the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the suggestions upon this point which the right hon. Member for Essex offered to the House in 1833. (Hear.) Upon that occasion, in discussing the question of the repeal of the malt-duty, the right hon. Gentleman made these observations: "He believed that no reduction of taxation was more likely to give relief than the reduction of the duty on malt. If, however, the tax could not be spared, it might easily be transferred to some other article." He would not anticipate the speech which the right hon. Gentleman would make that night in support of the motion, and which, doubtless would prove, that whilst the country had gained an able and efficient President of the Board of Trade, the far-remembered not lost their consistent friend and advocate. The right hon. Gentleman, if he reflected rightly, referred to an augmentation of the duties on spirit and foreign wine as a means of supplying the deficiency which would be occasioned by the repeal of the malt-tax. It was, however, not just to state, that at that time an available surplus of

1,200,000*l.*, and therefore to that extent the revenue could not have suffered by the repeal of the tax. The present Chancellor of the Exchequer would, doubtless, obtain a surplus by the retrenchments he would effect. He (Major Handley) would have the right hon. Gentleman avail himself of that as far as it would go, to make up the defalcation that might be occasioned by the repeal of the malt duty, and to obtain what further sum was wanting by loan, which he could soon procure the means of paying off by letting the crown lands by public auction, instead of upon job leases, as had hitherto been the practice. A substitute for the malt duty might also be met with in a tax which once found its way into that House, but was speedily given up by the noble Lord who introduced it. He alluded to the tax on the transfer of funded property, and for the life of him he could not perceive the force of the argument, which had been employed against the imposition of that tax. (Hear). He could not see the justice of subjecting a man who sold land to the value of 1000*l.* to a heavy stamp-duty, whilst another who sold 500,000*l.* worth of stock paid no duty at all. He might be told that the imposition of such a tax would be a breach of public faith; but he would ask whether it was no breach of public faith to compel a person to pay three quarters of wheat, to discharge a debt which was contracted for one quarter? He looked upon taxation as an insurance which property paid for protection; and seeing that the main interest of the country, the agricultural interest, was on the verge of ruin, he would ask whether there was any description of property which it would be so prudent to insure as property in the fund? Let him not be misunderstood; he would lend himself to nothing; dishonest or that would tend to a breach of faith with the public creditor. He remembered the burst of honest indignation which assailed the hon. and learned Member for Dublin when he talked in that House of the "cant of national faith," but he would ask what was the value of national faith, if we had not national means to support it? A great financial and predecessor of the present

of the Exchequer, Mr. Pitt, declared that every acre of land in England was mortgaged to pay the public creditor. He would not deny the correctness of that statement, but of what use would the land be to the mortgagee if he were to take possession of it, and find it uncultivated, and covered with a pauper population? One of two things must take place—either the agriculturist must be placed in a situation which would enable him to pay interest to the public mortgagee, or, like mortgagees in private life, he must reduce his interest. Before he concluded he could not refrain from adverting to a point which had been touched upon by his noble Friend, and which he was sure had no other ground than his own apprehensions—namely, the possibility of gentlemen who had pledged themselves elsewhere to support the repeal of the malt-tax voting against the motion. He could only say that if those honourable Members who voted in favour of the repeal of the malt-tax on a former occasion, in spite of the threat of resignation then held out by Lord Grey's Government (a stale trick which he understood had been resorted to on the present occasion—it was a threat which was not often carried into execution, and he had no apprehension that it would be on the present occasion, for however easy it might be for gentlemen to change their opinions, it was not so easy for them to change their places), should vote against the present motion, it would be evident that their former vote was dictated by factional motives, those motives which they were much in the habit of imputing to their adversaries. (Hear). Rumours were spread in the manner in which some hon. Members intended to vote on the present occasion, and probably some of them had reached the ear of his noble friend; but for the (Major Handley's) part he attached no credit to those rumours, because he could not believe it possible that the men who a few weeks ago raised the cry of "massacre not men," could now turn round and say that they did not love measures less, but loved men more. (Hear, hear). He could not suppose it possible, as was strongly rumoured, that the present Member for South Der-

byshire (hear), who at the late election defeated his opponent in consequence of pledging himself to vote for the repeal of the malt-tax, would that night violate his pledge. (Hear, hear). He held in his hand an address which that hon. Baronet had issued to his constituents before he was elected, from which he would take the liberty of reading an extract:—"I do not hesitate to say that if I should have the honour of representing you in Parliament, I will employ all the energies I can command to effect the accomplishment of two measures." The hon. Baronet proceeded to say that he held it to be indispensably and immediately requisite that measures should be adopted with respect to the currency, and then made use of the following words:—"The second measure to which I allude is the repeal of that most oppressive and mischievous chief-working tax, the malt-tax (cheers from the opposition); which displaces industry, destroys social frugality, promotes intemperance and immorality, and diminishes the consumption of one of the chief comforts of the industrious labouring classes. (Hear, hear). For these professions I claim credit, because no one can convict me of ever having broken a pledge or violated a promise." (Loud cries of Hear). After having heard that passage, he would ask his noble friend whether he was not alarmed without just cause with respect to the manner in which hon. members intended to vote? It was impossible that gentlemen who a few weeks ago on the hustings claimed the support of their constituents by arrogating to themselves exclusively the title of the farmer's friend, would now desert him in his time of need? Was it possible that there were persons in that House who were prepared to add to the misery of the already broken-hearted farmer by betraying his cause? The day for professions was gone by—a test was now proposed by which to try the sincerity of hon. members, and the division of that night would show who were and who were the real friends of the farmer. (Hear, hear).

Sir R. PEEL said that the course which he intended to pursue in the present debate made him peculiarly anxious to rise

at an early period of the discussion, when he was not likely to be diverted by any reference to political matters or causes of party excitement from the attempt to call the attention of the House—not to any matters mixed up with political considerations, not to matters necessarily mixed up with the interests of parties in the state, but to the review of those facts and arguments upon which he thought their judgment ought to be formed, and the exclusion of which from their consideration would, in his opinion, be likely to produce the most serious prejudice to the best interests of the country. (Hear). The question which must that night be decided involved interests so complicated and comprehensive, as not to permit any reference to other matters than those arguments and facts upon which the verdict of the jury, to which the noble marquis had compared the decision of the House, ought to be founded. It was because he (Sir R. Peel) conceived the House, upon the present occasion, to stand in the situation of a jury, bound to decide, not on partial opinion, not upon promises previously made, not upon prejudices formed, not with reference to the particular interest of any one class of the community, but as became a jury, upon a comprehensive view of the merits of the whole question, that he called upon them to form an opinion, like a jury, from the evidence he should offer and the arguments he should adduce. He was called upon to consider this question; namely, whether he could consent to a resolution which pledged him irrevocably to the total repeal of the malt-tax. He was called upon to consent to that resolution at a period when the House had had no opportunity of hearing any financial statement from him; at a period when it knew not from any authentic declaration what was the amount of the demands for the public service, what was the amount of disposable revenue,—before it had had any opportunity of considering any other claim for the remission of taxation; he was under these circumstances called upon to pledge himself irrevocably to deprive the public revenue of several millions of money. (Hear, hear.) If such a motion as the present

was necessary, he appealed to any man as to whether it ought not to have been brought forward after an authentic declaration of the national means had been laid before the House? It would be his duty to make such a communication to the House as soon as possible after the close of the financial year; namely, the 1. of April; he would then have an opportunity of describing to the House the state of the public revenue, and the House being thus put in possession of the actual amount of surplus, might appropriate it either to the remission of taxation, or in any other way it might think expedient. The noble marquis, however, would not wait for this explanation, but called upon the House in fact, to exclude the consideration of every other interest, except that which was vocated, by pledging itself that the malt-tax should be the first item of taxation to be repealed. Thus forced into a discussion which he thought ought to have been postponed, it became necessary for him to enter into a statement with the view of convincing the House of the impropriety of acceding to the noble Marquis's proposition. With all the respect which was due to the House, he would endeavour to caution them against the consequences which would result from a precipitate and, in his opinion, unjustifiable pledge to repeal the malt-tax. Of course he was unable to say with perfect accuracy what were the financial prospects of the ensuing year; but he might refer to a statement made by his predecessor in the office which he filled, which he apprehended was correct enough for all practical purposes. The noble Lord (Althorp), in his budget last year, after providing for the repeal of the house-tax, made a calculation of what would probably be the available surplus for the year beginning the 1. of April 1835, and ending the 1. of April 1836, that was to say, his lordship made a calculation of the probable financial prospects of the country for two years; and was sufficient for his purpose to show that although in some respects the calculations of Lord Althorp were imperfect, yet he thought that upon the whole the result at which his lordship

was not far from the truth. Lord Althorp estimated that the demands for the service of the present year would be identical with those of the last. He (Sir R. Peel), however, had the satisfaction of stating to the House that he trusted there would be a considerable reduction in the estimates of the present year as compared with the last. (Hear, hear). He believed that the estimates for the ordinary service of the year would exhibit a reduction of 470,000*l.* (Cheers). Although this would of course increase the available surplus revenue, yet as there were miscalculations in the statement of this noble Lord (for which his lordship was in no degree responsible) from which a corresponding reduction must be made, Lord Althorp's estimate of the amount of available surplus was upon the whole not far from the truth. Lord Althorp calculated that on the 5. of April next the revenue would exceed the expenditure by about 250,000*l.* He (Sir R. Peel) thought that after reducing nearly half a million on the estimates, he could not calculate upon having a greater surplus than 250,000*l.*; that was to say, after providing for 750,000*l.* for compensation to the West India proprietors, and after the revenue had been subjected to the operation of the repeal of the house-tax. In this state of our financial prospects, with a surplus of 250,000*l.*, the noble marquis asked the House to pledge itself on this night to the repeal of the whole of the malt-tax. (Hear, hear). What was the total amount of this tax? He believed that the gross produce of the malt tax last year was 5,150,000*l.*; but he would be more satisfactory to the House if he were to state what had been the amount paid into the Exchequer for three or four years on account of the tax. That would afford the best indication of the value of the impost. In the year ending the 5. of January 1834, the net amount paid into the Exchequer on account of the malt duty was 3,822,000*l.*; in the year ending the 5. of January 1835, the net amount was 4,772,000*l.*; in the year ending the 5. of January 1836, it was 4,772,000*l.*; in the year ending the 5. of January 1837, it was 5,150,000*l.*. Thus then it

appeared, that with a sacrifice of only 250,000*l.*, the House was called upon to sacrifice a revenue, and an increase of revenue (hear, hear), of 4,552,000*l.*; that was to say, it was required to cause a defalcation of 4,552,000*l.* The noble Lord told the House, that by repealing the whole of the malt-tax, all the expense consequent on its collection would be saved to the country. Of course, there could be no doubt that in determining on the policy of a tax, the charge of its collection was a material consideration. For that very reason he had taken the pains to ascertain what was the charge of collecting the malt-tax was collected; and he ventured to say that there would be found few taxes the collection of which was accompanied with less expense to the public than the malt-tax. He had endeavoured to ascertain what extent of establishment would be dispensed with, supposing that it should be determined to part with the whole of the malt-tax. It was of course difficult to estimate what the precise charge of collecting any particular tax was, but it was not difficult to determine what charge might be got rid of by repealing a tax; and this, indeed, was not an unfair estimate of the expense entailed on the country by that tax in the way of establishment. He thought, then, that he could with confidence state that the charge of collecting the gross revenue of 5,000,000*l.* derived from the malt-tax was certainly not more than 150,000*l.* (Hear, hear); and he did not believe that it would be possible to make any reduction in respect of establishment which would save the Government a larger sum than that which he had just mentioned, if the House should consent to repeal the whole of the malt-tax (Hear, hear). Besides the cost of collection, another material consideration in determining on the policy of a tax was the opportunity it afforded for fraud and unfair dealing. Now, he could with equal confidence, state, that there was not a single article which 5,000,000*l.* of impostment was not nor any commodity on which the same amount of impostment was admitted of fewer opportunities for fraud and unfair dealing than in the article at present regulated. (Hear, hear). He

did not at the present moment pretend to give any opinion as to the possibility of adopting further securities against the commission of fraud; or of affording greater facilities for the manufacture of malt, by freeing it from excise restrictions. (Hear, hear). It was not necessary for him to enter into the discussion of those points; and he would therefore reserve his opinion on them, though the noble Lord (Chandos), by calling on the House, in the absence of all information, to pledge itself to the total repeal of the malt-tax, appeared to have come to the conclusion that no improvement could be made in the application of that tax. The noble Lord, and the hon. Gentleman who recorded the motion before the House, complained that no remission whatever had recently taken place with reference to the malt-tax. Was it then forgotten, that in the year 1830 this very article of malt was relieved from a charge to which it was subject, in the shape of a duty on beer? The noble Lord said that he called for a repeal of the malt duty, because the agricultural interest was in a state of depression, and because the price of agricultural produce had fallen. Was that, he (Sir R. Peel) asked, the case with regard to barley? (Hear, hear). Could it be said that the present price of barley was lower than the price of the same article during the last year? (Hear, hear). Was it not a singular circumstance, that the price of barley at the present moment was higher, with reference to the price of wheat, than it had ever been known before? (Hear, hear). And yet the hon. Gentleman (Major Handley) assumed that larger sum would be best afforded to the agricultural interest by freeing from duty that article which bore the highest price. (Hear, hear). The price of wheat, being untaxed, was low, while the price of barley, subject to a tax, was high. Such being the facts of the case, by what process of reasoning did the hon. Gentleman arrive at the conclusion that the removal of the tax from barley would necessarily increase the price of that article? (Hear, hear). Major Handley. I wish to explain. (Cries of Order). which induced the barley to rise. The right hon.

Gentleman made a few observations, which were inaudible in the reporters' gallery but

Major HANDLEY immediately afterwards resumed his seat.

Sir R. PEEL then continued. He asked whether this remarkable fact ought not to be borne in mind, that the rate of duty having continued the same, there had taken place during the last four years a progressive and considerable increase in the price of barley? If the rate of duty had tended to lessen the number of the quarters of barley brought to charge, or to diminish greatly the amount of revenue, the hon. Gentleman would then have been in possession of a powerful argument in favour of its remission; because he might have contended that if the duty were lowered, the consumption of barley would be increased, and the price raised. But he (Sir R. Peel) was prepared to show that while the rate of duty had remained unchanged, the quantity of barley brought to charge had gone on increasing. The net payments into the Exchequer for the last four years on account of the malt duty were as follows:—For the year ending the 5. January, 1832, 4,208,000*l.*; 1833, 4,673,000*l.*; 1834, 4,772,000*l.*; 1835, 4,812,000*l.* Besides the increase in the amount of duty received by the Exchequer, an increase had taken place in the consumption of barley, and also in the price of that article. These were three remarkable facts which ought not to be lost sight of. (Hear, hear.) But though those who advocated the repeal of the malt duty could not deny that an increase in the value of barley had taken place, yet they contended that that increase was the consequence of a defective harvest. True it was, they said, that there had been an increase in the consumption of barley during the four years preceding the last, but in those years there had also been good harvests of barley: in the last year, however, there had occurred a bad harvest, and an increase had consequently taken place in the price of malting barley. Now, if that statement were correct, there was also another effect which a defective harvest ought to have produced, namely, it ought to have diminished the quantity of barley brought to charge. The whole

of that argument would therefore be destroyed if he could show that the quantity of barley brought to charge since October in the last year had increased, as compared with the quantity brought to charge in the corresponding period of the preceding year. Anticipating that it would be alleged that there had been a defective harvest in barley last year, and that the rise in the price of the article was sufficiently accounted for by the fact, he had taken the trouble to obtain from the Excise-office that very morning an account of the number of bushels of malt brought to charge from the 10. of October 1833 to the 19. of February 1834, in order that he might compare the amount then brought to charge with the quantity brought to charge since the 10. of October 1834, to the 19. of February in the present year. Having examined these returns, he felt great satisfaction in being able to state, that the rate of duty remaining the same, there had been an increase in the present year, notwithstanding the defective harvest of 846,779 bushels of barley. (Hear, hear.) In discussing the present question he had no desire to refer to any topic which might excite a feeling of enthusiasm, calculated though it might be to influence the House to take the same view as he did of the present question. He would willingly deprive himself of the advantage which the excitement of such a feeling would give him, if the House would only consent to give him its patient attention while he strictly confined himself to a statement of facts, and to a review of such arguments as had been urged in favour of the revision of the malt-tax. The advocates of that measure, though aware that the surplus revenue might not amount to 250,000*l.*, yet felt themselves pledged to the repeal of a tax yielding 5,000,000*l.* (Hear, hear.) They contended that there existed no other means of relieving the agricultural interest except by repealing the duty on malt; and it was prophesied that many advantages would result from the repeal of that tax. Matters of probability and of uncertainty were matters of uncertainty, but he was anxious to ascertain, by the aid of past experience, what probability existed of the realization of the

prophecies to which he had alluded. In the first place, it was stated, as he had before said, that the repeal of the malt-tax would afford the greatest possible relief to the agricultural interest. A great diminution in the consumption of malt was represented to have been produced by the operation of that tax; and it was further stated, that if the quantity of malt and beer consumed in recent years was compared with the quantity consumed at an earlier period in the history of this country, it would be found (to use the words of the hon. Member, Major Handley), that the consumption of the old national beverage of this kingdom had greatly diminished. He (Sir B. Peel) was ready to admit that in proportion to the population, the quantity of beer consumed at present had diminished as compared with the quantity consumed at an early period of the last century. But did that diminution arise from the operation of the duty on malt, or from the competition of other articles, which had come into general use in this country? The hon. Gentleman who seconded the motion before the House had drawn rather a singular inference from the last-mentioned circumstance, for he had expressed his surprise at finding that, while the consumption of beer in proportion to the population had diminished, the consumption of tea, coffee, and spirits, had increased. He (Sir R. Peel) had intended to refer to the increase of the consumption of those articles for the purpose of accounting for the decrease in the consumption of beer; but it seemed that that very fact had led the hon. Gentleman (Major Handley) to a conclusion quite opposite to that which it produced in his (Sir B. Peel's) mind. The hon. Gentleman exclaimed, "You see the people of this country drink more tea, more coffee, and more spirits, than formerly. Why then," he asked in a tone of great surprise, "do they not drink more beer also?" (Hear, hear, and laughter). His (Sir R. Peel's) reply was, because they consumed more spirits, tea, and coffee. (Hear, hear.) It was owing to a change in our national habits, and not to the operation of the duty, that the diminution in the consumption of

malt was attributable. (Hear, hear). He would state a case that was, in fact, unfavourable to himself. There was more beer consumed in the year 1722 than in any other year of the last century; yet in comparing the former and present consumption of beer, he would refer to the returns for that year. In 1722 the population amounted to 6,000,000, and the number of barrels of beer consumed, as stated in the returns, was 6,000,000, being in the proportion of one barrel to each person. In 1833 the population amounted to 14,000,000, and the average annual consumption for the last three years preceding the repeal of the beer duty amounted to no more than 8,200,000 barrels. Now in his opinion this diminution in proportion to the population, the quantity of beer brewed, was attributable to the increased consumption of other articles. In 1722 the total quantity of tea consumed in this country did not exceed 370,000lb., or about an ounce to each person. In 1833 the quantity of tea consumed amounted to 31,829,000lb., being about 2½lb. to each person. (Hear, hear). The use of tea had in fact superseded, to a certain extent, the use of beer among all classes of the community. In like manner the consumption of spirits had increased also. The hon. Gentleman (Major Handley) might say that he deprecated the increased use of spirits; but he would find it quite impossible, let him propose what regulations he would, to prevent their consumption. The hon. Gent. might increase the duty on spirits; and he might flatter himself that he was diminishing their consumption, while he would in fact, be only lessening the revenue which they produced. (Hear, hear). In 1722 there were 3,000,000 gallons of spirits consumed; in 1833, 12,332,000 gallons. An extraordinary increase had also taken place in the consumption of coffee. With respect to that article there were no accurate returns previous to 1760. In that year, however, the quantity of coffee consumed was not more than 262,000lb., or three-quarters of an ounce to each person. In 1833 the consumption of coffee had increased to 20,891,000lb., or 1½lb. to each person. With these returns before him, he could

not help arriving at the conclusion, that, did not pretend to understand this matter, the increased consumption of the three articles he had mentioned, viz., tea, coffee, and spirits, did account for the increased consumption of beer, and as far as the manufacturers of malt? Was it created as morality was concerned, he must say, that while the whole amount of that he doubted whether any great advantage was received by the Government on the use of tea and coffee for the purpose, the public was burdened with an additional charge of 16,000,000*l.*, which went into the pockets of the parties by whom that article was manufactured? (Hear, hear). Was it likely that such enormous profits should be made in a trade which was open to all the world? (Hear, hear). There was in fact, great competition in the malt-trade. The number of maltsters was not less than 5,000; and there was one paring the rate per cent. of the duty on beer, and on those other articles to which he had already referred. The duty on malt was 2*s* 7*d.* per bushel, or 57 per cent. a great measure by capital provided by cent.; and the hon. Gentleman opposite said that that duty was higher than the duty on coffee. So far from that being the fact, the rate of duty on West India coffee was 63 per cent. *ad valorem*, the price of barley and the price of malt, he recollected a calculation which was made by the hon. Member for Oldham last year. The hon. Member stated the price of barley to be 25*s.* per quarter, and the rate of duty at 20*s.* per quarter; he therefore concluded that the price of a quarter of malt ought to be, independent of the charges of its manufacture, 45*s.* But the hon. Member said that, in point of fact, the quarter of malt cost 66*s.*; so that a clear profit of 19*s.* per quarter went into the pockets of the maltster. He had observed, that the House ought not to estimate the gain which would accrue to the consumer from the repeal of the duty on malt solely by the amount of that duty: for that there were some enormous profits made by the maltsters which as soon as the malt-duty should be repealed, the public would cease to pay. The malt-duty was 20*s.* 6*d.* per quarter, and the total amount received by the Exchequer was not more than 5,000,000*l.* but according to the statement of the noble lord, a sum of 16,000,000*l.* was its way by some mysterious process into the hands of the maltsters, and was drawn among them. He (Sir R. Peel) certainly

but he would ask, was it credible that in this country, and in an open trade, such enormous profits should be made by the manufacturers of malt? Was it created as morality was concerned, he must say, that while the whole amount of that he doubted whether any great advantage was received by the Government on the use of tea and coffee for the purpose, the public was burdened with an additional charge of 16,000,000*l.*, which went into the pockets of the parties by whom that article was manufactured? (Hear, hear). Was it likely that such enormous profits should be made in a trade which was open to all the world? (Hear, hear). There was in fact, great competition in the malt-trade. The number of maltsters was not less than 5,000; and there was one paring the rate per cent. of the duty on beer, and on those other articles to which he had already referred. The duty on malt was 2*s* 7*d.* per bushel, or 57 per cent. a great measure by capital provided by cent.; and the hon. Gentleman opposite said that that duty was higher than the duty on coffee. So far from that being the fact, the rate of duty on West India coffee was 63 per cent. *ad valorem*, the price of barley and the price of malt, he recollected a calculation which was made by the hon. Member for Oldham last year. The hon. Member stated the price of barley to be 25*s.* per quarter, and the rate of duty at 20*s.* per quarter; he therefore concluded that the price of a quarter of malt ought to be, independent of the charges of its manufacture, 45*s.* But the hon. Member said that, in point of fact, the quarter of malt cost 66*s.*; so that a clear profit of 19*s.* per quarter went into the pockets of the maltster. He had observed, that the House ought not to estimate the gain which would accrue to the consumer from the repeal of the duty on malt solely by the amount of that duty: for that there were some enormous profits made by the maltsters which as soon as the malt-duty should be repealed, the public would cease to pay. The malt-duty was 20*s.* 6*d.* per quarter, and the total amount received by the Exchequer was not more than 5,000,000*l.* but according to the statement of the noble lord, a sum of 16,000,000*l.* was its way by some mysterious process into the hands of the maltsters, and was drawn among them. He (Sir R. Peel) certainly

turns increased, instead of having diminished. (Hear, hear, hear.) He was to the price of the quarter of barley the amount of the duty on malt, which was 20s. 8d., he calculated that the price of malt ought to be 60s. 6d. per quarter. The price of the best malt was in fact 66s. per quarter, leaving a difference of 5s. 4d. between the price of malt and the price of barley, increased by the amount of the duty. But he really did not think that after deducting the expenses of malting from the sum of 5s. 4d. any extravagant profit would remain to the maltsters. (Hear, hear.) The noble Marquis (Chandos) and the hon. Member (Major Handley) had spoken of the advantages which would result from the remission of the malt duty in consequence of the facility which would thereby be afforded to the farmer of malting barley, not for the purpose of making beer, but of feeding his cattle. Now, he (Sir R. Peel) had the satisfaction of being able to inform his noble friend, that his object was in a great measure effected by an order of the Board of Excise, which he was anxious to make public, and which he regretted had not been sufficiently known before. He apprehended that it was not necessary that barley, for the purpose of rendering it suitable for feeding cattle, should undergo the process of malting.

Major HANDLEY was understood to express his dissent from the statement of the right hon. Baronet.

Sir R. PEEL continued: He understood that if the barley were steeped and afterwards dried, all those valuable qualities which made it fit for food for cattle would be developed. He believed that the hon. Gentlemen (Major Handley) had stated that it would be highly advantageous to the farmer to be enabled to stack his barley for that purpose. He certainly did not credit the assertion that two bushels of malt equalled in nutritive quality three bushels of barley.

Mr CORBETT (we believe) observed that more nutriment was contained in two bushels of malt than in three bushels of barley.

Sir R. PEEL did not think such an assertion to be correct. He knew that two

bushels of malt would not produce the same quantity of spirit as three bushels of barley, and he therefore could not understand how it was possible for the former to contain a larger quantity of nutritive quality than the latter. He would now read the order of the Board of Excise to which he had already alluded, and to which he desired that the greatest publicity might be given. It was in the following terms:—"The practice of steeping barley in water to prepare it as food for cattle having become prevalent, and as the revenue may be injured by the application thereof to other purposes,—ordered that the respective supervisors and officers endeavour to ascertain the parties who carry on this practice within several districts, and their manner of disposing of the corn so steeped; but that no interruption whatever be given therein, except upon actual proof or well-founded suspicion of fraud. Particular attention must be paid to the situation of the premises where the corn may be steeped; with respect to any kiln or oven upon or in which it could be dried, as well as to the proportion which the quantities of barley steeped bear to the number of horses or other cattle to be fed therein; and if any suspicious circumstances shall be discovered, the matter must be fully investigated, and the particulars stated to the board." It would be seen that the object of that order was not to permit the malting of barley, but to afford facilities to the farmers to prepare that article for the purpose of feeding their cattle. (Hear, hear.) One favourite argument in favour of the repeal of the malt duty was, that it would encourage the poor man to brew his own beer. The arguments by which it was attempted to support that assertion appeared to him exceedingly defective. What inducement could the poor man have to brew his own beer which he did not possess at the present moment? Why should he not buy malt, and with that brew as much beer as he needed for his own consumption? The hon. Member for Oldham argued that in consequence of the high price of malt, and the large profits of the maltsters, it was quite impossible for the poor man to buy malt in retail.

But supposing that the malt duty were repealed, would the poor man then be in a better condition to compete with the great maltster? Would the poor man, in his small cottage, and with his limited means, be then better able to compete with the great maltsters with extensive capital, great skill and experience; and if not, what greater temptation would he have to brew than he had at present? (Hear, hear). If the poor man was disposed to brew his own beer, how was it that he did not do so previous to the repeal of the duty on beer? At that time a duty per barrel attached to the great brewer, and which the poor man, who chose to brew in his cottage, was not called on to pay. But if the poor man did not brew his own beer, then was it to be supposed that he could do so now? (Hear, hear). The hon. Gentleman (Major Handley) had said a great deal against the beer-shops, and like many others, who were very warm panegyrists of what they called our old national beverage, seemed to think that if drunk in beer-shops all its salutary qualities vanished at once (cheers and laughter), and he had come to the conclusion that beer was of no value unless it was drunk by labouring men in their own houses, and brewed by their own hands. (Hear, hear). He (Sir R. Peel) intreated the House not to consent to the loss of 5,000,000*l.* of revenue under the delusive expectation that encouragement would thereby be given to the agricultural labourers to brew their beer in their own cottages. (Hear, hear). The same reason which induced them to go to the beer-shop at present would continue to operate after the repeal of the malt duty. If the labouring man purchased his beer at the public-house, and took it away to drink at his own house, he might have the beer at a reduced rate. There was a considerable difference between the price of a pot of beer purchased at the public-house and carried away, and the price which was charged to a man who sat and consumed a pot beside the fire in the public-house. Notwithstanding, however, this difference of charge, there was something in the charm of good fire and of company, which tempted the labourer to pay an additional

penny for his pot of beer. (Hear, hear). And after the repeal of the malt duty, which would not reduce the price of the pot of beer more than a halfpenny, he believed that the same temptation would still exist. Let not the House then hazard a large amount of revenue for the sake of creating a small reduction in the price of a pot of beer, which after all would not be attended with the effect anticipated by its advocates. (Hear, hear). The hon. Gentleman (Major Handley) had spoken about the possibility of finding substitutes for the malt-tax, but he had only mentioned a few of these substitutes. This was undoubtedly very prudent on the part of the hon. Member, especially when the late which had attended the Member for Lincolnshire, the late Sir W. Ingilby (laughter), he meant to say the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, for that was the character assumed by the hon. Baronet (general laughter); was taken into consideration. The fate of that hon. Baronet was a warning to all hon. Members against appearing in the assumed part of Chancellor of the Exchequer. (Laughter). That hon. Baronet made a most popular motion on the subject of the malt duty, by which he conciliated all the advocates of the repeal of the tax. However, he unfortunately thought it necessary to suggest a few substitutes in the place of the malt-tax, which destroyed all the popularity which his motion of the repeal of that tax had gained for him, and cost him his seat in Parliament. He lost his election even for an agricultural county. Such would be the fate of every man who should rise to propose new taxes in lieu of the 5,000,000*l.* produced by the malt duty. (Hear, hear). He was therefore of opinion that the arguments founded on the advantage which the agricultural interest would derive from the repeal of the malt duty were not valid ones. Would that advantage be general or not? What description of agriculture, let him ask, was distressed? Were the light lands suffering most at the present moment, or the clay lands, which grew wheat? Was it not notorious that the clay lands growing wheat were the description of land which, at the present moment, was suf-

fering under the greatest depression? The only effect of repealing the malt duty would be to force the clay lands into an unnatural cultivation, and the owners would be induced, instead of growing wheat, to grow barley. Supposing that the available surplus of the revenue could be applied to the remission of the county rates, or to those local charges to which all land was subject, would not the advantage resulting from that remission be more equally distributed over the whole land than a reduction to the same amount of the duty on malt? (Hear, hear). The noble lord and the hon. gentleman opposite proposed to give the whole advantage of the remission of the malt duty to the barley growers, though that class of agriculturists was not the most distressed. He (Sir R. Peel) could not help thinking that, if the present motion succeeded, the agricultural interest generally would suffer more injury than many hon. gentlemen were perhaps aware of. (Hear, hear). By allowing the maltsters to give security for the payment of the duty, and suspending for a time its payment, a capital belonging to the public, amounting to about 3,000,000*l.* might be said to be lent them for the purpose of carrying on trade. In consequence of this practice individuals with small capital were enabled to engage in the manufacture of malt. If, however, the duty were repealed, this advantage given to small capitalists would be withdrawn, and the result, quite opposite to that expected by the advocates of the repeal of the duty, must inevitably be that the whole malting trade would be monopolized by a few large capitalists. (Hear). If the House did away with the malt-tax, he would ask what they expected would be the consequences of the total repeal of that impost? His noble friend said, that if the malt-tax were taken off, there would be a great increase in the consumption of beer. Now he (Sir R. Peel) must say that he had an impression that the very contrary effect would be produced by the removal of the tax. He was greatly afraid that the direct consequence would be to promote illicit distillation, for although it was comparatively difficult to distil spirits from unmalted barley, the process by which

cit spirits were distilled from the barley after it had been made into malt was very easy. (Hear, hear). He would ask then hon. members how, with the increased facilities given to the defrauder of the public revenue by the removal of the malt-tax, it would be possible for the Excise to watch the proceedings of the unfair trader with the same vigilance and success with which they now checked him, without interfering with the domestic concerns of private individuals to such a degree that the country would never submit to it? (Hear, hear). The result then would be, not as his noble Friend had anticipated, an increase in the consumption of beer, and consequently in the consumption of malt, but a positive reduction in the revenue, produced by the duty on spirits, and a great increase in the amount of illicit distillation. For these reasons, then, he was of opinion that the benefits which were looked for from the repeal of the malt-tax would not follow its removal, and he thought that unless some inestimable advantage was clearly shown to be the necessary consequence of its immediate repeal, hon. Members ought to pause before they gave their votes in favour of a measure which struck at nearly one-third of the disposable revenue of the country. (Cheers). But what course was the House to pursue when they had adopted the resolution of his noble Friend? His noble Friend had indeed declared his intention, when the House should have sanctioned the principle which his resolution embodied, to bring in a bill to settle all the details. But had his noble Friend calculated into what embarrassment and confusion trade would be thrown in the meanwhile, and in what uncertainty the whole of the malt trade would be placed by his resolution? What brewer would purchase a single bushel of malt while he saw matters in this state? He would undertake to say that malt would suffer an immediate depreciation of 4*s.* or 5*s.* the quarter; for the House might rely upon it that if hopes were held out to the public that the malt-tax should be no longer paid after the 10. of October 1836, no man, except for immediate use, would malted barley, the process by which

do both without being subject to a duty. (Hear). But supposing the House determined to vote in favour of his noble Friend's resolution, what was the course it proposed to pursue? There were but four methods which could be suggested for its adoption, and one out of the four they must act upon. The House might increase the duties imposed on other articles of consumption, or they could resort to a property-tax (hear, hear), or they might look to a reduction of the estimates. (Great cheering from the opposition). He could assure hon. Members that he felt no pleasure in witnessing improvident expenditure, and that he had no interest to serve in maintaining the present amount of the public burdens; but he would ask any man in that House, whether he conscientiously believed that looking to the reductions which had been made by Lord Althorp in the last year, and to the other reduction in taxation to the amount of 500,000*l.* which would be made in the present year; whether, looking at this, it was possible to make any even the most trifling reduction in the estimates? But, at any rate, if any reduction was to be effected, let the question of such reduction be looked at abstractedly with reference to its own merits (hear, hear), and not with a view to substitute the sum thus saved for the produce of the malt-tax. But he really could not persuade himself that any man, bearing in mind the reductions which had been made, and the demands of the West India proprietors on the public purse, could hope to replace the 4,600,000*l.* which the malt-tax furnished, consistently with the maintenance of the public honour and regard to the interests of the country, by any considerable reduction in the sums due for the public service. (Cheers). But the money must be obtained from some source. He would, however, caution those gentlemen who looked for a substitute for the malt-tax in an increased duty on other articles of consumption against hoping that an increased duty either on wine or spirits or beer would lay the foundation of a large permanent addition to the revenue of the country. (Hear). Now as to spirits, what benefit would it be to the agricultural interest that a heavier tax should be

laid upon spirits? Why, what were they made from? (Hear, hear). They were distilled from barley. (Laughter and cheers). If an additional tax of 1*s.* a gallon were to be imposed on spirits, it would be equivalent to laying a tax of 16*s.* a quarter on malt. He believed that from a bushel of malt would be obtained two gallons of spirits, and thus there would be laid a tax of 16*s.* a quarter on barley, and that too on the poorest description of barley. (Cheers). But there were other considerations which affected this question. In the course of last session the House declared that there should be a reduction of the duty on spirits in Ireland, and yet some hon. Members were now favourable to the project of increasing the duty on spirits. Now, he must say that this unsatisfactory course, of purpose, this constant vacillation (loud cheers), was really the unwise course that could be adopted by a legislative assembly. In the course of last session it was proposed to lower the duty on Irish spirits from 3*s.* 4*d.* to 2*s.* a gallon; yet it was now in contemplation to increase the duty on spirits. Perhaps, however, this objection might be met by a proposition to raise the duty on spirits only in England. Did they then propose to reduce the duty to 2*d.* in Ireland, and raise it 1*s.* in England? (Hear, hear). Why then he would say, that such an anomalous mode of taxation would offer a temptation to smuggling too strong to be resisted. (Loud cheers). It was impossible but that with so large a bonus thus held out to the unfair trader, he would fully avail himself of the advantage which he might thus afford him. He might propose to tax Ireland and England in this respect in the same probable manner. First let them ascertain what had been the result of the reduction of duty on spirits in Ireland. (Hear). He had that morning received an account, from which it appeared that on a comparison of the last four months with the corresponding period of last year, 1,000,000 gallons more spirits had been brought to charge. (Cheers). With the knowledge he possessed of this fact, he hoped he might be excused for asking if the hon. Members who advocated the increase of the duty on spirits were quite

sure they would raise the revenue by that method of taxation. But this was not the only danger. The farmer would find that when by the removal of the malt tax the illicit distillation of spirits was encouraged in the manner which he had before described, that the defrauders of the revenue would distil, not from grain but from molasses, on account of the greater facility of distillation, and as chemical knowledge increased, it would be applied in a more extensive and systematic manner to that kind of distillation, and in large towns more especially. In increasing then the duties on other articles of consumption, there could be no object beyond that of adding to the resources of the country, and he hoped he had satisfactorily shown that, by attempting to make that addition, they would benefit no one interest, they would injure agriculture, and would ruin the revenue. (Cheers). He now came to the third substitute proposed for the malt-tax, and this was a property-tax. (Loud cries of hear, from all parts of the House). There was a majority of the House, under circumstances not dissimilar to the present, when the late Chancellor of the Exchequer had at his disposal an available surplus of 1,500,000*l.*, and with this it was proposed to make up for the repeal of the malt-tax and the house and window tax, amounting in the whole to 5,000,000*l.* sterling. The surplus which, after providing for the exigencies of the public service, would be at the disposal of Parliament in the present year was 250,000*l.*, and the proposition was now renewed which was made when there was a surplus of 1,500,000*l.* (Loud hear). But even with that surplus a large majority decided that the revenue which would be given up by the repeal of the malt-tax could only be supplied by the imposition of a property-tax. Now his prophecy was, that they would make that tax necessary (loud cries of hear), to that they must come if they repealed the malt-tax. (Great cheering). They would try their taxes on trifling articles of consumption, on tobacco and spirits, and wine (hear, hear), and they would meet with a storm which would make them, he said, undo what they had been doing. (Renewed cheering). To a property-tax, then, they must come; "and," continued the right hon. Baronet, "I congratulate you, gentlemen of the landed interest, on finding yourselves relieved from the pressure of the malt-tax, and falling on a good property-tax, with a proposal for a graduated scale. (Great cheering and laughter). And you who represent the heavy land of this country (general and continued laughter and cheering), I felicitate you on the prospect which lies before you" If they believed that the substitute would be advantageous to their interests, let them not, when they found out their mistake, lay the blame upon those who warned them in time, but upon their own comprehensive views and sound judgment. (Cheers). His noble Friend (the Marquis of Chandos) had made some calculations to which he (Sir R. Peel) hesitated to subscribe, certainly he thought he had made a mistake in some of his figures. His noble Friend had calculated that the extent of advantage which would accrue by the repeal of the duty on malt, to a farmer occupying a farm of 250 acres, would amount to between 70*l.* and 80*l.* a-year. Now he had certainly never heard so favourable an account of agriculture, that a farmer of land of that number of acres consumed so much beer as to make that difference to him in a year. The Marquis of CHANDOS (we believe) made some observations which we did not catch. Sir R. PEEL continued. He believed that the average quantity of beer consumed on farms of this size was about 150 hogsheads a year, and yet if his noble Friend's calculations were correct, the occupier must consume something like 500 or 600. But he would resume at the point from which he broke off. He had been diverted from the consideration of the manner in which a property-tax would operate as a substitute for the malt duty. The hon. and learned Member for Ireland (laughter), he meant for Dublin, in reference to the imposition of a property-tax, had said that if it was to be laid on, it ought to affect all his Majesty's subjects equally. He begged then the representatives

of Ireland to consider what would be their situation if they voted for the repeal of the duty on malt. It would be infinitely worse than that of the occupiers of other soils. (Loud cries of Hear, hear.) Ireland paid at present but 240,000*l.* out of the 4,600,000*l.* which the malt-tax produced, and it would be a great hardship to Ireland to have a property-tax imposed upon her as a countervailing substitute for her moderate proportion of the malt-tax. (Hear, hear.) They might depend upon it, however, that a property-tax was inevitable if the malt-tax was repealed, and the attempt to, he would not say levy that tax, for he was sure the people of Ireland would obey the laws, but to exact it, would be a fruitless undertaking. He now came to the fourth alternative, and that was to make a deficit and do nothing (laughter and cheering), and he was afraid there were many members who, when it came to the trial, would upon the whole make up their minds to act in that manner (renewed laughter and cheering); who, upon the whole, would prefer that plan. The hon. Member (Mr. Handley) had recommended a small loan (a laugh), but why not a large one? (Laughter renewed.) He also had suggested the sale of the Crown lands, and advised that there should be no jobbing in granting the Crown leases. Now he (Sir R. Peel) had always thought the Crown was an indulgent landlord. But as to the proposition for raising a loan to meet this deficit, he earnestly hoped that the House would not resort to that discreditable alternative, that they would not consent to incur the risk of that disgrace, if, after having made the declaration which was the object of the noble lord's motion, they found it impossible to maintain the service of the state without some adequate equivalent. By keeping up the public credit, and preserving the public faith, what was the amount of gain which was to be carried to the public account? By keeping up the value of the public securities, and faithfully performing the national engagements, the Government of the country had been enabled, since the year 1822, to make a remission of the public burdens to the amount of 2,350,000*l.* (Hear.) If they continued to pursue the same course, they would derive the same advantages. They had a debt of 250,000,000*l.* in the 3½ per cents., which they might hope to redeem at no distant period. They had the experience of the benefits of good faith, but if they were careless to secure the honour of England, and maintain the national credit, they would simultaneously lose that fame which hitherto had always sustained us. (Great cheering.) He hoped the House would not submit to that contradiction to which it must submit, if they gave in to the present resolution. He warned the House not to forget, that on this very question of the malt-tax, they had, on three different occasions, retraced their steps. (Hear, hear.) In the year 1811 the House of Commons took a part of the malt-tax off, but found themselves obliged to put it on again in 1814. In 1821 the House, by a small majority, took the whole of the tax off, but in one month after, in the following April, they were obliged to rescind this vote, the offspring of their hasty legislation. In the year 1833 the House, in a moment of enthusiasm at the prospect of the advantages expected from the remission of this tax, resolved that it should be partly repealed, but on reflection they found it necessary to rescind on the Monday the resolution to which they had come on the previous Friday, by passing a counter resolution in the following words:—Resolved, that the deficiency in the revenue which would be occasioned by the reduction of the tax on malt to 10*s.* the quarter, and the repeal of the tax on houses and windows, could only be supplied by the substitution of a general tax upon property and income, and an extensive change in our whole financial system, which would at present be inexpedient. If, then, a majority of the House should agree to the motion of his noble Friend, there would be no other safe alternative but retraction and repentance. (Hear, hear.) If they came to that vote to-night, they would again have to subject themselves to the charge of vacillation and inconsistency. It was his desire to rescue Parliament from that charge which induced him to entreat them to consider what would be the effect of their

present vote. He had been told that there was no hope of keeping on the malt-tax. He had been informed that there were no many members who were pledged to their constituents to repeal the malt duty, that they could not help themselves, and must vote in favour of its abolition. But his uniform answer was, that he could not believe that men, having heard the deliberations in that house, would be influenced by any other consideration than an attention to the interests of their country. (Hear). He was so sure that with a mere surplus of 250,000*l.*, they would never think of taking off the malt-tax without a proper substitute, that he could not believe those who told him he must despair of a majority, or that the House would sanction so rash and dangerous a measure. (Hear, hear). He still retained that hope, but whatever might be the determination of the House, it was enough for him to have stated his views; but if the House chose to reject them, he would leave them subject to the responsibility of the consequences. (The right hon. baronet resumed his seat amid loud and continued cheering from all parts of the House, which lasted for some time after he had sat down.)

[Mr. Hume's Speech, and the conclusion of the debate, will be given next week.]

From the *LONDON GAZETTE*.

FRIDAY, MARCH 6.

BANKRUPTS.

ASKHAM, W., sen., Eckington, Derbyshire, surgeon.
BATES, J., Clapham, linen-draper.
PARNHAM, B., High-street, Shadwell and Liverpool, sail-maker.

TUESDAY, MARCH 10.

INSOLVENTS.

BEVAN, C., Great Portland-street, Mary-bonne, glass and china-dealer.
TELFER, G., Phoenix Wharf, City Basin, coal-merchant.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

KEY, W., London-wall, cheesemonger.

BANKRUPTS.

ABRAHAM, P., Briggate, Yorksh., jeweller.
ALLPORT, J., Stourbridge, Worcestershire, upholsterer.
BARNARD, R., Bollingbroke, Kent, paper-maker.
BULMAN, J., Great Tower-street, porter and ale-merchant.
CARTER, J., Coleman-street, woollen-ware-housman.
COOPER, J., Liverpool, joiner.
COLE, R., Basinghall-street, scrivener.
CROSS, W. H., Leeds, victualler.
CROWTHER, T., Openshaw and Ardwick, Lancashire, joiner.
HIDER, A., Oxford, Kent, cheesemonger and grocer.
HOLLOWAY, W., Dorset-street, Clapham-road, brewer.
SHIELDS, J., Bridge-road, Lambeth, wire-worker.
THOMAS, N., Manchester, upholsterer.
TIPPER, S., Whitebrook Mills, Monmouth-shire, paper-manufacturer.
TURNER, J., Honiton, Devonshire, tea-dealer.
WILLIAMS, W. P., and W. Williams, Bexley, Kent, drapers.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, March 9.

—We have had a fair supply of Wheat, Flour, Barley, Oats, and other articles; our buyers are holding off, in expectation of large arrivals when the weather becomes less stormy.

Wheat and malting Barley exceedingly dull and at Monday's prices. Beans 1*s.* per qr. cheaper. In grinding Barley and Peas no alteration.

The Oat trade was very dull this morning, and the demand limited, and prices rather worse than this day week; there is but little prospect of this market rallying steadily unless our supplies fall off materially. If we experience a scarcity of this article and higher prices this season, it will be at a more distant period than once anticipated.

Wheat, English, White, new	42 <i>s.</i> to 50 <i>s.</i>
Old	48 <i>s.</i> to 50 <i>s.</i>
Red, new	38 <i>s.</i> to 42 <i>s.</i>
Old	38 <i>s.</i> to 40 <i>s.</i>
Lincolnshire, red	36 <i>s.</i> to 41 <i>s.</i>
White	42 <i>s.</i> to 43 <i>s.</i>
Yorkshire, red	36 <i>s.</i> to 40 <i>s.</i>
White	40 <i>s.</i> to 42 <i>s.</i>
Northumberland & Berwick	37 <i>s.</i> to 40 <i>s.</i>
White	37 <i>s.</i> to 41 <i>s.</i>
Dundee & choice Scotch	40 <i>s.</i> to 42 <i>s.</i>

Irish red, good	35s. to 36s.
White	38s. to 40s.
Rye	30s. to 34s.
New	34s. to 36s.
Barley, English, grinding	24s. to 28s.
Distilling	28s. to 32s.
Malting	32s. to 35s.
Chevalier	38s. to 40s.
Malt	44s. to 54s.
Fine new	56s. to 64s.
Beans, Tick, new	34s. to 36s.
Old	38s. to 40s.
Harrow, new	36s. to 38s.
Old	40s. to 43s.
Peas, White, English	36s. to 38s.
Foreign	35s. to 36s.
Gray or Hog	36s. to 38s.
Maples	38s. to 40s.
Oats, Polands	24s. to 26s.
Lincolnshire, short small	22s. to 24s.
Lincolnshire, feed	21s. to 23s.
Yorkshire, feed	22s. to 24s.
Black	23s. to 25s.
Northumberland and Ber-	
wick Potato	26s. to 28s.
Ditto, Angus	24s. to 26s.
Banff and Aberdeen, com.	24s. to 26s.
Potato	26s. to 28s.
Irish Potato, new	20s. to 23s.
Feed, new light	19s. to 20s.
Black, new	20s. to 21s.
Foreign feed	22s. to 24s.
Danish and Pomerian, old	20s. to 21s.
Petersburgh, Riga, &c.	22s. to 23s.
Foreign, in bond, feed	12s. to 14s.
Brew	16s. to 18s.

SMITHFIELD, March 2.

This day's supply of Beasts, Sheep, and Porkers, was good; of Lambs and Calves rather limited. Trade was, with a few exceptions, unusually dull, at no considerable variation from Friday's prices.

About 2,000 of the Beasts, nearly as quite two-thirds of which were Scots, the remainder about equal numbers of Derrons, Shorthorns, and homebreds, with a few Herefords, and Irish Beasts, were, for the most part, from Norfolk, with about 400 from Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 500, in about equal numbers of Shorthorns, Devons, Scots, Welsh runts, and Irish Beasts, from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, and others of our northern districts; about 150, in about equal numbers of Herefords, Devons, and Welsh runts, from our western and midland districts; about 50, chiefly Sussex Steers and Oxen, from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey; the most of the remainder, including about 10 Towns'-end Cows, from the small dealers, near London.

About a moiety of the Sheep were from Leicesters, in about equal numbers of the Southdown and white-faced breeds; the other

fourth Southdowns; and the remainder about equal numbers of old Leicesters, horned and polled Norfolk, Kents and Kentish half-breeds, with a few pens of old Lincolns, horned Dorsets and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c. The Lambs, in number about 300, were chiefly Dorsets, with a few pens of West Sussex Southdowns.

Per stone of 8lbs. sinking offal.

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Inferior Beef	2	0	2	2
Ditto Mutton	2	2	2	4
Middling Beef	2	4	2	8
Ditto Mutton	2	8	3	0
Prime Beef	3	4	3	10
Ditto Mutton	3	6	4	0
Veal	3	0	5	0
Pork	3	0	4	0
Lamb	5	4	6	0

I recommend

THE FUNDS.

	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
3 per Cent.	91½	91½	91½	91½	91½	91½
5 per Cent.	91½	91½	91½	91½	91½	91½

CHEAP CLOTHING FOR THE SEASON.

AT

SWAIN AND CO.'s Tailors, 93, Fleet-street, near the avenue leading to St. Bride's church.

FOR CASH ONLY.

A Suit of Superfine Clothes	4	18	0
Ditto, Blue or Black	5	10	0
Ditto, Imperial Saxony cloth	6	0	0
Waterproof Great coat	3	3	0
A Set of Livery	4	10	0

And every other article equally cheap.

I recommend Messrs. Swain and Co. as very good and punctual tradesmen, whom I have long employed with great satisfaction.

WM. COBBETT.

Just published,

A LATIN GRAMMAR, for the use of English Boys; being, an Explanation of the Rudiments of the Latin Language. By PAUL COBBETT.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and sold by all the Booksellers in London, at 11, Fleet-court, Fleet-street.



THE MALT-TAX,

KEPT UPON THE BACKS OF THE
PEOPLE BY THE WHIGS.*

Normandy, 16. March, 1835.

OPRESSED WORKING PEOPLE OF ENGLAND,

You have always heard me say, that the faction called **THE WHIGS** have been the great destroyers of the liberties and the happiness of the people of England; and I have now to produce to you the proof, the clear proof, that this faction has by no means changed its character; but that it is still the great destroyer of those liberties and of that happiness. In the most clear and elaborate manner I have proved, that the malt-tax costs the people of England from eleven to thirteen millions of pounds sterling a year. Those of you who live in the country know all the monstrous mischiefs that it produces amongst the persons employed in agriculture; you know that it is one great cause of driving the married man from his home to the beer-houses; that it is one great cause of driving the young people from service in husbandry in the farm-houses; that it is the greatest of all the causes of those offences which fill the jails all over the kingdom, with men who ought to be at work; that it is monstrously injurious to the occupier of land by preventing him from turning his barley to the account of feeding horses and cattle, in the half-malted or whole malted form: you know well that if this monstrous tax were repealed, the change would go far towards that revival of agriculture, without which no branch of industry can long flourish, and without which there must arise a state of things to menace the existence of every one of

the existing ancient institutions of the country. It was, therefore, above all things, desirable, that this tax should be repealed; and a motion was made for this purpose, in the House of Commons, on Tuesday the 10th of this month of March, by the **MARQUIS OF CHANDOS**, who is one of the members for the county of **BUCKINGHAM**. After a long debate the House divided, about one o'clock in the morning, when there appeared

For the repeal 192
Against the repeal . . 350

Majority 158

Now, my friends, it is for you to be informed, and to recollect, that this decision, so injurious to the people, was occasioned by the **WHIGS JOINING THE MINISTER, IN OPPOSITION TO THE REPEAL!** This is a thing for you *never to forget*. Here was an opportunity for giving effectual relief to the working millions of England and Wales particularly; and to those of Ireland and Scotland, in a very great degree. Here was no "*revolution*" called for; no *innovation* called for, by the people; no proposal to pull down, or tear to pieces, any "*ancient institution*"; but merely to repeal an act of Parliament, cruelly injurious to the millions of this nation. It was now, therefore, that these Whigs, who have been so loudly calling out against *Tory-tyranny*; and who have been getting together crowds of silly people, to utter resolutions against the King himself, because he turned the Whigs out of place; it was now for these Whigs to show, that they had some feeling for the people, they having it completely in their power to compel the *Tory-minister* to give up the tax. By prevailing upon the real friends of the people to join them, they had obtained two triumphant majorities over the *Tory-minister*; those same majorities were at their command now for the repeal of this tax; but those majorities they employed from their own selfish hopes of driving him from his

place, and *getting into that place themselves*. The present was quite another matter; if this tax were repealed, they would have many millions less to handle if they got into place; and therefore, with a degree of earnestness, of anxiety, and of bitterness, hardly describable, **THEY OPPOSED THE REPEAL OF THIS TAX**; and thereby made good all the accusations that I have ever preferred against them during the thirty years that I have been engaged, in great part of my time, in exposing the greediness, the hard-heartedness, and all the hateful qualities of this depraved political faction.

Lists of the NAMES of those who voted in the majority and in the minority have been published in some of the newspapers; but these lists not having been published in a manner sufficiently correct for me to rely upon, I can give only the NUMBERS; but I can at the same time assert that one hundred and one of those persons who notoriously belong to the Whig-faction, and who voted against the repeal on this occasion. If they had voted for the repeal, instead of against it, there would have been for the repeal *two hundred and ninety-three*; against it, *two hundred and forty-nine*; and of course there would have been a majority for the repeal of *forty-four*. Therefore, my friends, remember, that this decision against the industrious classes of the community has been occasioned *solely by the faction called the Whigs*; a fact which ought to be recollected by every honest and sensible man in the kingdom. I shall, doubtless, obtain hereafter a correct list of the names, both of the majority and the minority; but it is quite sufficient for us to know, that the principal speakers against the repeal, the most loud, the most vehement, the most strenuous, in every respect, were, Mr. WOOD, late Whig Secretary of the Treasury, Member for HALIFAX, and son-in-law of Lord GREY; Mr. SPRING RICE, a Whig Secretary of State, and Mr. POULSTON THOMSON, Whig President of the Board of Trade. I know, also, that Lord JOHN RUSSELL (the now-leader of the Whigs, and late Whig paymaster of the forces); that Mr. LITTLETON, the Whig Secretary for Ire-

land; that Sir JOHN CAMPBELL, the Whig Attorney-general; that Sir JAMES GRAHAM, the Whig First Lord of the Admiralty; that Lord EBRINGTON, who is regarded as the grandfather, father, and godfather of the Whigs; that Lord MORPETH, the mover of the Whig amendment to the Address; that Lord HOWICK, son of Lord GREY, and a Whig Under-Secretary of State: I know that *all these voted against the repeal of the malt-tax*; and that they were accompanied in their vote by all the underlings that had belonged to their administration. What base men must those be, then, who would make us believe that *the King has done wrong*, in turning out this faction; and what *foolish* men must those real friends of the people have been, who voted with them, in order to give them their two majorities over the Tory Minister! Those two majorities would have turned the Tory Minister out of his place; but he knew well, that the moment the repeal of the malt-tax was proposed, he might object to it, if he liked; that he was sure, in such a case, to have these Whigs at his back; and that, *after that*, no man of common sense would ever stir hand, foot, or tongue, to turn him out, and to put those Whigs in his place. Events have already verified his opinion. The Whigs threatened to *stop the Supplies*. Mr. HUME, taking them to be sincere, gave notice of a motion to that effect, for Friday last; but he discovered that *the majority was gone*! The friends of the people, who had supported the Whigs, and given them their majority, were not such wretched fools as to give them another majority after their conduct on the malt-tax; and there they now are, a faction without the smallest degree of power, acting towards the Tories just the part that the Tories acted towards them before!

It is a curious fact, and one that you ought to bear in mind, that this odious and most cruel tax was *first laid on by the Whigs*, in the year 1701, to support the Whig king, whom they had brought from Holland; but that, so strenuous were the efforts of the Tories against the Whig-faction, they would not suffer the tax to be granted except *for a year*;

besides which permission was retained for private persons to make malt for the consumption of their own families, by compounding at a very moderate rate. This was a great mitigation of the severity; because then the farmer prevented that destruction of his barley, which now takes place for want of the same power; and it enabled him to give beer in plenty to his family, and to his working men. This permission continued until the year 1783; when, at the close of the American war, the DEADLY WHIGS got into power again; and then they took away this permission, having discovered at the end of *eighty-three years*, that the permission was *not a proper thing*! From that day to this places of public resort for drinking have increased twenty-fold; and all the crimes and miseries attendant on the haunting of such places have gone on prodigiously increasing. The farmer could not *sell* his malt; could not *barter* it; could not give it *in payment* for labour, to be carried away in malt from his house; but he could brew abundantly for his people, at his house, and in his fields. His beer, which came to him so cheap, formed part of his means of carrying on his farm, and a large part of those means too; it caused plenty of good drink to be always in the farm-house; and was one great cause of that harmony amongst landlords, farmers, and labourers, which existed fifty years ago. In a fatal hour for England, the ALL-DESTROYING WHIGS got possession of the fiscal powers again; and by the Act 23rd George the Third, chapter 64, they laid the foundation of all the misery, all the crimes, all the hostile and deadly feeling of the poor towards the rich, which now disfigure and disgrace this once most admirably happy agricultural community. Townspeople then used to go to the country, in order to be sure to meet with good ale and strong beer at farm-houses. Now all has been swept away by this ruthless faction; and we see, in the instance before us, that length of time, prosperity, adversity, public danger, even to themselves; that nothing can change the nature of this faction; but that, like the serpent, it hands down its poison from generation to generation.

At last, however, after this vote on the malt-tax, it has become ASHAMED OF ITS NAME. Its vile hireling newspapers in London have dropped the use of the word "WHIG"; and have given to the faction the name of "REFORMERS"! Curious reformers, to vote against the repeal of the malt-tax. However, I have here said quite enough to show you who it is that has defeated us upon this occasion; and with this knowledge in your minds you will, I trust, not in future be easily deceived by the hirelings of this faction; and having done this, I have only to add my hope, that every friend of mine will give as wide a circulation as possible to this little paper. And I remain your friend and most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

TO

SIR ROBERT PEELE,

On his Speech against the Repeal of the Malt-Tax.

Normandy Farm, 16. March, 1835.

SIR,—The House of Commons will remember, that I attempted to answer you; but that I was so *very hoarse* that I could not make myself understood at six feet from the spot where I was standing. My answer would have no effect in the House, but it would have had an effect *out of the House*; and every day I become more and more thoroughly convinced, that there is no hope of a restoration of freedom and of good living in England, except in "the pressure from without." Having been unable to do what I wished in the House, I am now in this manner about to make up, as far as I can, for that want of ability.

I will not dwell here on the extraordinary opening of your speech: except, for a little, on that part of it which was an open encouragement, and an attempt to justify members of Parliament assuming the high character of "*Conservatives*," in breaking their pledges, most solemnly given to those who had elected them, and who had elected them on the ground of those pledges, and on no other grounds! Whether it be right or wrong to give pledges at all is quite another matter;

and a matter that does not come into consideration here; but there is no man who has any pretensions to moral honesty who will not condemn the breaking of a pledge after it has been solemnly given. If this be justifiable there is an end to all faith, all confidence, between man and man. When a gentleman has got the promises of votes at an election, he looks upon those electors as base wretches who break their promises to him. How many humble men have said to me at PRESTON and at COVENTRY: "I should like to vote for you, Mr. CORBETT, but I have promised my vote to the other party." This has happened to me in a thousand instances; and in all the thousand not one man will say, that I ever asked him to break his promise. And upon what ground did you so strenuously encourage and urge this pledge-breaking? Upon the ground of the *interest* of the parties breaking their pledges. You varnished this over, indeed, with "*public good*," "*public safety*," "*national faith*"; that your reasoning to make this ground good was not worth a straw, I am about to show; but if your reasoning had been good, instead of being good for nothing, we are come to a fine pass indeed, if the breach of promises made by the representatives to their constituents, could find a justification in any thing; it must have been a tremendous public evil indeed, which could have been in amount equal to the blasting of the character of a majority of the House of Commons; and well indeed was it observed by the noble marquis who made the motion, "that, though he deeply lamented the loss of his motion, that though he lamented still more the determination of the House to consummate the ruin of the farmer, still in the end these would be nothing compared with the loss of the character of the House." He might have said, the loss of character of those who have assumed the sublime character of "*Conservatives*," and who have given to the sincere part of their opponents the name of "*Destructives*." Yours is destruction, sir; I do not know one of those "*Destructives*" who would have broken his pledge. Take at once the name of "*pledge-breaking*" party, instead of

"*Conservative*" party, and then there will be sincerity and sense in your conduct at any rate.

Now as to the topics of the speech. You first began by stating the amount of the tax, the gross proceeds of which, for 1834, you stated at five millions one hundred and fifty thousand pounds; and the payments into the Exchequer at four millions six hundred and seventy thousand pounds. Here then the cost of collecting this tax is four hundred and eighty thousand pounds a year; and yet you twisted the thing about, one way and the other way, till you came to an assertion, unsupported by any fact, that the collection of the tax costs only a hundred and fifty thousand pounds a year. An honest committee of the House of Commons would bring proof upon the table, that the malt-tax costs five-sixths of the expenses of the whole of the excise.

Your next assertion was, that if the malt-tax were taken off it would cause the price of beer to be *only a halfpenny a pot cheaper than it now is*. This monstrous assertion you copied from the *Times* newspaper. It is as clear as figures can make it, that malt would be at the same price that barley would be, bushel for bushel; even if made by a maltster for sale; because eight bushels of barley make nine bushels of malt; and the increase of bulk amply pays for the expenses of the malting. Now then, when barley is from twenty-five to thirty shillings a quarter, but fix it at thirty, malt to the domestic consumer is nine shillings a bushel. So that, supposing that the repeal of the malt-tax would leave all the malt to be made by maltsters for sale, a quarter of malt would cost me thirty shillings instead of the seventy-two shillings that it must now cost me; and yet you tell us, that it would reduce my beer in price only a halfpenny a pot. You seem to think, that all beer is to be made for sale, even after the repeal of the malt-tax; but did you make the "*PLEDGE-BREAKERS*" believe, that even the public brewers (who we will suppose now to sell beer on an average at fourpence a pot) would take off only an eighth part of the price, when the malt should cost less than half the sum that it costs now? This would hardly

be believed by "PLEDGE-BREAKERS"; and certainly not be pretended to be believed by any other of God's creatures.

However, you not only called in question, but contradicted, my statement of last year, relative to the amount of the monopoly by maltsters, and dealers in malt, arising out of this tax; and you said that, considering the natural effects of competition, it was impossible for you to believe, that maltsters made such immense profits; and that, to ascertain the fact, you had just been to MARK-LANE, where you had found the price of barley to be from thirty-six to forty shillings the quarter; and the price of malt to be sixty-six shillings the quarter. So that the barley costing *forty shillings*, and the duty *twenty shillings and eightpence*, left the maltster only five-and-fourpence profit upon a quarter of malt. The "*Wife of Bath*," just before she gives her spouse a pair of black eyes, exclaims, "All this thou sayest, and all thou sayest are lies." Not lies of yours; but lies put into your mouth by villanous monopolists, who are the darling children of the father of lies. The price of barley at MARK-LANE, on that very day, or the day before, stood thus:

Barley, English grinding . .	26s. to 28s.
— Distilling	28s. to 32s.
— Malting	32s. to 35s.
— Chevalier	38s. to 42s.

Now, sir, if you had understood any of these matters you would not have made the statement which you have made. The *Chevalier* barley is, as yet, a matter of curiosity, rather than of general sale. The price of malting barley was, then; from thirty-two to thirty-five shillings; that is to say, thirty-three shillings and sixpence. Add the duty; and the cost to the maltster is fifty-four shillings and twopence. Here, then, according to your own statement of the price of malt, is a gain of twelve shillings a quarter, even upon the *Mark-lane* prices; but you must add to this, the gain of one bushel upon eight; that is to say, six shillings, leaving out the duty; so that here, according to your *Mark-lane* affair, there arises a monopolist's charge upon a quarter of malt, of eighteen shil-

lings; and I had stated it only at nineteen shillings, even at buying it at a retail, as I myself bought it. So that, instead of your five shillings and fourpence, it is eighteen shillings of monopoly-charge, occasioned by the tax. But, sir, it is not to MARK-LANE that we go, to purchase hundreds and thousands of quarters of malt at a time. We go to buy a quarter, a sack, or a bushel; and that malt which sells at MARK-LANE for sixty-six shillings, we have to give at the rate of between seventy and eighty shillings for. It was delightful to hear Sir JAMES GRAHAM, once the proposer of a deduction of thirty per cent. from the interest of the debt, now so strenuous an advocate for the support of "*public credit*" by the means of the malt-tax. He, too, in rivalry with Mr. SPRING RICE, backed your opinion as to my mis-statement of the last year; and said that, as a clear proof of the great correctness of your statement, relative to the profits of malting, he knew that where barley had been sent to a malt-house to be malted, and to be taken back again in malt, *five shillings a quarter* was the price paid for malting. But the sublime baronet, in his haste to corroborate your statement, and to pay his court to what he deemed the rising sun, forgot that there was some little difference between malting another man's barley, for which the maltster had paid no money, and for which he wanted no customer; and the malting of barley, first purchased by himself, and then sold to, to be paid for by, customers. He forgot to tell us besides, that in such case the maltster returns bushel for bushel, and keeps the ninth bushel of malt for himself.

But, sir, are all the world liars, except you and Sir JAMES GRAHAM and Mr. SPRING RICE, and the *faithful band of Conservatives* placed at your back? Before the Beer-house Committee of last year, Mr. GOODLAKE, a magistrate of Berkshire, gave the reasons why the great brewers supplanted those who brewed their beer at the beer-shops. And he told the committee, that the poor publican was compelled to give *nine and sixpence* a bushel for his malt, when the brewer, who made his own malt, got it

at about *six and threepence* the bushel. Mr. EDWARD GREEN, a maltster, of WAR-GRAVE, in Berkshire, said. I could now furnish malt at *six and threepence* a bushel; and our poor people, if they go to buy malt retail of a maltster are "charged *eight and sixpence* a bushel." And this, sir, is the point to look at: it is the injury which the monopoly does to private persons; and it is manifest that this monopoly arises solely out of the tax.

But this word "competition" is a favourite word; *competition* will correct things, where all is free, where there is no force, no penalties, no licenses, no restraints; but where there are these, competition is an empty sound. The reason of the heavy weight of the monopoly is the vast injury and intolerable vexation created by the tax. Maltsters are exposed to great loss by the restraints imposed by the Excise. No man likes another man to come into his house, at all hours of the day and night when he pleases: nothing but a base passive obedience-monger will, contentedly, put up with the intrusion and the menaces of excisemen. Whole crowds of maltsters are frequently in attendance at an excise-sitting, to obtain a mitigated sentence of ruin; and frequently from the mere errors or from the malignity of servants. There is nobody, hardly, that will contentedly submit to this sort of life, except those sleek children of Mammon, who care for nothing but the getting of money, and who are favourites with every villainous government under the sun; and to whom, to his eternal honour, General WASHINGTON addressed himself thus, when they came with their fawning address to him, after their cunning loyalty had failed: "I have always admired the sober and industrious habits of your society, and should esteem you citizens, equal in value to any other religious denomination, were it not for your principles of passive obedience and non-resistance, which, to whatever degree they exist in any community, must tend to degrade and enslave such a community." For precisely that very reason, these monopolizing sons of Mammon have always been cherished and

favoured by the Government in England.

Besides these considerations, there is another species of competition, wherever there is a tax and penalties; namely, a competition in bribery. It is not a competition in mere industry, a competition in skill, nor even a competition in capital; but there is a competition in *bribery*; and there must be such competition. To hundreds of men in Lancashire it is well known, that a particular individual, who accumulated a large fortune as a bleacher, has, a thousand times, openly boasted, that he owed the principal part of his fortune to the bribing of excisemen. I have heard him so boast, at any rate; and that, too, before scores of persons at different times. In the bleach-works it seems that a great deal of salt is used. While the salt-tax existed, it amounted to the enormous sum of fifteen shillings the bushel. A drawback of fifteen shillings a bushel was therefore allowed by the Government on the salt used in the bleach-works; and this bleacher, for several years, drew from the Government immense sums for the drawback on salt, which salt he never had; but which salt the excisemen certified him to have had. I do not name the party, but I dare say, that every one of the Lancashire Members knows that such was the boast of this bleacher. His defence of his conduct was this: that if he did not have the money, the Government would squander it away upon the villainous pensioners and sinecure-people; and that it was better, even in a moral point of view, for him to take this much of it, for him to make provision for his family. As to the false oaths which he and the excisemen were compelled to take, I leave the morality of them to be estimated by you and the "*Conservative pledge-breakers.*" So that here is this great competition in bribery, competition in fraud, competition in false swearing; and the competition is all on the side of the *great monopolist*; he having ample means always at his command, and having a thousand channels to work through, which must be wanting to the small maltster.

I was surprised to hear you point out the benefits to the barley-sellers, arising

from the *accommodation* which the Excise gave to maltsters. You said, that the duty was suffered to lie unpaid for a considerable time; that the maltsters were thus enabled to carry on their business with the public money; that this was an encouragement to men to go into the malting business; and that thus *dealers in barley and a market for barley were created by this tax!* I do not accuse you, sir, of intended misrepresentation; you did not, and you could not, know the true state of the case here: your matter was manifestly furnished by some ignorant underling, or by some cunning monopolist, whose business it was to deceive you. The malt-duty is paid every six weeks: a man possessed of great means can obtain bondsmen, to a certain amount, for the payment of the duty; and, in this case, the collector permits the maltster to be three collections in arrear, while the maltster, with small means, is compelled to pay up at the end of the six weeks! And this is your encouragement for young beginners in malting! By these means, and by the partialities of the Excise, which partialities must take place, all real competition in this trade is wholly destroyed. The malt-houses grow fewer and fewer in number every day; the monopolists carrying on their trade with public money, have the people placed at their mercy; and placed so, too, by money taken out of their own pockets by the tax. Observe, too, that the dealers in barley become fewer and fewer in number; great brewers are also great maltsters; and they have the market for barley at their command; and hence it is that their profits are so enormous, and that agriculture suffers so severely from their power.

You said, sir, that you did not think that malt could be made *cheaper* than maltsters now make it. You really appear not to have been able to understand any part of this subject. You talk of a competition between the poor man and the maltster in the making of malt. Why, sir, neither the poor man nor the farmer would make malt to *sell*. They would make it to *use*; and it would cost them more to go five or six miles to a malt-house, to fetch malt enough for their use,

than it would to make the malt at home. In towns it would be made by maltsters, as it formerly was; but, as it formerly was, it would be made without any other charge than the increase of the bulk. You seem to imagine, that farmers and labourers would not make their own malt if they were permitted to do it. All the farmers, and more than half the country labourers, would make their own malt; and every one of them can do it if he will. Every one of my labourers in Hampshire who lived in my houses (they were all situated in, or near to, woods) made his own malt and brewed his own beer. I saw them drinking water, and I told them that no water-drinker should live under a roof of mine! They remonstrated a little, talked of the high price of malt (then I believe thirty-six shillings a quarter duty); I answered, there is the barley which you grow yourselves; get it when you like, at so much a bushel; and the short and long of the matter is, if I come to your house on such a day and do not find you with a good barrel of beer, out of that house you go, as soon as you can make it convenient. They all had barrels of beer in a very short time; and I never asked one of them what were the means he made use of to make his malt; but make it they did, and good jovial lives they led. I hope that great numbers of them make their malt now, especially in the woody parts of Hampshire and Sussex. It is, therefore, ridiculous to talk of men in the country still going to a malt-house.

The same error you adopt with regard to the *brewing*. You seem to think that all the beer that is brewed is to be sold; and you say that a poor man cannot *compete* (as you call it) with the great brewer, who makes such quantities, and who has so much capital. Poor fellow, he does not want to *compete* with him (if it must be *compete*). To "*compete*" with the big brewer he must have a druggist's shop in his house. He wants nothing but the strength of the malt, worked into water, fermented, and put into his barrel. He does not want to know anything about "*Corchyris Indicus*," "essence of tobacco," "salt," "devil's dung"; and all the other infernal ingredients, that

have been proved to have been put into the horrible stuff called beer and porter. He wants simply the malt soaked in water, of a heat which he very well understands, then the liquor boiled in his kettle, and then the liquor put into his tub; and when it has seen a Sunday, he is very sure that it will not poison him. You have the notion, borrowed from your predecessor, that so much strength cannot be got out of a bushel of malt, as can be got out of each bushel of a thousand bushels, if brewed all in a mass; and that therefore the farmer or labourer cannot "*compete*" (as you call it) with the big brewer. This argument, if "*carried out*," as they say of the Reform Bill, would send all the victuals of a parish to be cooked in one pot. Sir, your way of life, the places where you have been all your life-time, your taste, your great acquirements of a totally different kind, have absolutely disqualified you for treating on a subject like this. A bushel of malt contains a certain quantity of sugar, or sweet matter, which, being drawn out into water, and afterwards fermented, becomes beer. Now the whole of this saccharine matter can be got out of a bushel of malt; or of a gallon of malt, as completely as it can be got out of a hundred bushels, when put together for the purpose. In short it can all be got out, and no one can have more than all out; and I have drunk as good beer as I ever wished to drink when the brewing has been of a peck of malt; and as to the expense of brewing, the rule always was, that the grains paid for the fuel and the labour. But in a labouring man's house there is, in fact, no cost at all. The wife is the brewer; and there is this great additional advantage, that good and fresh yeast (an absolute necessary of life) used always to be had in plenty in every neighbourhood. Whereas now, even the baking work has to stand still till the hawker of yeast comes round from the big brewery.

You had my Lord ALTHORP's argument, that the habits of the people had changed; that they now like the East and West India slops better than beer. Those slops are the ruin of their wives and families in great part; but if they have lost their love of beer, how comes it

that they so crowd to the beer-shops? I have often reminded even the House of Commons, of the memorable evidence of Mr. ELLMAN, who told a committee of the House of Commons, in 1821, that, forty-five years before that, when he became a farmer, every labourer in the parish of GLYNDE, where he lived, brewed his own beer, and drank it by his own fire-side; and that then, in the year 1821, not a man in the parish brewed his own beer, except two, to whom he gave the malt. Forty-five years back would have brought him to 1776. Now, sir, I beg you to observe; and I beg my Lord ALTHORP, and those who cheered you, to observe, that at that time, there was NO TAX UPON MALT, if made by persons for their own consumption. The tax on malt made for sale was not above ninepence, or a shilling, a bushel; but on malt made by the parties for their own consumption there was no tax at all. Of course, every man in the country made his own malt; and that was the reason why they all brewed their own beer in Mr. ELLMAN's parish, as it was in every other parish in England. In the year 1783 this permission ceased (seven years after Mr. ELLMAN began to be a farmer); from that time to this, the tea-slops, the potatoe-food, the rags, the feebleness, the beggary and misery and recklessness of character have been coming on; till, at last, they have made it certain, that either the system must be changed, or this whole frame of government be destroyed.

It is not that the taste and the habits of the people have *changed*; it is that they have been compelled, by acts of the Parliament, to abandon their good habits: it is not that they ever preferred nasty troublesome expensive tea-slops, and the washy roots, that give the body half the smell of a corpse: it is not that they have ever preferred this; but that they have been driven to it by acts of the Parliament. The wretched, half-naked creatures get trust for a quarter of an ounce of tea, and two ounces of sugar, not having the means of getting malt; and very seldom of getting meat; and you contend, that the Parliament had not only a right to reduce them to this state, but to keep them in this state. Give them, at least,

the liberty that their fathers had, forty years ago; give them leave to make malt for their own consumption, and not to sell or barter; give the poor man, or the farmer, leave to make his drink out of his own little plot, or out of his field of barley, the produce of his own toil. You talk, often enough, of ancient liberties and laws, usages, and constitution, all of which your party express themselves devoted to *conserve*. Permit us to go back, then, to the laws of fifty two years ago. Permit us to be as free as our fathers were and we will not complain; but, unless you will do this, talk to us not of "*Conservatives*," and especially of "*Conservatives*" who break their pledges to prevent us from going back that fifty-two years.

You asserted; or, at least, gave it as your decided opinion, that the repealing of the malt-tax would *not have a tendency to bring the young people back again to service in husbandry, under the farmer's roof*. I was sorry to hear you speak so lightly of this matter: to treat it as a matter of such little importance; and to dismiss it with observing, that the almost complete *cessation* of service in husbandry had been produced by a change of circumstances and *manners*. Manners; why, do you know, that it was provided for, with the greatest care, by our ancestors, from the earliest times, down to the passing of the present Statute of Labourers? Do you consider what it is to have all the single men of a parish prowling about, without anything but a casual lodging? Brought up, in the first place, by parents who cannot have anything like control over them, after they get to be fourteen or fifteen years of age; shut out of the little dwellings of their parents by absolute want of room for their bodies to be in? Do you consider what it is for there to be, in a parish of ten farms, thirty or forty young fellows, lodging about, here and there, with no control whatever over them, and living from hand to mouth? Will they not assemble in bands; must they not so assemble: do they not so assemble; and are not the calendars filled with their crimes, and the jails and the hulks with their bodies? There are several causes

for this, the most fearful of all the changes which have taken place in the country; but every one of the causes arising from acts of the Parliament; every one of them: and, lightly as you may treat the matter, unless this evil can be put an end to, or lessened to a great extent, this country will have to rue the day that the Parliament has neglected the many warnings given it on the subject. Here is the great cause of that *alienation* of the poor from the rich, which Mr. HODGES so emphatically described, and which was ascribed, by Mr. HALL DARE, to WRITINGS, and to SPEECHES, in the House as well as out of it! Thus it is that you go on deceiving yourselves; ascribing these evils to every cause but the true cause; tracing them to *writers*; tracing them to publications; tracing them to inflammatory speeches. Precious nonsense! Why, sir, the days of inflammatory speeches, and SPA-FIELDS'-meetings, and "TWO PENNY TRASH": these days are gone by. And now the serious work is just beginning. But, if the alienation be produced by writings and by speeches, the persons on whom the effect is produced, must be assembled together; and they are assembled together in consequence of being driven from the farm-houses, and from their own houses. However, this is all pure folly. The alienation does exist; and that in a most dreadful degree; and it has been produced, as a very worthy member of the House justly described it to me, by a breaking up of the agricultural family. It was a family, as the law intended, and still intends, it to be; the labourers' children were brought up; taught their labours, and taught their manners, in the farm-houses; they became bound to the occupiers of the land, by ties the most strong, short of those of children to parents: the occupiers of the land, were bound to their landlords, by a tie of a different nature, but equally strong: for the unfortunate, the aged, and the infirm a provision was made, to be administered with kindness and good-will; and thus it was strong, and safe, altogether. This family has been broken up by acts of the Parliament, proceeding, no doubt, from ignorance generally; but

not unfrequently from feelings of a hostile nature towards the poorer classes. At any rate, something must be done to correct this evil; or the final consequence must be uproar and confusion.

But, what has the malt tax to do with this? Why, in the first place, the expense of beer from taxed malt, sufficient for a family of six or seven young people, is such as hardly any farmer can bear. He can afford *to ask no man to drink*; and, if you knew the country, you would know how much there is in that asking men to drink; you would soon know, and feel the difference between talking with a man with a mug of ale in his hand, and one without such mug. You know how fond gentlemen are of good drink; how apt they are to speak well of those who give them dozens of claret and champagne. Cannot you then conceive the *advantage* of keeping a farm-house, from which no man ever goes without the taste of its ale upon his lips? In short, plenty of good beer is not *only* the sign of good living; but it is the source of good fellowship, and of that peace and *good-will*, without which neither landlords nor tenants ever can be safe. You observed, that if the malt-tax were repealed, the young fellows would still crowd to the beer-shops for the sake of the gossip and the company. They could not crowd thither if they were in the farm-houses, where, as you ought to know, the law would place them under efficient control. So that whatever tends to bring them back to those houses ought to be deemed a matter of the greatest consequence; and I was very sorry to hear you treat it as a matter of hardly any consequence at all. Whether the Parliament will ever make an attempt to retrace its steps as to these matters, I know not; but, if it do not, and do not succeed too, here are all the elements of real destruction preparing.

Mr. HANDLEY having spoken of the advantages of *spearing* barley and then drying it in order to fat cattle, and having said that *two* bushels of speared barley were equal, in fattening cattle, to *three* bushels not speared, you expressed your great doubts as to the *fact*; and you should not have done this without know-

ing anything at all of the matter. Perhaps there is nothing more surprising than the great change produced in the fattening-powers of barley, by the process of malting, by which process it becomes quite another thing than what it was before. You will, however, have no doubt of the greatness of this change, when you know that beer cannot be made of barley. Take a bushel of barley, pour water upon it as if it were malt, crack it first, as you do malt; then brew with it, as if it were malt; treat it exactly as you treat malt; and you will find come from your barrel, flat, tasteless, nasty, shiny stuff, that you will not endure in your mouth for a moment. Take the same, or a similar bushel of barley; make from it seven gallons of beer; a quart of that beer will set you to sleep, if not lay you under the table; and, if kept two years would burn in the fire like brandy. There is then a very surprising effect produced by the process of malting. The late Mr. BAVERSTOCK, of ALTON to the knowledge of many persons who knew him, and who are now living, extracted *forty-five pounds* of sugar from a bushel of malt. Mr. TIMOTHY BROWN, who was also a brewer and a maltster, breakfasted with him along with me, when he sweetened our coffee with this extract, which was of about the sweetness of coarse moist West India sugar. BROWN, who had made similar experiments himself many times, told us that he had never got more than forty-two pounds from a bushel of malt. Thousands upon thousands of persons can, I dare say, bear testimony to the extracting of quantities of sugar, in somewhat a similar proportion. Now sir, take a bushel of barley and grind it into flour, or meal, give it to a hog, horse, or ox; and you will find that even three bushels will not lay on the quantity of flesh that will be laid on by these *forty pounds* of sugar; and I would venture my life upon the issue, that a bushel of malt ground into meal will lay twice as much flesh upon any animal, as a bushel of barley ground into meal. I was not back from the North soon enough to try this experiment upon two hogs; and I have no means of weighing the hogs alive; but, if I live till next fall, I will

try the experiment fairly: at any rate, the effect of malting is prodigious, as to the capacity of barley for creating meat. And, sir, this tax is a positive prohibition to our availing ourselves of this immense source of national wealth. The case is simply this: here is my field of barley, restrained as I am by the malt-tax, it will fat only ten hogs of a certain size; take away the tax, and it will fat twenty hogs of the same size. If this be the fact, is not this the most horrible law that ever was heard of in the world?

With regard to the mode of using barley, as mentioned by Mr. HANDLEY, it is this, you steep the barley as if for malting; and then you lay it upon a floor in greater or less thickness, according to the weather; you turn it now and then until the roots come out, and until it is in that state in which it ought to go upon the kiln to be dried. In this state you give it to the cattle without kiln-drying; and Mr. HANDLEY said, that in this state two bushels were equal to those of unsteeped barley, which I can readily believe, because I have known many farmers do it, in order to bring up their horses when they have been low in flesh. But the Excise has been so severe; the terror so great; the ruin so terrible, that men have been afraid even to do this; and if to have the barley in his granary; to know how he might use it so as to revive his horses; and not to dare so to use it lest he should be ruined, and die in a jail: if this be not slavery; real infamous slavery, let a *broken-pledge*, "*Conservative*," or the devil himself come and tell us what slavery is.

After all, however, your statements in contradiction to me were of no effect. They all sunk out of sight when you came to your closing argument, which was this: that, if the malt-tax were repealed, there must be a property-tax; that is to say, that if the tax were taken off the industrious classes, it MUST BE PAID BY THE LANDHOLDERS AND THE FUNDOWNERS! This was your great pledge-cracking argument. Mr. HUME showed that there need be no property-tax; that to make the stamp taxes fair and impartial; to make the aristocracy

pay on their estates, what the tradesman and the farmer and the artisan are compelled to pay; that this alone would yield a revenue equal to the amount of the malt-tax. Ah! but this was *worse and worse*; for here was the aristocracy to pay again; and the Duke of SUTHERLAND was to pay upon his estate, in proportion to what farmers, tradesmen, and artisans pay on their property! This was the devil all over: this was the very thing to be avoided. Mr. HUME pointed out the pension-list, and the salary-list. Still worse, if possible! Monstrous, to take away the pensions of gentlemen and ladies! "*What, destroy the monarchy!*"

Sir, the discussion and decision on the malt-tax, including the Conservative pledge-breaking, and the most cordial support that you got from the Whigs; these have done prodigious good. Better, *in the end*, that the Marquis of CHANDOS should have failed. Had you yielded, you would have swamped the Whigs; but you must have kept on yielding; and the two factions would not have been exposed as they now are; they are now coupled together in their hatred of the people, who enjoy the sport of seeing them worry and tear each other to pieces.

Every body is delighted at the badgering which you are now getting about LONDONERRY. If the Whigs had hit upon this point, before the debate upon the malt-tax, they would certainly have stuck you fast. How you are to get out of the mess now, it is difficult to imagine. Radicals, Whigs, half-Tories, are all of a mind here; so that you must yield, I imagine; or produce a state of things that has not been witnessed for a long time. What signifies your harping upon the fact, that it is the King's undoubted prerogative to appoint his Ministers, and all his executive officers? What is the use of keeping on harping upon this? Every body knows it, and every body allows it; but every body knows, at the same time, that the House of Commons would be mere tools in the hands of the King's servant; if they could not interfere and remonstrate in any case whatever. Their legitimate and common sense mode of proceeding is, to exercise

their power of withholding money: but, short of this, they have a right to remonstrate with the King, on any steps which his servants are taking, and which they deem dangerous to him, or to his subjects. If they cannot do this, they are a poor set, indeed. The King has the prerogative of making peace and war; but if he were now to make war upon Turkey, in conjunction with Russia, must the House of Commons say nothing about it? The supposition is nonsense.

Now, then, if the House of Commons have the spirit, if you persevere with regard to LONDONDERRY: if they have the spirit to go to the King with an address, begging him to rescind the appointment, what will you do? What, I say, will you do! One of two things you must do: quit your place, or rescind the appointment; if the former, you quit it upon grounds the most unpopular that imagination can conceive; if the latter, there may be a state of being more humiliating to man. There may be; but I can form an idea of nothing so truly humiliating. And, the appointment is, too, in the immediate department of the great STRATHFIELDSAY; the great hero, who has a taste for bullet-proof window-shutters; who was one of the conspicuous defenders of the Poor-law Bill. Will he submit to have this appointment rescinded? Perhaps he may; but even that will avail you nothing; the nation will take the will for the deed; and the attempt at the appointment will have all the effect that a perseverance in the appointment would have.

If you persevere, then you pit the House against the King; or, rather, the King against the House; and then the House, with the approbation of the whole of the people, will refuse you any more money; and, it will, in that case, do it with clear reason on its side; for you will have had that "fair trial" which you demanded. With me you have had your "fair trial" already, and much more than enough. I made the Poor-law Bill and the repeal of the malt-tax the standard whereby to try you. You are persevering with the former; or, rather, attempting to persevere. You have shown that you like it; and as to the

latter, you have decided that point in a manner that I have before described; and now comes LONDONDERRY, a question upon which we are all agreed, except a mere handful of desperate "*pledge-breakers*." It is a sign of what we have to expect at your hands; your trial has been complete; and the result is, that it has convinced the people that they ought, in duty to themselves, their country, and their King, to endeavour, by all legal means, to put an end to your power, not caring a straw who are to be your successors in that power.

Your newspaper, and particularly the *Morning Post*, an article from which I shall insert by-and-by, make a dreadful outcry at your being *refused a fair trial*. As I have shown, you have had the fair trial; or if not, where is the trial to end? Who is to tell us when you think you have had trial enough? It is for the people to say when you have been tried sufficiently. For my part I was satisfied at one o'clock in the morning on the 11. of March. Others required this affair of LONDONDERRY to satisfy them; but now all are satisfied, or they never will be. Yet the *Morning Post* still cries out for a "*fair trial*," just as if there had been no trial; and by "*fair trial*" it seems to mean, that you are to keep on for a year or two; or, indeed till you yourself are satisfied upon the point. This is not the way that we act in common life: if we have a horse upon trial, we try him at once; and we then keep him, or send him back, and do not suffer ourselves to be told by the jockey that we have not been trying him long enough. If we have a servant upon trial, we ascertain very soon whether he will suit, and keep him; or dismiss him, according to our experience of him. And this is what you must have meant by "*fair trial*" to be sure; and not being suffered to go on for an indefinite period, still demanding a "*fair trial*."

Your great advocate, the *Morning Post*, has however a formidable and rather fearful argument, which it works out of this subject of "*fair trial*": the argument is this, that if you have not a fair trial, the MONARCHY must be destroyed. In other words, the assertion

is this, that if you be compelled to quit your place by votes of the House of Commons, the "MONARCHY" can no longer exist, and a revolution and a republic must come; so that the House of Commons must not put you out of your place; for if it do, anarchy, confusion, and slaughter, must be the consequence.

Now, sir, this is a very formidable argument; and let us therefore examine it patiently. In the first place, this is no *monarchy*," and it never was. The King is not the *sole ruler*, but only one branch out of three of a body of rulers. You know, as well as I, that "*monarchy*" means a government in a single person. I do not believe that the word was ever used as applicable to our King until about forty years ago: It is no *monarchy*, it is a government of King, Lords, and Commons, each having its well-known and settled attributes and powers. The *Morning Post* does not tell us *why* the kingly branch must of necessity cease to exist, if the House of Commons refuse to grant you supplies; or if they so act as to compel you to quit your place; it does not tell us *why* this should be, and *why* a republic must come if you be removed; it does not tell us *why* the King should not find another servant more agreeable to the House of Commons; it merely contents itself with the dreadful menace that, if the House of Commons do not suffer you to remain Minister, there must be an end of the kingly branch of the Government; and that anarchy, military despotism, confusion, bloodshed and carnage, and republicanism, must come, and all the miseries attendant on republican government!

Sir, it is not discreet, to say the least of it, to push us on in this way about *republican government*. We never talk of it; and if your partizans were possessed of only very common sense, they would avoid talking of it too; and especially in giving us these alternatives everlastingly; telling us that we must have you, or have a republic; for this is the substance after all that we must have you, and all your doings, at your pleasure, or have a republic that we must have the Duke and Lord ~~Downing~~, or have a republic; that we must have the pension-

list; that we must pay the Rev. THOMAS PENROSE a pension for *twenty-two years* for having been altered to have been *Charges des Affaires* at FLORENCE for *five months*, he being tutor to EGREMONT WYNDHAM's children at the same time, and he having the benefices of two parishes in England; we must have PENROSE, or we must have a republic; we must have 2,500*l.* a year pension of the hack BURKE still to pay, for thirty-five years after he is dead; or we must have a republic; we must have the Poor-Law Bill, two thousand-a-year LEWIS, penny-a-line CHADWICK, and all the runners; we must have big workhouses, separation of men from their wives, both from their children, and must all come down to a coarser sort of food, or we must have a republic; we must have millions to pay in taxes for the relief of the poor parsons of the Church of England, while the aristocratical clergy of that Church are rolling wealth, a great part of which they spend out of the kingdom, and while *one hundred* lords or their relations might be pointed out who have *five hundred* benefices amongst them; yet all this we must have, or have a republic; we must have a malt-tax, making the industrious classes pay two hundred per cent. for their drink, while the rich have their drink with a tax of thirty per cent.; we must have the transporting game-laws; we must have the new trespass law, and all the rest of your iron code; we must have a *Popuy-police*, we must have a gate-way to cost as much money as the poor-rates of a whole county for one year: all these things we must have, and have them forever, or WE MUST HAVE A REPUBLIC!

This is, in substance, what we are told every day by your partizans, and, at last, however disinclined to do it, we are compelled to ask one another, what hellish sort of thing a "*republic*" is? When we put this question, and begin to consider a little, we find that there is only one republic now in the world; and to our utter astonishment we find, that under that republic the people are the best off, the most free, the most happy in the whole world. We have seen that republic rise up out of a revolution. We saw it

produce no anarchy, no confusion; none of that slaughtering and that shedding of rivers of blood, which your partizans tell us must come with a republic in this country. We saw no *military despot*, no detestable and damnable "*hero*," to make the people pay his "*companions in arms*," as BUONAPARTE, used to call the myrmidons that assisted him to plunder and kill the poor French. We saw that republic rise up, without giving as much as a penny to any one who called himself a "*hero*." We saw it begin (I saw it with my own eyes), forty-six years ago, with three millions of people, with commercial shipping and commerce not equal to a two-hundredth part of those of Great Britain; we saw it with scarcely a gun-boat for its defence! We now see it with a population surpassing that of Great Britain herself; with a commerce and commercial marine, nearly equalling those of Great Britain; and with a NAVY, at the very thought of which every blustering bullying tyrant turns pale. We see that republic with a civil expenditure, including that of ten ambassadors to Europe, not equalling in amount that which we pay annually to one single "*hero*." We have seen that republic wage war with Great Britain single-handed, and defeat her in that war both by land and by sea. We have seen that republic with a heavy debt, contracted for the purchase of territory, and for real defence; and we have seen that debt PAID OFF. We have more recently seen the Government of that republic placed, by the horrible villain paper-money, even in greater peril than belongs to a state of a most formidable war. We have seen the Government of that republic subvert even this monster, and deliver its people from that fraudulent tyranny. Under that republican government, we see a people living without internal tax; without the very name of a galling excise; without any thing to take from industry the fruits of its earnings; and, lastly, we see it free from that most hateful of all dominations, an established domination of the few over the many.

Yes, you may say, this really is all true enough; but *how would you go to work to introduce such a government*

as this into England? Yes, that is the question; that is the *very question* which I should like to answer, fully and frankly, and *without any disguise*; but as I do not like to answer this question at this time and in this place, I shall conclude with expressing my opinion, that it would be wise in your partizans, not so often, and so loudly, to tell us, that we must implicitly submit to you, or make up our minds to *have a republic*.

WM. COBBETT.

MALT-TAX DIVISION.

I HAVE not been able to get at the names of those who voted on either side. That is to say, with any degree of correctness. Those who could break their pledges could do something else; and a very good thing has been done by somebody, in publishing this list of names. The *Times* newspaper published a list of the majority and of the minority. According to this list, there were in the majority three hundred and forty-four names, and in the minority TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY-SIX; making both together six hundred members. Now, according to the return made to the Speaker, and published in the votes, there were in the majority *three hundred and fifty*, and in the minority a HUNDRED and NINETY-TWO. So that here are *sixty-four* given to the minority more than there were; and here upon the whole, the names of fifty-four members who were not present in the House. There can be no doubt that this trick was intentional on the part of this paper; and it is one of the most villainous tricks that even this vile paper ever yet played. Why should it stuff into the minority *sixty-four* names more than were present? I warrant it, that it had weighty reasons for doing this! However, the people will draw their conclusions justly enough: they will remember pledge-breaking, and Whig-defence of Tories; and that will be enough.

In the Press.

DEDICATION.

COBBETT'S

LEGACY TO PARSONS;

OR,

Have the Clergy of the Established Church an equitable right to the Tithes, or to any other thing called Church Property, greater than the Dissenters have to the same? And ought there, or ought there not, to be a separation of the Church from the State?

IN SIX LETTERS,

Addressed to the Church-Parsons in general, including the Cathedral and College Clergy and the Bishops.

WITH

A Dedication to BLOMFIELD, Bishop of London.

BY WILLIAM COBBETT, M.P. FOR OLDHAM.

LONDON:

Price 1s. 6d., handsomely bound in leather.

CONTENTS.

LETTER.

1. How came there to be an Established Church?
2. How came there to be people called Dissenters?
3. What is the foundation of the domination of the former over the latter?
4. Does the Establishment conduce to religious instruction?
5. What is the state of the Establishment? and, is it possible to reform it?
6. What is that compound thing, called Church and State? and what would be the effects of a separation of them?

TO JAMES BLOMFIELD, BISHOP OF LONDON.

Normandy Farm, 9, March, 1835.

BISHOP,

About six and twenty years ago, you drank tea at my house at BORTLEY, when you were a curate of some place in Norfolk; or a teacher to the offspring of some hereditary legislator. How rugged has my course been since that time: how thickly has my path been strewed with thorns! How smooth, how flowery, how pleasant, your career! Yet, here we are; you with a mitre on your head, indeed, and a crosier in your holy hands; I, at the end of my rugged and thorny path in a situation to have a right, in the name of the millions of this nation, to inquire, not only into your conduct, but into the utility of the very office that you fill.

It is now become a question, seriously, publicly, and practically entertained, whether you and your brethren of the established church should be legally deprived of all your enormous temporal possessions; and also, whether your whole order should not, as a thing supported by the law, be put an end to for ever. These questions must now be discussed. They are not to be shuffled off by Commissions of Inquiry, or any other commissions: the people demand a discussion of these questions, and a decision upon them: the Parliament must discuss them; and, this little book, which I now dedicate to you, is written for the purpose of aiding us all in the discussion; so that we may come at last to a just decision.

I select you to dedicate my book to: first, because you were a zealous defender of the DEAD-BODY BILL, which consigns the corpses of the most unfortunate of the poor to be cut up by surgeons, instead of being consigned, with double and treble solicitude, to the care of a really Christian clergy, and provided with all the means and circumstances of the most respectful Christian burial.

Another reason is, that you were a *poor-law commissioner*; one of the authors of that book, which was slyly laid upon the table o

the House of Commons, by the Whigs, in 1833; and one of the authors of that voluminous report and appendix, laid upon the table of the same House last year; on which report and appendix the *coarser-food bill* was passed; and in which report and appendix, you have communicated to the House of Commons the most infamous libels against me by name.

Another reason is, that you are a *church reform commissioner*, under the present set of Ministers; and that I find, that, while you were Bishop of CHESTER, you made a G. B. BLOMFIELD, a prebendary of CHESTER, and that he now has, in addition to that prebend, two great church livings; namely, the rectory of CADDINGTON, and the rectory of TATTENHALL, each worth, probably, from a thousand to fifteen hundred pounds a year. Now, bishop, this is a very solid reason for addressing my little book to you; for, if you can talk of "*church-reform*," and about seeking for the *means of providing for the cure of souls*, while this BLOMFIELD has a prebend and two great rectories, it is pretty clear that you want a great deal of *enlightening* on the subject. If you do not, however, many other people do; and therefore it is, that I write and publish this little book, which is my LEGACY TO PARSONS, and which I most earnestly hope will very soon be amongst the most valuable of their remaining temporal possessions. You will find the little book go to the VERY BOTTOM of the matter; that it will unveil all the mystery that has hung about this church for so many years; that it will leave the people nothing more to ask about the matter; and put them in a situation to determine, reasonably, at once, either to submit to the most crying abuses that ever existed upon the face of the earth; or to put themselves in motion for the purpose of *reform*, by resolutely, effectually, and for ever, putting an end to this abuse.

W. C. CARRUTHERS.

"TRIAL FOR PEEL."

(From the Morning Post, 14. inst.)

Sir Robert Peel must have what he asks for, a fair trial; after all, unless we are

prepared to break up the whole framework of the British monarchy, and scatter its elements to the winds of heaven. The King, in the exercise of his undeniable prerogative, a prerogative which he is bound to exercise to the best of his judgment for the good of his people, and for the right exercise of which he is personally responsible, albeit to no human tribunal, has thought fit to dismiss one Ministry and to appoint another; and he may surely demand of his loyal subjects that they assist that Ministry in pursuing the just ends of lawful government until some case of incapacity or wilfulness shall be proved against it. What can possibly be more reasonable than this demand, on the supposition that we live under a monarchy? If we do not, since the passing of the Reform Bill, live under a monarchy at all; or if the empire be, in sober seriousness, tired of this mode of Government, and anxious to try the chances of some new form of untried political being; then we can understand why the nominal King should be treated as a mere puppet, moved by democratic wires, utterly incompetent to the useful exercise of the most ordinary functions of his former station. But if the monarchy be not yet abolished, if William the Fourth be indeed "every inch a King," yielding in nothing of constitutional prerogative to the proudest of the long line of his ancestors, then we defy the whole Whig and Radical press to disprove our assertion, that he has a right to challenge from the whole community a respectful deference to the act of his authority, and a fair trial for the Minister of his choice.

Assuming, as we do, that the people of England are not yet prepared to sacrifice their monarch, and to substitute in the place of the ancient constitution of the realm, a committee of public safety, with Hume or O'Connell at its head, we say that Sir R. Peel must have the fair trial for which he pleads. The question lies in the smallest possible compass. The crown cannot suffer its almost only remaining prerogative, the right of nominating responsible Ministers, to be wrested from its grasp, and the people certainly will not permit the crown to be enslaved and trampled upon by a faction. The

passing of the Reform Bill gives to this subject an importance and a magnitude which it never possessed before, and we should like, if needful, to raise a discussion upon it from one end of the country to the other, in every town, village, hamlet, and cottage. The Reform Bill was professedly introduced to strengthen the monarchy, not to subvert it, as well as to diffuse among a grateful and happy people such superhuman blessings as had never till then been dreamed of. But the Reform Bill, in order to secure these blessings, certainly appeared, in the incomprehensibility of its wisdom, to give to one class, the ten-pounder class, the power of returning a majority of the House of Commons; and if that House be permitted to absorb the entire functions of Government, it is clear that the monarchy has ceased to exist, and that the ten-pounders may forthwith occupy the vacant throne. Now this would be quite contrary to the avowed intention of the bill, as announced by the enlightened statesmen who framed it, who ought, indeed, to be foremost to support the crown in its resistance to democratic aggression, if it were only to save the credit of their idolized measure. Sir Robert Peel is pledged to govern in the spirit, the avowed spirit and intention of the bill; and he would be justly chargeable with a design to heap odium and contempt upon that measure if he allowed the just prerogatives of the crown, upon which the existence of the monarchy depends, to be sacrificed under its provisions. For the honour of the Reform Bill, therefore, if for no other reason, the rights of the crown must be maintained. Do the Whigs and their allies really intend to fulfil at this early period the recorded predictions of their opponents as to the tendency of that measure, to paralyse the executive, subvert the throne, and dismember the empire? If not, Sir Robert Peel must have a fair trial.

It is idle in the present case to talk of "want of confidence." Parliamentary want of confidence must have sufficient Parliamentary grounds, such as the avowal of unsound principles, or the proposing of dangerous measures, and the pretence of want of confidence apart from these is merely a cloak for faction. The

Whigs themselves, to do them justice, appear at length to be aware of the distressing dilemma in which they have become placed by uniting with the Destructives in this open assault upon the throne. The better section of the party, under Stanley, shrunk in the first instance from the base confederacy in a manner which has confessedly entitled them to the gratitude of the country; and others have since followed, though in an inferior degree, this noble example. In fact, party discretion, to say nothing of any higher motive, must soon teach them the necessity of receding from the Radical alliance if they wish ever to administer public affairs under a constitutional monarchy. If Lord John and his band refuse a fair trial to Sir Robert Peel they may be assured that they will never have a fair trial themselves. If a Whig Ministry were formed to-morrow on the principle of condemning the King's Ministers unheard, it could never by any possibility possess the Royal confidence, since it would only exist as an armed, and almost treasonable, conspiracy against the throne. The peers, the gentry, and all classes of loyal subjects would of course resent such an indignity offered to their sovereign, who would in that case be the only slave in his own vast dominions. Nor would the Ministers be free agents, more than their unhappy King, for they would be bound to do the bidding of their Radical task-masters, on pain of being quickly superseded by instruments less scrupulous than themselves. The Whigs must surely see the necessity of renouncing all connexion with the movement, or of keeping no terms with the monarchy.

But why all this objection to allow the King's Minister a fair opportunity of expounding the principles of the King's Government? Why this eagerness to prejudge, this breathless haste to condemn? Plainly because the Opposition apprehend that those principles, if known, would be so satisfactory to the great mass of the community that there would be no chance of removing the Minister from power. This is the secret of the whole conspiracy. If Sir Robert Peel were opposed to real reform, or attached to any kind of mis-government, or likely

to disappoint the just expectations of the people, there would not be the slightest disinclination to afford him the trial he demands; it is because the reverse of all this is the case, because he is pledged, as never Minister was pledged before, to pursue all those just and reasonable objects which the nation desires, and because it is believed that he will honestly redeem his pledges, that the Opposition are so strangely anxious, suddenly, prematurely, and unconstitutionally to overthrow his Ministry. We doubt whether a more gross scheme for the attainment of emolument and power, undignified and unrelieved by any decent pretence of public principle, was ever before presented to the scrutiny of an intelligent and indignant people. But the scheme cannot possibly succeed; it is more than half unmasked already. We defy the majority to persevere, and are quite assured that Sir Robert Peel must have, will have, that fair trial which the interests of the nation, and the unalienable rights of the monarchy alike imperatively require.

WANTED,

- To Know—Why the great English land-owners should have (or even want to have) corn-laws to protect the interest of their estates?
- To Know—What they have contributed towards the national expenses in the shape of probate and legacy duties, by the transfer of this property from one generation to another in the last half century, and also what they, their families, relations, and friends, have received, direct and indirect, out of the taxes within the same period?
- To Know—If land ought not, in justice to all ranks of society (like labour) to find its own level, when the law-makers who have been petitioned to protect wages have returned for answer, that they could not legislate on the subject, and that wages must regulate themselves, although all the property possessed by the working classes consisted of labour only?
- To Know—If sauce for a goose is not also sauce for a gander, and if the New

Poor Laws will not apply as well to those who have wantonly or extravagantly lost or destroyed the source of their large and fixed incomes, as to those who have or may become paupers, by having made an improvident use of their earnings, or from low wages, dear food, large families, sickness, or any other unforeseen or untoward event?

To Know—If it is unreasonable to answer these questions, or to ask more of a similar nature, either or both will oblige an humble individual, who has by arduous application, maintained and brought up a large family, and been upwards of fifty years

A BOLTON WEAVER.

Bolton-le-Moors, 1. January, 1835:

PLEDGE-BREAKERS.

To the honour of the country-people. these surprising Conservatives do not seem likely to enjoy a bed of roses. They will find, and they are always finding, that a promise is still considered to be a promise in England; that it is still considered to be right that men's words should be taken to be worth something. I believe that no man will deny, that no equal number of journeymen, artizans, or labourers would have broken their pledges in this shameful manner; alleging no other ground than that of their own interests. Mr. HALL DARE, who ascribed the alienation of the poor from the rich to *writings and speeches*, and not to an avowed intention of compelling the poor to live on *coarser food*; not to the big work-houses that the rich were preparing for them, each furnished with a hired overseer, brought from a distance, and having a heart sufficient to enable him to separate husbands from wives, and children from both, and to cut off all communication with relations and friends from without: this Mr. HALL DARE, who could discover no cause for the alienation of the poor from the rich in these things: this Mr. HALL DARE's situation, he cannot, at any rate, ascribe to *writings and speeches*, except they be his own: this Mr. HALL DARE, who is one of the Members for Essex, finds himself, according to the

newspapers, in the following rather unpleasant pickle, of which I shall give an account in the words of the *True Sun* of the 17. instant.

"We lay before our readers the following letter, just received by us, addressed to a gentleman who occupies a prominent place among the pledge-breakers. We may mention, that immediately after the division on the malt tax question, Mr. Hall Dare started off for Chelmsford, where he met a few of his principal supporters, and stated his readiness to accept the Chiltern Hundreds, if they thought he had betrayed them. On the market-day, however (Thursday), the farmers were furious against the pledge-breakers, and many of them said they would take their bible-oaths never to vote for him again :

"TO R. W. HALL DARE, ESQ. M.P.

"Sir, — In answer to a question distinctly proposed to you on the hustings, for the purpose of eliciting an unequivocal declaration of your intentions on the subject of the malt-tax, you said :

" "I will vote for the entire abolition and annihilation of the tax."

"I now ask you, did you not, at that time, know that if you had not undertaken this in the face of the county, you would not have had the slightest chance of securing your return ; and that your colleague, the other Tory candidate, who stood on the same interest as yourself, found it necessary for his success to publish a printed pledge to that effect, expressed in the most positive terms ?

"Did not the *Essex Herald* published next day, report your declaration in the above words ? And did you take any steps to give it any denial or qualification ; but, on the contrary, did not your committee cause it to have the greatest possible publicity ?

"Did you not, a few days before the motion of Lord Chandos came on, meet Sir Robert Peel, at an assembly of the thick-and-thin supporters of his administration, for the purpose of consulting how it might be most effective-

"ally resisted ; for the purpose of keeping him in place ; and did you not take an active part on that occasion ; and afterwards, without any previous communication with your constituents, oppose it by your speech and vote in the House ?

"It is not incumbent upon you, under these circumstances, as a man of honour and a gentleman, to apply for the Chiltern Hundreds.

"I am, &c.

"AN ELECTOR OF SOUTH ESSEX."

LONDONDERRY !

THIS is a melancholy affair, indeed ! A great deal worse than the two majorities : a great deal worse than an address to the King would have been to rescind the appointment. Strange, that the old Duke and all together had not the cunning to avoid exposing this raw place to the eager lash of the enemy. The Marquis prevented a vote of the House of Commons *by declining to accept of the appointment* ; and without any hint from the Ministers to give up his pretensions for the place. Why, to be sure, it is just possible that he might mention the thing first ; but he must have been very certain that, if he did not offer to decline, they would have requested him to decline, they well knowing that the House would not suffer him to go to Russia.

The story of the hunted beaver, which, to save its carcase, bit off the civet part and flung it to the hunters ; this story, or rather, this fable of Esop gave me such contempt for this animal, that I really carried a prejudice along with me against it, when I got into a country where they are so frequent ; and where their ingenious masonry and house-building excite so much admiration. I admired their houses built on the limbs of trees across water ; but still the story of Esop always recurred : it was an act of such baseness to bite off a part of its own body to fling to the hunters rather than stop and fight : better have defeat after battle, than embrace defeat to avoid battle !

This story of the Marquis is melancholy indeed : if this be a specimen of the con-

servative spirit, God defend those who rely upon such conservation! This is a very interesting matter: honourable to the country, and honourable to the House, too, who, however, well knew that they had the country at their back. The matter was very ably brought on by Mr. SHEIL on Friday last. The Minister soon discovered that he could not set this thrust at defiance. Before Monday night, the Marquis had *declined* the post; and the lofty WELLINGTON, and the lofty PEELE, authors of the sublime Bourbon-police, have thus crept out; not walked out; but crept out, of the difficulty; and by this creeping they have given a warning to those who were disposed to rely upon them. It is manifest, that a Ministry who cannot appoint an ambassador, can be of no use to the King. I deem this a matter of a character to be memorable; and, therefore, I shall insert, if I have room; first, the debate on Mr. SHEIL's motion; second, the speeches of the Duke of WELLINGTON, and the Marquis of LONDONDERRY in the House of Lords on Monday night; third, the debate, or conversation in the House of Commons, relative to the same matter on the same night, just observing here, that the manner in which the Ministry have got out of this affair, is the VERY WORST that they could have chosen; and that it would have been, beyond all measure, better to have yielded to the effect of an address to the King for rescinding the appointment; because that would have been yielding to an irresistible force, and would have discovered no marks of that political poltroonery; of that hunted beaver-like fear, which must be evident to every one in this pretended voluntary declining on the part of the Marquis. Here follow these parliamentary proceedings, exceedingly well worthy of being remembered.

House of Commons, 13. March.

On the order of the day that the House do resolve itself into a committee of supply.

Mr. SHEIL begged leave to move, "That there be laid before the House a copy of any appointment made within the last four

months of any ambassador from the Court of London to St. Petersburg, and a statement of the salary and emoluments attached to the embassy." The illustrious person now Secretary for Foreign Affairs was, he believed, as sensible as, if not more so than, any man in this country of the importance of the questions existing between this country, Turkey, and Russia; but certain reports being prevalent relative to the appointment of an ambassador to St. Petersburg he (Mr. Sheil) had felt it his duty to make the motion. In 1826 Russia declared war against Turkey, and in February 1828 the latter power was reduced to the necessity of making an ignominious peace, two of the conditions of which were to pay twenty millions of roubles to Russia, and to cede to her two very important provinces on her frontiers. Scarcely, however, had this war finished than Russia directed another attack upon Turkey, and upon the 23rd of April, 1828, that celebrated and unfortunate war began. It was much to be regretted that the Duke of Wellington did not at that time see the importance of at once furnishing aid to Turkey. It was true the battle of Navarino had taken place, but notwithstanding that circumstance the resources of Turkey were by no means exhausted, and in the judgment of military men Russia had received a decided check before Chumlak. But England authorized the fleet of Russia to blockade the Dardanelles, by which Constantinople was deprived of provisions. At the commencement of 1829 Russia poured in her forces upon Turkey, and in the September of that year the fatal treaty of Adrianople was signed, to which Lord Grey last year with justice attributed all the difficulties that had since arisen. He was, however, one of those who thought that the late Ministry in their conduct with respect to Turkey had been in great fault, and that they had committed a great mistake in not having stopped the progress of Ibrahim Pacha, and in allowing 60,000 troops to land on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus. In 1833 the treaty of Constantinople was signed, and confirmed in 1834, by the treaty of St. Petersburg, which not only gave peculiar privileges to Russia with respect to the navigation of

the Dardanelles, but, in case of Russia being at war, bound Turkey to exclude from them the power Russia might be carrying on hostilities against. It was, in fact, an offensive and defensive alliance, and the influence of Russia had been felt in every cabinet of the west of Europe. When Lord Heytesbury was removed in August, 1832, and Sir S. Cantrig appointed to St. Petersburg, what was the reason Sir Stratford never proceeded? Though the question had been asked by Lord Londonderry in the House of Lords, no satisfactory reason had been given. Had an ambassador been at the time at St. Petersburg something might, perhaps, have been done. But with respect to the appointment in question, the first notice he had seen of the supposed appointment of Lord Londonderry was in the *Times* newspaper of the 2. January in the present year. But it was not on newspapers that the country was to rely, and he, therefore, wished to know the fact of the case. If the report were true, he would take the estimate of the noble lord's character from the debate in the House of Lords on the 27. of June, 1827, respecting the pension applied for by the noble marquis, which he said he conceived he was entitled to, and on some letter of application for which Lord Liverpool had written in his own hand "This is too bad." (Hear). Though unconscious of the extent of the services conferred by Lord Londonderry upon the country, he ventured to suggest that, although he had shown himself eminent as an orator in the county of Down, he was not equally competent, or ought to be put forward, to perform the office of British ambassador at St. Petersburg.

Mr. CUTLER FERGUSON hoped the Government would direct its attention to the claims of Poland, and do all it could for that gallant and unfortunate country. He had brought their claims at three different periods before the House, and on the last occasion went the length of making a motion to the effect "That this country would not acknowledge the present state of government in Poland in violation of the treaty of Vienna, to which we had been a party." That motion was

assented to on the part of the late government to this extent:—they admitted the treaty had been broken, but said they had done every thing they could in favour of Poland; remonstrated against the infringement of its constitution, and had done no act to acknowledge the partition of its dominions. In appointing a person, therefore, to fill the great office of ambassador at St. Petersburg the Government would do well to select a person unobjectionable for his public principles. He had no private prejudice against the Marquis of Londonderry, but he thought him the most unfit person that could be imagined, considering that in August last the noble Marquis had styled the Poles "the Emperor's rebellious subjects." He believed the noble Marquis was the first who had ventured to call the Poles, put down by force, rebellious subjects. They were a people who had a constitution given them, sworn to by their sovereign, and by him violated, notwithstanding a treaty to which England was a party. Poland was still entitled to her rights under that treaty, and if anything more demanded the attention of a foreign Secretary, it was the cause of Poland. He did not ask the Government to send any person to remonstrate with the Emperor of Russia, for perhaps the time was gone by; but he was perfectly sure of this, that we ought not to send a person to Russia who declared himself towards the Poles in the terms he had mentioned. We had admitted the treaty of Vienna had been broken in upon; the Secretary of State had admitted that it was not rebellion, that it was justifiable resistance, that England had remonstrated with Russia, and avoided recognising the course she had taken. The hon. Gentleman referred to other passages of the noble Lord's speeches, where his Lordship lamented the lengths to which the British Government had gone already in favour of the "rebellious Poles," and which would tend to destroy the good feeling that should exist between this country and Russia. Was this a person, however high and respectable he otherwise might be, to send out as Ambassador to Russia to express the opinions of this country? If the appointment took place, it was the appoint-

ment of the right honourable Baronet, as Prime Minister of the country.

LORD MAHON: Whenever the question came regularly before the House, he would be the first to afford every requisite information. But the honourable Member for Tipperary, from the hurried manner in which he passed over the affairs of Turkey, seemed to have no object but a personal attack on the noble Marquis of Londonderry. (Cries of No, no, no). The noble Lord proceeded to defend the character of the noble Marquis during his diplomatic career. He could not account for the violence of the Member for Tipperary. (Laughter). The personal politics of a diplomatic character had nothing to do with his duties as an ambassador, which were simple, and depended entirely on the instructions he received from his Government.

MR. HUME wished to know was the noble Lord really appointed as Ambassador to St. Petersburg?

LORD MAHON: The appointment had not been formally, but he might say was virtually, made.

MR. HUME deprecated the vast expenses of ambassadorships. They cost the country from 420,000*l.* to 500,000*l.* per year. In the instance of the Marquis of Londonderry's, the people of England had to weigh the question well. Were his lordship's services worth 15,000*l.* per annum? The hon. Member said that the House and the country had a right to know the reason why a person of the well-known unpopular politics of the noble Marquis should be appointed to the Russian embassy, which should be filled by none other than a man of liberal and enlightened views. (Hear, hear, from the Opposition). What should the people, what should other nations say, when they heard that England was to be represented at the Court of the Russian Autocrat by one who had ever been the loudest against liberty at home, and the general independence of Europe?

LORD STANLEY was of opinion that on a technical point of view the motion fell to the ground, by the answer given to the hon. Gentleman who brought it forward. His Lordship hoped, and had every reason to expect, that the discussion of the

evening would not be without its wholesome effects, in letting the Government and the noble Marquis himself know what the feelings of the House and the country were on the appointment, which it was futile to say was any thing else but unpopular. His Lordship was of opinion that the Marquis of Londonderry was the last man in England that ought to be sent as ambassador to the court of St. Petersburg. If it were too late for open interference, it was not too late for misinterpretation; and the noble Marquis was not likely to represent faithfully the feelings and sentiments of the people, and, he might add, those of the Sovereign of England. (Cheers from the opposition). Did any one pretend to say, looking back at the declared sentiments of the noble Marquis; did any one imagine for a moment that he would be the friend of freedom abroad, or would interfere in behalf of Poland, or of any other nation who were suffering from the despotism of the oppressor? He hoped the right hon. Baronet at the head of his Majesty's Government would not lend the sanction of his name to such an unpopular and unwise appointment.

MR. OTWAY CAVE said a few words against the appointment of the noble Marquis; he hoped if it had taken place that it would be rescinded.

MR. CRESSÉT PELHAM regretted that personal remarks had been introduced in the course of the debate on the noble Marquis, who, whether well or ill, had given his best services to the country for the last forty years.

MR. OGD thought, instead of personality, the speech of the hon. Member for Tipperary was tempered with mercy and forbearance. The question before the House was far more important than hon. Gentlemen opposite were perhaps aware of. In it was involved the character of the present Administration; and this appointment would let the people of England and the nations of Europe know what they had to expect from it.

MR. GIBSON said this was a most natural appointment. (Laughter). It was in complete accordance with the principles of the present Administration; and the Marquis of Londonderry was the

most proper personage to carry those principles into effect in a Court where they were congenial.

Sir ROBERT PEEL said he hoped he would be allowed to choose the time, and the proper time, for expressing his opinions on the subject before the House. It had been said that he was responsible for this appointment. Be it so. He hoped that he never would be found to shrink from that responsibility. He could not doubt that the appointment of Lord Londonderry was any thing else but displeasing to hon. Gentlemen opposite. (Hear, hear). Why, not a single appointment of the present Government was any thing else but unsatisfactory to them. ("Hear, hear." and laughter). But what were the allegations made against the noble Marquis? Nothing but that he said that the late Government interfered too much in behalf of the rebellious Poles. Whether the noble Marquis made use of the expression or not, the right hon. Baronet thought it was not fair to quote particular passages of any reported speech without giving the context. And besides it was still more unfair to judge of public men by expressions they might have been led to make use of in the heat of debate. The hon. Member for Middlesex thought to raise an unfair prejudice against the noble Marquis by exaggerating the salary he was to receive. What authority had he to say he was to receive 15,000*l.* per annum?

House of Lords, 16. March.

The Marquis of LONDONDERRY then rose, and claimed their lordships' indulgence while he detained them for a few moments upon a subject purely personal to himself. (Hear, hear). It was perhaps out of order to address them upon such a subject; but, referring to the printed notes of the proceedings in the other House, now on the table, their lordships would excuse him for detaining them for a few moments (hear), while he ventured to disclose the course which the Government and himself had taken upon proceedings relative to his appointment. When Sir Robert Peel made his arrangements for carrying on the duties of the

Government, he was pleased to address him with an offer of the post of Ambassador to the Court of Russia. He confessed that he received that nomination with a great degree of pride, for he had no right to expect such an intimation from him. That appointment or offer was accompanied with a letter from his noble Friend (the Duke of Wellington), and he felt great pride and satisfaction that it should be considered that his Majesty's service would again be, in any degree, the better for his service. He confessed that he did not receive such a communication without pride, and he most certainly believed that after serving in the service of his country at Dresden, at Berlin (loud cheering), and at Paris and at Vienna (cheers), where he considered that he had been instrumental in preserving the best interests of both countries, after having been the companion in arms of the most distinguished diplomatist of the day, he did think, however presumptuously, that so much opposition was undeserved. He might not be possessed of all the sagacity or prudence of the noble Lords opposite him (cheers), but he did believe that his conduct, while in the capacity of ambassador before, had been for the benefit of both countries. Another circumstance was, that he did not hastily embrace the offer, but it being made to him, and he believing that his services might be of use to his Majesty, he had certainly accepted of the appointment. He felt it an honour to serve his King, but he felt also, as soon as he read the report of the discussion in the other House, that there was but one line for him to pursue as a subject and a public servant. During a long course of military and other duties he could say, and he thought those who had of late become his political enemies could not contradict it (hear, hear), that he had endeavoured to serve his King and his country to the best of his ability. If he were to depart from this country after what had passed in the House of Commons, he should feel himself, as a representative of his Majesty, to be placed in a new and false situation. The remarks and animadversions which had been made by one branch of the legislature were so

strong that he conceived it impossible for him to fill the office to which he had been called with proper effect. It was on these grounds, and standing, as he did, upon his sense of duty to his Sovereign, without meaning to succumb to faction (though he should be devoid of feeling if he were insensible to the scoffs and scorn which had been so unjustly levelled at him), he was determined upon no consideration whatever to accept that appointment which his Majesty had been most graciously pleased to offer him. (Hear, hear). He had come to that determination upon the grounds he had stated, and without any communication with the Government as to the course he should take; he had neither sought advice, nor had it been proffered. (Hear, hear). Another opportunity might be afforded him of answering those unfair, unjust, and unexpected animadversions which had been passed upon circumstances which had elapsed sixteen years ago, but at this moment it was impossible to meet them in that House. (Hear, hear). He wished to say nothing of the House of Commons; it was omnipotent; but if any Member of that House had been placed in his situation would he not have claimed and have been allowed to defend himself? (Hear). He would not allude immediately to the originator of the motion, or particularly to any one of those who followed him; but very gross and false statements were made, and from them it was seen (and he hoped, therefore, that that House would reflect upon it) how a public servant, after a long performance of duty to the best of his ability, was treated. (Hear, hear). After thirty years' service he could challenge his most determined enemy to bring one stain upon his character. (Cheers). He thanked their lordships for the attention with which they had heard him, and would not then trouble them further.

The Duke of Wellington said, that considering that he was the person who was officially responsible for the nomination of his noble Friend, he hoped their lordships would excuse him for saying a few words. He had made the recommendation to his Majesty upon his knowledge of his noble Friend's real and important military experience, and upon his knowledge

of his fitness for a diplomatic employment from various diplomatic services for many years, more particularly in one embassy at the Court of Vienna for nine years. During that period he had performed the most important services to the satisfaction of those Ministers who had employed him up to the very last moment, and retired from that office with the strongest of approbation from the Secretary of State for that time. He was aware of some of the peculiar talents of his noble Friend, and which were necessary for the particular office to which he was appointed; and he was aware also of the peculiar fitness of his noble Friend for this particular diplomatic employment, being a military officer of high rank and reputation in the service of his country; and under such circumstances he considered himself justified in recommending that his noble Friend should be appointed Ambassador to St. Petersburg, and he was happy to find his Rt. hon. Friend concurred in that recommendation, and his Majesty was pleased to approve of that appointment. Under these circumstances he confessed that he felt the greatest regret that the nomination had gone no further, and that it had not been approved of in another place, as it was in consequence of that that his noble Friend had thought proper (with that delicate feeling which could not but be admired) to decline the office. There was no prerogative of the crown which should be held more inviolate than that of the appointment of its ambassadors. The Ministers of the crown were responsible for their nomination: they were responsible for the instructions under which noble lords and others acted, and for the manner in which they discharged their duties. Moreover, they were responsible for the due performance of those duties to the country and to the other House. It was impossible that the Commons could have interfered so far with the prerogative of the Majesty as to say that the person nominated should not fill that situation, inasmuch as by so doing the House of Commons would have taken upon itself the nomination of the officers, and the direction of the particular duties they were to discharge, and they would likewise relieve Ministers from the responsibility

under which they laboured. For his part he would not believe the House of Commons would have taken such a part, and he thought the country owed a debt of gratitude to his noble Friend for having declined the office to which he had been nominated. (Hear).

House of Commons, 16. March, 1835.

LORD J. RUSSELL asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer, after what had passed in that House on Friday night last, if it was the intention of Government to send out Lord Londonderry as Ambassador to Russia?

SIR ROBERT PEEL: I will give the noble Lord an answer without the slightest hesitation. (Hear, hear). About an hour since I received from my noble Friend (the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs), a letter which he had received from the noble Lord (the Marquis of Londonderry), in which letter that noble Lord stated that he felt, after considering the debate which took place in this House on Friday night, that on accepting the high situation of Ambassador of this country to the Court of St. Petersburg his services would be greatly impaired. He felt it his duty, therefore, to resign the situation to which he had been appointed. (Hear, hear). I am bound to state that this course has been taken by the noble Lord entirely upon his own judgment, without any solicitation, directly or indirectly, from any person. (Loud cheers from the Ministerial benches).

LORD JOHN RUSSELL said that he admired the decision of the noble Marquis. The country was but too often injured by the appointment of Ambassadors who did not carry with them public confidence. (Hear, hear). In the present case the appointment had been so ill-advised on the part of Ministers, that it was necessary to take the suggestion of that House to have the appointment made null. On the present experiment called by the right hon. Baronet opposite "a fair trial," he thought there was great danger that the high prerogatives of the Crown would lose their dignity. He was more and more of opinion that the House ought to revert to the good old maxim, that all

influential places should be administered by those who had the confidence of the country. It was unfortunate that Ministers had chosen one against whom there had been such strong objections as Ambassador to a foreign court. (Hear, hear). This appointment had been, however, done away with by the implied censure of the House. In fact, the blame rested not with the noble Marquis, but with the Ministry. (Hear, from the opposition). They had first dissatisfied the country, and next drawn on themselves the blame of the House. (Cheers from the opposition).

SIR R. PEEL: Sir, the noble Lord has assumed that the retirement of the Marquis of Londonderry took place in consequence of the course that had been pursued by the House of Commons. (Great cheering for several minutes from the opposition). I was not going to deny that it took place in consequence of the discussion in the House of Commons. Nothing would be so unfair or unjust. (Cheers). But I wish to remind the noble Lord that it was a discussion, and not an act or unauthorised proceeding of the House of Commons, which would be considered in the nature of an address. When the right hon. Baronet (the Member for Nottingham) asked me whether it was my intention to advise the Crown to cancel the appointment, I felt it was my duty to state, that I should not consider it my duty, as a public man, to tender that advice. (Cheers). Some hon. Gentlemen may suppose that the act of the Marquis of Londonderry has taken place in consequence of some indirect communication by the Government to those Gentlemen. I would say that such is not the case, and that the proceeding is the unsolicited act of the Marquis of Londonderry himself. (Loud and repeated cheering). The appointment had no doubt met with the disapprobation of some of the Members of that House, who expressed themselves dissatisfied with it in the course of the debate. But, if the noble Marquis requires it, it will be some consolation to know that the same Members who were dissatisfied with his appointment also objected to the re-appointment of Viscount Canterbury to the

chair of the House. If the noble Lord opposite, and those who are connected with him, think that they can form a government possessing more of the confidence of the country than that to which I am attached (cheers), the proper course for them to pursue will be to give notice of a direct motion, which the hon. Member for Middlesex has intimated will be given, and then we shall be able to see, whether, upon the result of that motion, the House of Commons will be prepared to accede to a motion the acceding to which will be tantamount to the removal of Ministers. (Hear, hear).^a In my situation I consider that no slight vexations, no personal disagreeables, should induce me to relinquish the place which I fill. If the question respecting Government is to be brought to issue, the only way to decide it will be, not by indirect motions, which it is to be hoped will not be acted upon, but by a direct appeal to the House respecting its opinion of the Government. (Hear, hear). The question should be put directly to the House, whether a government more fit and more in accordance with its sentiments can be formed; and no man can be more anxious than myself that the question should be tried.

Mr. HUME said that the House could now well judge what the nature of motions must be which the right honourable Baronet called slight. (Hear). The hon. Baronet opposite might be sure that they should soon come to the question he so ardently desired. He begged leave to remind the hon. Baronet that other persons could hatch addled eggs. (Laughter). He had been taunted with the unhappy fact the other evening, but he could not ask if the right hon. Baronet was not now in the same predicament. (Laughter). It did appear a novelty to him that Ministers were determined to remain in office till the last extremity. He should like much to have seen the letter that would have been sent to the noble Marquis, intimating that the House of Commons did not consider him fit for that office. He thought that the noble Marquis ought to have resigned. The noble Marquis's egg had been addled, but it was his own fault.

An Hon. MEMBER said the noble Marquis had pursued the only course he could

do by resigning. He believed he had been obliged to resign by having maligned the brave Poles by calling them rebels.

Lord D. STUART said he did not desire to taunt the Government or the noble Marquis about what had occurred. The noble Marquis, in his opinion, was quite right in having resigned, and he could not but make the remark that what had obliged the noble Marquis to do so was the unjustifiable manner in which he had maligned the noble Polish patriots.

Sir R. H. INGLIS said, that whatever considerations had induced Lord Londonderry to take the step he had done, he (Sir R. Inglis) could not but concur in the sentiment that the noble Marquis had raised himself in the estimation of all parties by adopting that course. (Hear, hear). He would not touch further on that point; but he could not but think, that the precedent which the House set on Friday last, and which had unfortunately been followed up by the noble Marquis, was one pregnant with mischief to the State. He admitted that if an address to the Crown had been proposed and agreed to by the House there would have been nothing more done than was justifiable, both in respect to the prerogatives of the Crown and the constitutional forms of the House. But was it to be in consequence of a mere conversation in that House, ending in no vote or resolution, that his Majesty was to be deprived of the services of an Ambassador to the Court of St. Petersburg—deprived, as he said, of these services upon no grounds recorded by the votes of the House. With respect to the noble Lord himself, when he looked back to the time when a vote of thanks was passed upon him by that House for his gallant services in the field, which day the noble Lord was accustomed to look back upon as the most glorious of his existence, little did Lord Londonderry expect that one of the first returns he should receive—(Oh, oh, from the opposition)—would be a vote of censure from the same House for again undertaking an arduous post in the service of his country.

Sir H. HARDINGE confessed that his noble Friend, the Marquis of Londonderry, could not well have taken any other

step but the one which he had done. He (Sir H. Hardinge) thought that the charges which had been brought against the noble Lord were unjust; and although, having been for many years a personal friend of the noble Lord, he had not risen to say any thing of his public capacity; yet it, in the course of the debate of Friday night, any thing had been said against his noble Friend's private character, he should certainly have risen in his defence. But now, he was happy to say, such had not been the case. His lordship's political character had only been touched upon. But he did not think that an individual who, it was well known, did not always weigh the words he spoke very accurately should be called to account in this way for an observation of the kind which had been attributed to him, but which he could only have used in the heat of debate. He could answer from his own personal knowledge that the late Marquis of Londonderry took a very high interest in the happiness of the Poles; and his brother, the present Marquis, had followed in his footsteps, and entertained the same sympathy for that brave people.

Sir J. C. HOBHOUSE agreed with the hon. Member for the University of Oxford that it would be very unfortunate if a precedent were to be raised from what had occurred in consequence of the debate in that House on Friday. At the same time, however, he begged leave to say that the fault, if any, was none of theirs (Sir J. C. Hobhouse and his party). It was the result of a principle which would produce more evils of the like kind yet, of that principle upon which his Majesty's Ministers had determined to govern as it were by the minority of that House. (Hear, hear, from the opposition). If the Ministers would go even moderately upon the principle of endeavouring to be guided by the majority of the House no such inconveniences would result, because the Minister would know, when he had made an appointment of this kind, that however honourable Members might talk against it, when he came to the time for voting the vote would not affect him. (Hear, hear). But why did the hon. Baronet persist in dangerous experiments,

so contrary to the wishes of the majority of the House, and so at variance with every long-established precedent that existed? Not on their heads, but on that of the hon. Baronet and his colleagues, would fall the blame. This was not so much a question affecting the noble Marquis of Londonderry as involving a vote of censure against the Ministry who appointed him. It was a condemnation, if any thing, of the foreign policy of the present Government, a policy of which the noble Lord was said to be an organ. He could not sit down without bearing his tribute of praise to the conduct of Lord Londonderry on the present occasion. The right hon. Baronet opposite had declared that his Majesty's Government had not advised or suggested this step to his Lordship. He (Sir J. C. Hobhouse) did not at all see how Government could with any decency have done so, had they been inclined; they could not have deserted the noble Lord after they had appointed him; they would rather, he should hope, have abandoned their office altogether.

(To be continued.)

REPEAL OF THE MALT-TAX.

(Continued from page 751).

Mr. HUME hoped that he should receive a similar indulgence from the House, as he had also been personally alluded to by the right hon. baronet. He had characterized men to those who knew no better. (Hear, hear, and Oh.) He meant to say that the right hon. baronet had described to many who did not know them the opinions of certain members of that House, and had said that if such men should form part of the Administration, the government of the country would be brought into discredit.

Sir J. GRAHAM.—What I said was, that if an administration were formed consisting of the hon. member for Middlesex, and others whom I named, the country must expect a property-tax and a repeal of the corn laws.

Mr. HUME: The right hon. Baronet had better speak out than convey his opinions by insinuations. But he (Mr. Hume) would prefer a Government adopting such measures as those to which the right hon. Baronet had alluded, than that of one which would rob the public. The right hon. Baronet could not forget his own proposition to cut down the old coinage from a shilling to a sixpence, and let the loss fall on those who held those coins, which would fall on a large portion of the poor of the country. No man was more closely connected with a plan for the breach of public faith than the right hon. Baronet; and he (Mr. Hume) would repeat it, let the right hon. Baronet take it as he pleased. The right hon. Baronet cried out against crimination, and yet he began it himself. His own late colleagues had not been exempted from his censure. They had been described as a babel opposition, as unfit for office, and unworthy of the public confidence. Now, whether the right hon. Baronet was an old or a new Whig, or a clipper of the King's money, urging the payment of only half the nominal amount, he (Mr. Hume) would not say; but when he brought forward charges of this kind, let him look at home; no man was so connected as he was with the breach of public honour and public faith. (Hear, hear, and No, no.) Let the right hon. Baronet's works speak for him. (Some hon. Members here intimated that the works referred to were not those of the right hon. Baronet.) That might be the case with some, but there were others which were not disputed. (Cries of Question.) He had no doubt that many Members near the right hon. Baronet did not wish to hear any more on the subject; and some of them might feel that their leader was dealt with in a way which they did not expect. The right hon. Baronet had said that he did not expect to hear any one propose any means of replacing the malt-tax. He (Mr. Hume) was one who would propose a means of supplying the deficiency. In the year 1822 he had pointed out how eight millions of taxes might be taken off. At that day he was treated as visionary, but he had lived to see that amount of taxation taken off, and two millions more than he had expected; and he hoped to live to see four millions more taken off; and he begged the indulgence of the House while he explained how this might be done. For his own personal course he had nothing to explain. He had voted against the malt-tax last year, and he would do so now. The right hon. Baronet seemed to think that only one class of persons was affected by the malt-tax. He (Mr. Hume) was surprised at this coming from one who had held so high an office as the right hon. Baronet had in the late Government. He (Mr. Hume) held that the labourer, who earned his bread from day to day, was as much interested in the malt-tax as the farmer or land-owner; all classes were interested. He would appeal to those who knew him whether any thing had ever fallen from him, in his desire to effect reduction; whether he had ever said or urged any thing which could affect public credit. He had always done his best to support public credit and public faith; and if the malt-tax were five times its present amount, he would vote against its repeal, if that repeal could be shown to be injurious to public credit or faith with the public creditor. But he did not think that the repeal of the tax would injure public credit; on the contrary, he thought that it would not only help public credit, but it would also tend to improve public morals. It was well known, that in proportion as the consumption of malt decreased, the consumption of spirits increased. This would be shown by looking to the returns of the consumption of malt in the ten years ending in 1786, and the ten years ending in 1826. In the former period the duty on malt was 10s. the quarter, and the population was much less than in the latter; yet the consumption of malt in the latter was not greater than in the former period. This was owing to the increased consumption of spirits; and he would then contend, that if by removing the tax on malt they not only gave relief to the public, but also tended to improve public morals, they were bound to make the reduction. He would now come to state how he would supply the deficiency created by the reduction of the malt-tax. The sum to be reduced, he meant the net sum, was said

to be 4,600,000*l*. The House was aware that a large establishment of the Excise was kept up in order to protect the collection of the malt-tax, and a great saving might be made by the reduction of that establishment after the first year. The expense of the Excise establishment was above 1,200,000*l*. a year, and he was satisfied that of that sum 500,000*l*. a year might be saved by the reduction of the malt-tax. The right hon. Baronet (Sir R. Peel) had said that that 150,000*l*. was all that could be saved by the reduction of the establishment for the collection of the tax. But this was ridiculous. He (Mr. Hume) would contend that it would be 500,000*l*. It might be less or more, but he would fix it at that sum. This would leave 4,100,000*l*. (Loud cries of Question). He was sure that they were new members who called out in that manner, otherwise, and if acquainted with the forms of the House, they would not so misbehave themselves. In the financial statement of the late Chancellor of the Exchequer in last July, it had been said, that although 6,000,000*l*. of taxes had been reduced since 1830, the loss to the revenue did not exceed one-half. He (Mr. Hume) had shown that the statement was under-rated, and had proved that the reduction was 7,000,000*l*., and that the actual loss of revenue did not exceed 1,100,000*l*., taking into account the income of the previous year. The same principle would apply in all reductions of taxes; and thus, if they took this reduction of the malt-tax, after deducting the reduced expense of the Excise establishment, they would find that the actual loss to the revenue would not exceed much more than 2,100,000*l*. What danger, then, he would ask, could there be in the reduction of little more than two millions? The right hon. baronet had effected a reduction of two millions at a time when he declared that there was only a surplus of 50,000*l*., but he had calculated, and calculated wisely, on a proportionate increase of revenue from the reduction by the expected increased consumption. Then he would repeat that there could be no danger from a reduction of 2,000,000*l*.. The budget of last July stated the expenditure for army, navy, ordnance (a member

added, "and half-pay") well, he would take the half-pay in, and the whole amount was 14,000,000*l*. some odd hundred thousand. In these were the civil-list and the pension-list, which latter ought to be reduced to-morrow, and the diplomatic expenses swelled out by the missions of such men as Lord Londonderry. (Loud cries of Hear, from the opposition side). He would not enter into the details of this expenditure; but taking the 14,000,000*l*. he had stated, and the 4,500,000*l*. for collection, the whole would exceed 20,000*l*.; and leaving out the civil-list and the judges' salaries, if they were to be untouched, and the half-pay, he would contend that on the whole 3,000,000*l*. might be reduced. Then he would add, that if they did justice to Ireland on the Irish Church question, 1,000,000*l*. might be saved in the army expenditure of that country, and 3,000,000*l*. at least in the expenditure of our colonies, if justice were done to them. He would then take the militia, the expense of which was a mere waste of 340,000*l*., and the expense of our volunteer corps. What use was there in keeping those men riding about at the public expense? They ought to be reduced. But take only the expenditure of the 14,000,000*l*., and was there any Government which could not make a reduction of 10 per cent. on that amount? There was also the staff, on which a large reduction might be made. He was aware that there were many hon. members who were opposed to all reductions, on the ground that they were impracticable consistently with the efficiency of the public service. He would mention one case to show the fallacy of such objections. When the right hon. baronet (Sir J. Graham) came into office, he (Mr. Hume) said that he might reduce 1,500,000*l*. in the navy expenditure, and yet leave the navy more efficient than before. Many members deemed that impossible, but the right honourable baronet had made a reduction of 1,800,000*l*., and left the navy more efficient than he found it. (Cheers). Let them, then, carry his plan, and they would find that the reductions he proposed could be effected with safety. Let them look at the engineer and storekeepers'

departments, and they would find that a reduction of 200,000*l.* might be effected in these branches. He would say, then, that all who were anxious to effect an economical reduction in the public expenditure ought to vote for the repeal of the malt duties, because by that means they would force reduction on the Government. They had no prospect of reduction in the King's speech, or in any other speech that he had heard. In none of these was there any prospect of a reduction of taxation. Let the House, then, force this reduction on the Government in the way he had proposed. But, it might be asked, had he no tax to propose in lieu of that which was proposed to be reduced? He answered, that no new tax was necessary: but if one was necessary, he could state one to which no man could object. There had been taxes proposed, and acts passed, by those who consulted their own interests. The nobles and those who held large property made a law which suited their own views. One act of this kind would illustrate what he meant. One act was passed, by which any person to whom a bequest was made of 100*l.* must pay, if he were a stranger—that was a person not related by blood—10*l.* to the public revenue out of that legacy, and in proportion less according to his degree of kindred to the testator. Let a man be ever so poor or ever so much in need of the bequest, that tax must first be paid. But how was the case with the property left by the rich? He would state one case in illustration. The Duke of Sutherland died lately, and left to his family a property of 240,000*l.* a-year, and on this not one farthing duty was paid to the public. Was this fair, when compared with the tax which the poor man had to pay? He would say, if they wanted an additional tax, and he did not think they would if the proper reductions were made, let them tax such properties as that which he had mentioned. Let them tax the property of the Duke of Devonshire and others who might have large property; let such property be taxed to its full value, and they would find ample means to make good any real loss to the revenue occasioned by the reduction of

the malt-tax. This, however, was not the wish of the land-owners, and it was proved in the case of Mr. Pitt. When that Minister proposed in 1798 a tax on property, he brought in two bills; one of these taxed the property of large proprietors in the way he had stated; one of these on the third reading was carried by only the casting vote of the Speaker, and the next morning Mr. Pitt was informed that if he persevered he would lose the support of the country gentlemen. Now he would ask the right hon. Baronet (Sir R. Peel) whether he thought he could have any difficulty in making this reduction out of the expenditure, when he (Mr. Hume) had given to the right hon. Baronet four items amounting to nearly one million. In addition to this he proposed a reduction of 10 per cent. upon the collection of the revenues, which, coupled with the other savings he had pointed out, would leave such ample funds that every man might with a safe conscience vote for the abolition of this tax; and he pledged himself that the public credit would stand higher in proportion as the ability of the people to pay their taxes was increased. (Hear, hear). The fewer the taxes and the richer the people were, the greater their strength, and upon this he depended. The right hon. Baronet had ample means to meet the demands of the public creditor, and what he (Mr. Hume) suggested as capable of being done was a similar reduction as the right hon. Baronet the Member for Cumberland had effected in the naval department should be made in those items of public expenditure which he (Mr. Hume) had twelve years ago recommended. (Hear, hear). On these grounds he should support the motion, and he appealed to those hon. members who usually thought with him, but who on the present occasion seemed to entertain the erroneous notion that, in their endeavours to repeal other taxes, the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government would go with them; he entreated his friends to repel this notion, and to join with him in the sentiment that the malt-tax was a bad tax, and ought to be repealed, inasmuch as it fell upon that portion of the industry of the country which was least able to bear it.

A more erroneous idea never prevailed than that the repeal of other taxes would be productive of equal relief; and those would not be the true friends of economy, nor doing that which was due from them to their constituents and to the country, who should join in the opposition to the motion of the noble Marquis, the Member for the county of Buckingham. (Cheers, and loud cries of Question, question, and Divide).

From the LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, MARCH 13.

INSOLVENTS.

ELLIS, J. H., Southampton, timber-merchant.
WILLIAMS, W., Panteague, Monmouthshire, shopkeeper.
WILSON, J. S., otherwise J. Wilson, Agnes-place, Waterloo-road, coach-proprietor.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

OKILL, W., Liverpool, commission share-broker.

BANKRUPTCIES ANNULLED.

BAILEY, J., Sparsholt, Hampshire, cattle-salesman.
DICKISSON, J., Nottingham, lace-manufacturer.
HICKS, J. P., and C. E. Hicks, Eastington, Gloucestershire, clothiers.
LE COUTEUR, J., St. Peter's Port, Guernsey, woollen-draper.

BANKRUPTS.

BUMPUS, T., jun., Northampton, grocer.
HICKS, J. P., and C. E. Hicks, Eastington, Gloucestershire, clothiers.
HICKSON, A., Doncaster, grocer.
NORMAN, J., Burslem, Staffordshire, inn-keeper.
PENN, J., Leamington, Warwickshire, book-seller.
PLEACE, W., Bristol, victualler.
ROBERTS, D., Pwllhell, Carnarvonshire, draper.
ROBINSON, J. & W., Burslem, Staffordshire, common-brewers.
ROTHWELL, T., Manchester and Blackburn, cotton-manufacturer.
ROWED, H., and J. W. Greenshields, New Bond-street, Westminster, tailors.
SANDON, F., Newgate-street, druggist.
SMITH, J., Wheatley, Oxfordshire, surgeon.

TUESDAY, MARCH 17.

INSOLVENT.

CAMPBELL, C., Arundel-street, Strand, lodging-house-keeper.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

WILLIS, J., Liverpool, merchant.

BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

GOWER, T., Greenwich-road, coach-maker.
SALMON, W., Redcross-street, Liverpool, victualler.

BANKRUPTS.

BROWNE, W. E., Brompton-grove, merchant.
BURNELL, J., jun., Wortley, Yorkshire, clothier.
COOKE, R. B., St. Clement's, Worcester, stone-mason.
EVELEIGH, J. S. and W. Eveleigh, Union-street, Southwark, hatters.
HERBERT, T., Brynmawr, Brecon, grocer.
MITCHELL, S., Sheffield, merchant.
SHIRLEY, B., Blackfriars-road, wholesale dealer in earthenware.
TAYLOR, W., Gateshead, Durham, builder.
TROTTER, R., Tynemouth, Northumberland, ship-owner.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, March 16.

—We had a fair supply of Wheat and other articles from the near counties this morning, but our arrivals from the more distant places since this day week have been only moderate, owing to the stormy weather.

The Wheat trade was not brisk this morning, but last Monday's prices were supported.

Malting Barley and Malt were in request, and fine qualities realized an advance of 1s. per quarter over the rates of last Monday.

We have had a good supply of Oats since this day week, mostly Scotch; the Irish shipments are kept back by the boisterous weather: we experienced a fair demand for Oats to-day, at last Monday's prices.

Peas and Beans rather cheaper.

In grinding Barley no alteration.

Wheat, English, White, new	42s. to 50s.
Old	48s. to 50s.
Red, new	38s. to 42s.
Old	38s. to 40s.
Lincolnshire, red	36s. to 41s.
White	42s. to 43s.

Yorkshire, red.....	36s. to 40s.
White	40s. to 42s.
Northumberl. & Berwick	37s. to 40s.
Fine white	37s. to 41s.
Dundee & choice Scotch	40s. to 42s.
Irish red, good	35s. to 36s.
White	38s. to 40s.
Rye	30s. to 34s.
New	34s. to 36s.
Barley, English, grinding	24s. to 28s.
Distilling	28s. to 32s.
Malting	32s. to 35s.
Chevalier	38s. to 41s.
Malt	44s. to 54s.
Fine new	56s. to 64s.
Beans, Tick, new	34s. to 36s.
Old	38s. to 40s.
Harrow, new	36s. to 38s.
Old	40s. to 43s.
Peas, White, English	36s. to 38s.
Foreign	35s. to 36s.
Gray or Hog	36s. to 38s.
Maples	38s. to 40s.
Oats, Fölands	23s. to 26s.
Lincolnshire, short small	22s. to 24s.
Lincolnshire, feed	21s. to 23s.
Yorkshire, feed	22s. to 23s.
Black	23s. to 25s.
Northumberland and Ber-	
wick Potato	25s. to 26s.
Ditto, Angus	24s. to 25s.
Banff and Aberdeen, com.	24s. to 25s.
Potato	25s. to 27s.
Irish Potato, new	22s. to 23s.
Feed, new light	19s. to 21s.
Black, new	21s. to 22s.
Foreign feed	22s. to 24s.
Danish and Pomerian, old	20s. to 21s.
Petersburgh, Riga, &c. ..	22s. to 23s.
Foreign, in bond, feed..	12s. to 14s.
Brew	16s. to 18s.

SMITHFIELD, March 16.

This day's supply of Beasts, Sheep, and Porkers, was good: its supply of Lambs and Calves rather limited. Trade was, with prime small Beef, somewhat brisk, at an advance of 2d. per stone; with Mutton, Lamb, Veal, and Pork, dull, at Friday's quotations.

Per stone of 8lbs. sinking offal.

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Inferior Beef	2	0	to	2 3
Ditto Mutton	2	2	to	2 4
Middling Beef	2	4	to	2 8
Ditto Mutton	2	8	to	3 0
Prime Beef	3	4	to	4 0
Ditto Mutton	3	6	to	4 0
Veal	3	0	to	5 0
Pork	3	0	to	4 0
Lamb	5	4	to	6 0

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. } Fri. | Sat. | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thurs.
Cons. Ann. } 92½ | 92½ | 92½ | 91½ | 91½ | 91½

COLONIAL POLICY, MILITARY COLONIZATION, AND THE BOUNDARY QUESTION.

This day is published in 8vo. price one shilling,

COLONIAL POLICY; with Hints upon the Formation of MILITARY SETTLEMENTS. To which are added, Observations on the BOUNDARY QUESTION, now pending between this Country and the United States.

"Cælum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt."

JAMES COCHRANE and Co., 11, Waterloo-place.

Just published,

A LATIN GRAMMAR, for the use of English Boys; being, an Explanation of the Rudiments of the Latin Language. By JAMES PAUL COBBETT.

PRICE 3s., boards.

CHEAP CLOTHING FOR THE SEASON

AT

SWAIN AND CO's Tailors, 93, Fleet-street, near the avenue leading to St. Bride's church.

FOR CASH ONLY.

A Suit of Superfine Clothes.....	4	18	0
Ditto, Blue or Black	5	10	0
Ditto, Imperial Saxony cloth.....	6	0	0
Petersham Great coat	3	3	0
A Suit of Livery.....	4	10	0

And every other article equally cheap.

I recommend Messrs. Swain and Co. as very good and punctual tradesmen, whom I have long employed with great satisfaction.

WM. COBBETT.



CHURCH COMMISSION.

THIS is the *tickler*! This is the affair which will bring the eight hundred million-system to the test. The Commissioners have made their first report, which relates wholly to the bishoprics. This is a mere nothing at all. It is what the *people* of this country are no more interested in than they are interested in the question of *who it is* that swallow up the pensions, the sinecures, and the grants. What need they care *who it is*, so that the money be taken away from them. What is it to them over what territory the bishops exercise their several jurisdictions. They pay five millions a year, or thereabouts, to this mass of clergy: they wish to *cease to pay this*. Whatever may be their particular creed, they all wish to cease to pay this; and it will require something more than sheets of printed paper, called reports of Church Commissioners, to make them believe that they ought not to cease to pay it. The Commission, under which these Church-reformers act, states, that their principal object is, TO PROVIDE FOR THE CURE OF SOULS, "with reference to residence on the cures." What need is there of a Commission for this purpose? Are there not the means in every parish to keep a priest residing there; were there not laws to compel them to reside there, until those laws were repealed by the clergy themselves, and at the instigation of the bishops? Do not the people yield tithes, personal as well as predial, to provide for the cure of souls? Does not the law even now enjoin upon the bishops the compelling of priests to reside? And,

[Printed by W. Cobbett, Johnson's-court.]

under these circumstances it is, that we see a set of bishops appointed to be Commissioners to discover the means of providing for the cure of souls! Do the annals of absurdity and of human brass furnish anything to equal this? — However, my "LEGACY TO PARSONS," which is now written and will come from the press as soon as possible, will settle all this matter in the mind of every man of common sense. This is the *great question of all*; the decision of this question will decide the fate of the system, which has been pulling down England, and destroying its liberties and its laws for two hundred years. I saw that this subject must be discussed fully, and be decided upon in a very short time. It is a subject that cannot be discussed piece-meal, without misunderstanding and confusion of ideas. I have, therefore, to the best of my ability, placed the whole of the subject fairly before those who should choose to read my little book, leaving it impossible for any one to gainsay, unless he first forswear the statute-book and the laws of the land. The Church Commissioners may "*report*" away, as long as they like; but unless they can answer this little book of mine, they may as well keep the reports to themselves.

WRANGLING FACTIONS.

UNDER this title, I, in 1807, made the first breach in that humbug about PARTY; about *Whig* and *Tory* and *Foxite* and *Pittite* and *Court-party* and *Country-party*, by the trickery of which the people of this country had been amused, cajoled, drawn off from the true scent, cheated, pillaged, and plundered for so many many years. I showed the people, that, as to *them*, one party was just as good as the other; that they were only wrangling for the enjoyment of what could be got out of the people. Long habit had given me a great deal to overcome; but I seized every opportunity for showing, that the two factions *always*

united against the people. I told a story about me and my brothers, and some neighbour's boys, fighting like fury; coming home all over blood, very often, in a war about the apples that grew on the trees of our two fathers. We did not fight by families of a side, but for the more or less of the apples, of which we sought to make provision for winter, by making holes in hay-ricks and mows. It was not family against family, like the two desperate families in *ROMEO AND JULIET*: we divided into parties, and, like Swisses, fought brother against brother, the division of the spoil being always the ground of the fight. Our two fathers having tried the cart-whip in vain (and neither of them was a cripple at it), consulted together; and the other at last said to our father: "*Damme, GEORGE, let us cut down the trees.*" The trees exposed to our incursions were out of the reach of the watchings of the house, and they bore very fine Golden Rennets, Pearmains, Russetings, and Hall-doors, the last of which would keep till apples came again. Oh! if you could have seen our countenances, and heard our outcries, when we saw the axe laid to the stem of these trees: if you could have heard our bitter complaints, not to say our reproaches; and it was curious that, seeing in large letters upon the church-wall every Sunday, "Honour thy father and thy mother," each faction poured out its reproaches upon the father of the other faction. But the measure was effectual: it put an end to the wars, and the effusion of human blood.

I told the people this story in 1807; told them that it was the fruit of corruption that the factions were contending for; and that the way to make them quiet was, to cut down the tree of corruption, or grab it up by the roots, by a *Radical Reform*; the word "*radical*" meaning that which appertains to the root.

Our complaints and outcries, and our reproaches reciprocally bestowed upon our fathers, were loud, long, and bitter; but nothing compared to the complaints and reproaches of the two factions against me in 1807. They talked of me as if I

my eyes, and bite me with their teeth. I was told, and I believe it still, that Lord GREY, who was then Lord Howick, said, that I had done more mischief than any other man that ever lived in England; for that I had destroyed the character of all "*public men*"; that I had made the people look upon both factions as being just alike as to their motives; and I did hear that he said, and I believe that he did say, when the savage sentence was passed upon me, in 1810, that the sentence was horrible in itself; but that I deserved it, for the mischief that I had done in destroying the popular confidence in "*public men*"; and I know that old TIERNEY said, in 1807 (when he had just secured himself a pension of 1200*l.* a year, he having, until then, been in opposition all his life); I know that he said, that if I were suffered to proceed, no "*public man*" could retain his character; and that, if *there were no law then to put me down, a law ought to be made to put me down.*

They, soon after this, gave me a hard squeeze; but they have never, from that day to this, rubbed out the effect of the apple-tree story; and "*party*" and "*public man*" continued to be sounds to laugh at, until we got something under the name of a reform of the Parliament; and I am truly surprised to hear Sir ROBERT PEEL, whom nobody will accuse of a want of capacity for discernment, should still make use of this now despised phrase of "*public man*": just as if there were a race of men entitled to this description; just as if *public men* were a profession or trade. The laws and constitution of England know nothing of any such trade or profession. They recognise no body of persons under this name; they recognise a King, an hereditary House of Peers, an elected House of Commons, and a Privy Council to aid the King; they recognise officers of State, Judges, and other executive officers, appointed to obey the King in administering and executing the laws; but they recognise no body of persons, or description of persons called *public men*: they do not look upon every man that the King may choose to employ, as having any title to preference or pre-eminence in society; they do not look upon a man

as always entitled to receive public money, because he has once received it. They do not deem it right that truth is to be suppressed, merely because the party who may be injured by the promulgation of it chooses to call himself a public man. If we had called ourselves "*public boys*" as the ground of our right to carry on a reciprocal trade in the apples of our fathers, what should we have got, or what should we have deserved, but an additional stroke with the cart-whip? By-the-by, if there were two families engaged in the like practices now, Peel's new and improved code of laws would hang every mother's son of them; and cause him, if heir to an estate, to forfeit that estate to the King.

That which we behold going on at this time, very much resembles the state of things which existed in 1807. The Tories, by a trick, the equal of which was never witnessed in the world before, had just ousted the Whigs. The Whigs had brought in a Catholic Emancipation Bill; the Tories set up a cry of "No Popery," and violation of the conscience of the good old King. The Whigs (Lord Grey in person) solemnly declared to the House, that he had had the consent of the King to bring in the bill; but that they would withdraw the bill, though it had passed so far with a majority of *nearly two to one*. They did withdraw it; but that did not save them; out they went, leaving the Catholics to their fate. Then began two years of wrangling; and then began I my writings on the wrangling factions, the object of which was, to prove that, with regard to the people, both factions were precisely alike. The Whigs, during the short time that they were in power, not only added to the then immense mass of taxes; but actually proposed, and brought in, a bill, to *cause the Beer-tax to extend to private houses*; to send an exciseman into every house in the kingdom; and to make it severely penal for us to brew our own beer in our own houses, without the supervision of the exciseman, and the payment of the duty. This bill was brought in by Lord HENRY PEARCE, who is now the Marquis of LANSDOWN. They had found the Income-tax at 6½ per cent., and they raised it to 10

per cent. They had found some German troops stationed in England and Ireland, and they, amongst their first acts, greatly augmented the number, for which measure we have now to send to Hanover about eighty or ninety thousand pounds a year; and have had to do this for twenty long years. They had found Lord GRANVILLE to be auditor of the Exchequer, an office which the law rendered wholly incompatible with the office of First Lord of the Treasury; and they brought in, and carried through, an Act of Parliament to enable him to hold both offices at once. (See History of George IV.)

Why, I was a witness of all this; I understood all these matters well; and should I not have been amongst the basest of all mankind, if I had not endeavoured to break the people of their hankering after party, and of making themselves the prey and the sport of these monstrous factions; who, it was manifest, had no regard whatsoever for the people, and were seeking for nothing but their own aggrandizement. Before the Whigs got in they were continually crying out against abuses; continually crying out against the Union with Ireland; continually crying out against the mode of governing India; continually bawling about extravagant expenditure, and against useless places and unmerited pensions. Being in power, and being called upon to repeal the Union with Ireland, and change the government of India, they answered, "That to undo a thing after it was done, and not to do it at all, were two very different things"; and they had the barefaced impudence to put this question to the complainants and applicants: "What! suppose a man had built a house very unwisely, and contrary to the remonstrances of his family, would that family, if they were in their senses, advise him to pull it down, and to leave them without a covering, merely because it was unwise to build it, or because he might have built it in a more proper place, or in a better manner"? And in this impudent way they went on; not more unjustly, perhaps, but more insolently by far, than the Tories had ever done. As to pensions, look at the pension-list now, and see how

they replenished it, during their thirteen or fourteen months of power; and as to places and allowances, their conduct was far more shameful than any that had ever been imputed to the Tories. In open defiance of the law they put *foreigners* upon the pension-list.

Before they came into power they had complained of most scandalous proceedings in the Isle of Wight with regard to barracks; the most scandalous things, the most prodigiously shameful, that ever were heard of in the world. After they were in power petitions were presented, exposing these jobs in the clearest light, and calling upon the Parliament to do justice in the case. The Whigs not only rejected these petitions, not only scoffed at them, but in no scanty measure heaped reproach and abuse upon the petitioners.

But what do we want more than their conduct during the time that they were in office last? And what a beastly people this must be; how much worse than brute beasts, if they entertain any hope of good to them from the good-will or predominance of either faction? What the people want is, to have the legitimate authority of the King, the Lords, the Commons, unswayed by party; and until the people can see the thing in this light, until they can see that one party is just as much a reformer as the other party, until the people can see this, they will never act in such a way as to obtain a chance of the restoration of the liberties and happiness of the country. In regard to questions which do not come home to the pockets of the people, the factions will fight like cat and dog; in all questions relating to the possession of power, and the sweet accompaniments of power, they will contend, not in the same vulgar manner that we used to do for the apples. We used to pull off our stock-frocks and lay them by till the fight was over; then put them on to hide the blood, which, nine times out of ten, came plentifully from the noses. I do not mean to say that the factions will carry on the war in this at once vulgar and desperate way, but as far as words can go it will be sharp work enough.

There are several great things which the people want done, and which ought

to be done, and which are essential to the freedom and happiness of the nation. These are, amongst others, as follow:

1. A repeal of the malt and the hop taxes.
2. A relieving of the industrious part of the nation from paying any portion of the interest of what is called the "National Debt."
3. An abolition of tithes, and a total separation of the Church from the State, in England as well as in Ireland.
4. A restoration of the old law with regard to game.
5. A restoration of the old law with regard to trespasses.
6. An abrogation of the Peel-penal-code, and a restoration of the old law.
7. A shortening of the duration of Parliaments.
8. An extension of the right of suffrage.
9. An abolition of flogging in the army.
10. A restoration of the old law which permitted private soldiers, and common sailors to become officers in the army and navy.
11. A total abolition of all unmerited places, pensions, allowances, and grants.
12. A repayment by the bishops and the parsons of the immense sums voted to them out of the taxes by the boroughmonger-parliaments.
13. A repeal of the Poor-law Bill.
14. An alteration in the Stamp-duties, so as to make the landowners pay in the same proportion as farmers, tradesmen, and others of the industrious classes.

Every one of these things ought to be done; every one of them is demanded by justice, and by the good of the country; every one of them is necessary to the well-being of the people; and every one of them the two parties will cordially unite to oppose. What a fool, then, to give him the mildest appellation, must any man be who prefers one of these parties to the other! What a fool he must be not to rejoice at seeing them *well-matched*, and with their claws fas-

tened in each other's hair; or with their thumbs applied to each other's wind-pipes.

How long this struggle is to continue, I cannot say; but this I am sure of, that it will open all the eyes which remain as yet closed up; and will at last produce a feeling so strong and so unanimous, that the factions must flee before it, and leave the way open for liberty and happiness to find their way to the people. With a gracious King, and God's blessing, there will be new Parliaments enough; and about three more elections; or, perhaps, one more, with wheat at five shillings a bushel, and fat hogs at six and sixpence a score, will give us every thing that peaceable and loyal subjects can want. Pull away, therefore, parties; kick, bite, gouge, leave your heads bald with the tearing out of hair: you will give no pain to any man of sense, by the mortification which you inflict on one another: as Lord CHATHAM said of the city-usurers, "Just in the degree that you sink, the spirit of the nation, and the happiness of the people, will rise."

As a specimen of what is now going on between the parties, I shall take and insert here a part of the debate of the 23. of March, from which my readers will form a pretty good judgment of the scenes that are now exhibited in the House of Commons. My readers will see what sort of temper the parties are in; they will see how the time of the House was spent for one evening, at any rate.

ALLEGED BREACH OF PRIVILEGE BY THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.

Mr. ROEBUCK rose to call the attention of the House to a breach of privilege which had been committed by the right hon. Baronet, the Chancellor of the Exchequer. (Loud laughter). When the Speaker appeared at the bar of the House of Lords, he claimed for the Commons perfect freedom of speech in all their debates. It was of little importance whether that freedom of debate was encroached upon by the Crown, or by a Minister of it. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had taken offence at some

expressions which had been used by an hon. Member in the course of the debate the other evening. The Members of that House were sent there to do their duty, and one portion of that duty was to give free expression to their opinion respecting the conduct of the Ministers of the Crown, without fear of threat or intimidation (laughter) of any kind whatever. If he felt called upon to express his opinion upon the conduct of a Minister, he claimed his right to do so without any restraint whatever. Were they to forego the expression of their opinion from the fear of being obliged to uphold that opinion by means of a mortal combat? (A laugh). The Chancellor of the Exchequer put on a very warlike appearance the other night, when he demanded of the hon. Member for Middlesex to explain the words he used respecting his conduct, and he supposed that if the explanation of the hon. Member had not been satisfactory he would have called him out. (Hear). He (Mr. Roebuck) felt bound, on the score of public morals, to call upon the House to deprecate this conduct on the part of a Minister of the Crown, and to shield and defend him (Mr. R.) (laughter) from any such attack, should he be induced to express himself strongly in respect to the conduct of any Minister. He liked to express his opinion, but he did not like to be shot through the head for doing so. (A laugh). And when he considered that the conduct of which he complained was practised by the champion of the church, he must say that he thought that the offence was the greater. He concluded by moving that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in calling on the hon. Member for Middlesex to retract his opinions expressed in that House, was guilty of a breach of privilege. (Loud laughter). Or if that did not do, he would read the letter addressed by the right hon. Baronet to the hon. Member for Middlesex. The hon. and learned gentleman then read the following letter:

*"House of Commons, March 20,
Friday evening.*

"Sir,—In the course of the debate this evening I understood you to make

use of expressions of which the purport was, that I was pursuing a course in respect to the measure then under discussion that was inconsistent with the conduct of a man of honour.

"Thinking it probable that such expressions fell from you inconsiderately, and in the warmth of debate, I gave you the opportunity of recalling them, by an appeal to you in the House.

"I could not with propriety pursue the subject further at the time; but I am confident that you will feel that the expressions of which I complain are not consistent with the usages of Parliament, and not warranted by the freedom of debate, and that you will therefore not hesitate to disavow them as applied to me.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"ROBERT PEEL."

"Joseph Hume, Esq., M.P."

He moved now that the letter be read by the clerk, and entered on the minutes. (Laughter).

Mr. S. RICE asked if the majority of the House were disposed to entertain such a motion? (Hear). He did not think it was either wise or prudent to be personal in debate, but still he could not agree to the doctrines laid down by the hon. and learned gentleman. This assembly was certainly not one of gladiators, but still he hoped it was an assembly of gentlemen. (Hear, hear). If an attack was to be made upon the personal honour of members, were they to have no method of vindicating themselves? (Hear).

Sir ROBERT PEEL said that he was quite sure the hon. Member for Middlesex did not mean to convey any personal imputation against his honour in the observation he made on Friday night, and he felt it due to the hon. Member to give him an opportunity of removing any erroneous impression which might prevail on the subject. If it was the wish of the House he would retire, and leave the matter to its decision. (A laugh).

Lord JOHN RUSSELL concurred in the opinion of the right hon. Member for Cambridge that the motion should not be persevered in.

Mr. T. ARTHUR said if he recollected

rightly the right hon. Baronet had himself introduced a law making it felony for one gentleman to shoot another.

Sir ROBERT PEEL complained that the hon. Member had inflicted pain upon with a blunt instrument. (A laugh).

IRISH TITHES.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL gave notice that he would, on Monday next, bring the question of appropriation forward, and that he would on that occasion persevere in his notice for a call of the House. He, therefore, trusted that the right hon. Baronet would not proceed any further in his tithe measure until after that period.

Sir R. PEEL was sorry that the practice was gaining ground of proceeding with motions on supply-nights. But as the noble Lord attached importance to the present motion he should not offer any objection, but protested against this being taken as a precedent; and although it was a matter of the greatest importance that the bill should be got through as quickly as possible, owing to the situation of the clergy in reference to the act of Parliament, which made it imperative on the Government to enforce the repayment of the instalments, yet he would not proceed with the second reading of the bill until after Monday.

After a few words from Lord JOHN RUSSELL, the report, on the motion of Sir R. PEEL, was brought up.

Mr. HUME said that the investment of any portion of money in land for the benefit of the clergy would, in his opinion, be the greatest misfortune that could befall the country. This principle was maintained by the last Parliament, and he fully concurred in its wisdom and propriety. He waved, however, his objection upon the understanding that the right honourable Baronet would not proceed another step without giving him an opportunity of doing so.

Mr. GISHORNE inquired whether the clause in reference to the instalments would be introduced in the present bill?

Sir R. PEEL replied in the affirmative.

Mr. O'CONNELL was of opinion that the debt of a million ought to be remitted, and he would most certainly support it, because it would relieve the people of

Ireland from the payment of this money. With respect to the other part of the bill, he would tell the right hon. Baronet that it would still leave the people subject to all the abuses of the tithe-system under another name, because either the landlord or the ecclesiastical commissioner would be empowered to distrain for the amount of the tithes. (Hear). They were, therefore, not advancing one single inch by the present bill in the pacification of Ireland; and he now warned them to beware, lest by mixing up tithes with rents, as this bill would do, they would not be exciting an opposition against rents as well as tithes.

Mr. GIBBORNE objected to the clause respecting the instalments, on the ground that it was inconsistent with the forms of the House, the right hon. Baronet having withdrawn the resolution in committee.

Sir R. PEEL said he would not persevere if the hon. Member objected, but he would give notice in a committee of supply.

Mr. WARBURTON thought that the bill ought to be presented without the money clauses.

Mr. F. O'CONNOR objected altogether, as he ever should do, to the principle of the bill. The honourable Member for the University (Lefroy) would recollect the discussion which took place in the House, immediately after the death of the Rev. Mr. Fergusson, and he (Mr. O'Connor) would appeal to him whether he did not then state that the question was not so much one of amount as the oppression made of collection. He (Mr. O'Connor) objected last year to the measure of making the land chargeable with the amount of tithes in the shape of tax or any other form; he felt the same objection now, for he would assure the House that, if the present bill once became law, every individual connected with the levying of so obnoxious an impost, be it in the shape of a rent-charge or otherwise, from the meanest process-server to the highest dignitary of the church, would be subject to the odium attendant on its collection. Would then, he would ask, the House permit such a system to be pursued? The right hon. Baronet, who had been for a short time in Ireland, had on a former

occasion told the House that not more than thirty or forty applications were made to him for military aid on behalf of the Protestant clergy, but he (Mr. O'Connor) knew that country better than the right hon. Baronet. He also knew the doings of the clergy from a tolerably long personal experience, and he would say that the people would not submit to their grinding oppressions. He would therefore warn the Government against proceeding with a bill which would not give satisfaction to the Irish nation, and the failure of which would have the effect of rendering their justice cowardice and their mercy caprice. When other countries required relief Ministers were the first themselves to yield it. They gave compensation to purchase the freedom of the West India slaves; they also gave redress to the Dissenters, but nothing was done voluntarily or graciously for Ireland. (Hear, hear). The House should bear in mind that the composition was taken when the price of a bushel of wheat was double what it was at present. This composition, therefore, would never be paid. He also observed that it was not the humanity of the clergy that prevented the collection of tithes, but the moral union of the people. Could the House then suppose that when tithe became a stock-jobbing fund it could be collected by any set of adventurous speculators who might enlist under the banners of the church?

Sir H. HARDING hoped the hon. Member would not consider that he was treating him with disrespect; but he was sure the House would not expect that he should answer the speech of the hon. Member, as the army estimates were fixed for this evening. This, however, in justice to the Irish clergy, he would say, that he had received several letters from clergymen in Ireland objecting to recover their tithes by an armed force, and expressing their wish to accept of any sum rather than have recourse to such extremities. (Hear, hear).

Mr. FINN made some observations which were not intelligible in the gallery.

Mr. DIVERD would oppose, by every means which the forms of the House

would permit, the clause exempting the clergy of Ireland from the repayment of the million.

Sir SAMUEL WHALLEY could not agree with the hon. Member for Dublin, or the hon. Member for Cork, who proposed that the million should be remitted to the Irish clergy, and who now appeared in the character of advocates of that reverend body, stating that all contributions would be thankfully received. As an English representative he protested against any clause which would remit this money, because it was not lent to the poor people of Ireland, but to the clergy of a rich and bloated church. He wished that the question had been settled before the army estimates came before the House, and before troops should be voted to uphold this church.

Mr. SHEIL declared himself strongly against the remission of the million sterling to the Irish clergy:

Sir ROBERT PEEL hoped honourable Members would not judge that and other questions at that moment, as the proper time for the consideration of them would soon arrive.

Mr. BARRON said it was astonishing how right hon. Gentlemen's opinions had changed with their situations and places, especially those of the right hon. Baronet the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the gallant Secretary for Ireland, who, on the 30. of July, 1834, declared that until the Government had vindicated the law, the landlords of Ireland could not in justice be called upon to take the payment of tithes upon themselves. Their friends in the House of Lords had rejected a measure which would have satisfied the people of Ireland, and rendered it unnecessary to have again come down to the House; and it was on account of that rejection that the people of England were called upon to pay the million. (Cries of Oh, oh.) The House was told the chief recommendation of the present bill was, that it was so very like the last, and therefore that the Whigs could not oppose it, as it was the very child of their own. But he maintained that the men who had rejected that last bill were guilty of the murders at Rathcormac, and that upon their heads and those of their friends

the present misery and wretchedness in Ireland must fall.

Mr. SHAW denied that either with respect to this or any other measure his opinion had of late undergone any change; and, with great respect, did not think the hon. Member who had just sat down understood any one of the tithe bills that had been introduced to the House.

Sir H. HARDINGE said he had never heard such vulgar impudence as had been uttered by the hon. Member for Waterford. (Cries of Order, and great uproar).

Mr. BARRON treated the gallant Gentleman's exclamation with the most utter contempt. (Immense confusion).

Lord JOHN RUSSELL said some few words, but was inaudible.

Sir H. HARDINGE thought he should be unworthy of the position he then held in the House did he not at once pronounce the hon. Gentleman's charge totally unfounded and untrue.

Mr. BARRON believed in his conscience the charge to be true, and that no other motive but the love of place had wrought so great a change in the present Government.

The SPEAKER said the freedom of debate could not be better preserved than by the observance of decorum, and could never be at a greater distance than when honourable Members allowed themselves to use expressions which they must afterwards repent of. The words or expressions employed by the hon. Member for Waterford ought not, in his (the Speaker's) judgment, to have been used, and he regretted that he had not interfered earlier than he had done. As those expressions were offensive as applied against the House, he hoped the hon. Member would at once retract them.

Mr. BARRON said he never spoke of any individual in particular, but of the Government, and therefore (we understood him) did not think there was need for apology. (Loud cries of Order, order).

An Hon. Member, in the name of his constituents, declared that with regard to this measure the Government pursued a course of procedure in gross dereliction of their former principles.

The SPEAKER here made some observa-

tions, the purport of which we could not catch.

Mr. BARRON regretted that he had made use of any expression offensive to the House, and retracted it.

Sir H. HARDINGE had not the slightest objection in saying that since the hon. Member had withdrawn those expressions, he also sincerely regretted that he had been too warm upon the moment.

Colonel EVANS, totally divested of all personal application, entirely concurred in the charge made by the hon. Member for Waterford against the Government of a political dereliction of principle. As he had used very strong expressions on the hustings with regard to their conduct, he now took the opportunity of repeating them in the House, as a sort of bravado appeared to him to have been used to frighten hon. Members from declaring their sentiments upon the point. He must be allowed to say, the right. hon. Baronet the Secretary for Ireland had no just right to have recourse to such means, which he had used in the case of Lord Londonderry. When the original motion was brought forward nothing was uttered offensive to the personal character of the noble Marquis, yet—

An hon. MEMBER rose to order, and ventured to ask whether the subject just introduced had any reference to Irish tithes? (Hear, hear).

Mr. W. W. WYNN most distinctly said, he considered it contrary to the first order of the House to refer to words spoken in a former debate. (Hear).

The SPEAKER concurred in the correctness of the right honourable gentleman's opinion.

Col. EVANS said that reference to past debates was matter of every day occurrence; but what he complained of was, that the right hon. and gallant Gentleman did, a night or two ago, unnecessarily advert to a previous debate, and took upon himself unprovokedly and most gratuitously to declare, that if anybody during that previous debate had used any words discreditable to the character of the noble Marquis he should have felt himself called upon to defend him.

The SPEAKER felt it most expedient for

hon. Members to consider what question was then before the House.

Colonel EVANS said, that several transactions had taken place, particularly within the last two or three days, to induce him to think that the conduct of the present Ministers had been discreditable to them in their public character. In the question now before the House there was a total dereliction from previous principle; and as "confidence" was so often spoken of, he really should like to know to what part of the House the Government could appeal to, looking at their conduct for the last six or eight years, and comparing it with their present. Was the appeal made to hon. Members who sat behind the Treasury bench in the corner? Was it to the Gentlemen who had so long resisted the claims of the Dissenters that the Government who had just brought forward its relief bill could appeal with confidence? Was it to "the section" they appealed? Perhaps it was to the "expediency men," persons who, like themselves turned round to comply with, as they termed it, the expediency of the moment? But the present Government's days were numbered, and he believed the country had seen all the reforms they would grant it.

Sir HENRY HARDINGE thought that when the House recollected his relationship and intimate connexion with the Marquis of Londonderry as a soldier, they would feel him entitled to express himself ready to vindicate that nobleman's private honour.

Colonel EVANS said it did not occur to him that the word "vindicate" had been used by the gallant Member, but he thought he had assumed a more hostile disposition. But he (Colonel Evans) protested against the continuance of that system (hear, hear), against the gallant secretary's getting up and saying, "If any hon. Member had said so and so I would have done so and so." The gallant officer had no occasion to prove his valour, for his character stood high; but he begged leave to tell him that those sort of expressions were no great proofs of valour. (Hear, hear).

Mr. J. GRATTAN hoped the debate

might be resumed, for he saw no end of lion. Members explaining.

Sir H. HARDINGE assured the gallant officer and the House that nothing but his interest for the welfare of his country had induced him to take office.

Mr. METHUEN hoped the House would take his advice, and proceed with the business of the country.

Sir E. KNATCHBULL said the unnecessary animadversions of the hon. Member for Waterford had unfortunately produced warmth of expressions on the part of his right hon. Friend, and had led to the interposition of the Speaker. He expressed the general feeling of the House, he believed, when he said he regretted that the deference the Speaker was entitled to had not been paid him at a more early period than it had. There was no feeling on the part of the Government to bully hon. Members; all it wished for was to maintain its own opinions, and to vindicate them. It knew the firm position it held in the House, and the still firmer position in the opinion of the public, and was determined, as far as possible, to do its duty.

An hon. MEMBER thought the Opposition side of the House might find out inconsistency without looking far from home, for he recollected that when the hon. Member for Southwark (Mr. D. W. Harvey), on the Catholic question, said he looked forward to Catholic Emancipation, not upon its own merits, but for the opportunity it would open for the better use and direction of church-property in that country, the right hon. Member for Cambridge (Mr. Spring Rice) declared he would vote against the measure if he thought it would have the effect of applying church-property to other than its then uses.

ON A MOTION FOR A COMMITTEE ABOUT ORANGEMEN.

Mr. WARD was glad that the Government had consented to this Committee; but he did not see how the object of the Government could be carried into effect by excluding from the Committee honourable Members who had strong feelings on the subject to be considered by the Committee. He had very strong feelings in reference to the state of Ireland; but if

he had, he only followed the views entertained by a noble Lord now in office (Lord Mahon), who had a work attributed to him, called, "*Three Months in Ireland, or Letters by a Protestant.*" In this work there was an eloquent denunciation of the Orange system, and of its ruinous effects upon the condition of Ireland. (Lord Mahon denied being the author of the work in question). He could assure the noble Lord that the book was sold under the sanction of the noble Lord's name; and he would further observe, that in his opinion, the sentiments contained in that book reflected the highest credit on its author.

LORD MAHON claimed the indulgence of the House while he replied to an attack which had been made upon him by the hon. Member for St. Albans. (Cries of No, no). He could assure the House that he was not the author of the book in question. He called upon all who knew him to say if he was one who was likely to have swerved from his principles. The hon. Member who thus attacked him was not himself wholly free from censure, for very serious charges had been advanced against him. (Hear, and cries of Oh.)

Mr. WARD said that the noble Lord who had deprecated personal attacks was himself the first to make a most gross and wanton attack upon him. (Hear, hear). He (Mr. Ward) admitted that matters occurred in reference to the Mexican mission that were painful to him. He admitted that he committed an error; but Mr. Canning, in the very last letter that he had from him, said that he (Mr. Ward) stood as high in his opinion then as he had ever done. (Hear, hear, hear). And what was the charge which the noble Lord, who, flushed with his few weeks of office (hear, hear), seemed to take so much offence at? Why, that the authorship of a pamphlet was attributed to him, the writing in which would have done credit to his pen and to his feelings. (Hear, hear). The noble Lord had made an attack upon him, which he was sure the noble Lord, upon consideration, would feel sorry for; and if he consulted Mr. Plimshead he would find that nothing that he had done affected either his personal or his political character. (Hear, hear).

LORD MANON admitted that what had occurred to the hon. Member affected neither his personal or his political character, and he had to express his regret to the hon. Member and to the House that he had been betrayed into expressions that could have given pain to the hon. Member.

This should all be read with great attention, and the reader should guard himself against wishing to *take part on either side*. It is for the people to stand and look on, and judge of the parties by what they hear and see. It is by taking a part in the thing that the people injure themselves; look on, and say "well done" to him who strikes hardest, let it be which side it will.

IRISH CHURCH-PROPERTY.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL brings on his motion next Monday, with a *call of the House*; and this motion is to determine whether, or not, this present Parliament will alienate Church-property. I hope it will determine to alienate it in any manner and any quantity that it pleases; though I am satisfied that it must all be alienated before there will again be peace and content in this kingdom.

PENSION-LIST.

MR. CLAY asked MR. HARVEY on the 23., whether he intended to persevere in his motion (for the 7. of May) relative to the swarms of pensioners; and I was glad to hear MR. HARVEY answer, that he positively *would persevere*, and *on that day*. This is the motion to try the parties. MR. CLAY wanted to bring on his motion about the Corn Bill. That is very well, too; but it is a mere nothing compared with MR. HARVEY's motion; that's the motion which will try the parties to the quick. That is a motion for cutting down the apple-tree; and the result will show us whether the parties have changed their character; whether either of them will be for touching of those immense sums which these pensioners now take from the country; amounting in the whole to a great deal more than all the poor-rates; and nine-

tenths of it coming out of the earnings of the working-people.

MUTILATION OF THE REFORM BILL.

We had constantly ringing in our ears, at the time when the King turned out the Whigs in disgrace; we had constantly ringing in our ears, the allegation, that, amongst other things, the new faction would set to work to "*mutilate the Reform Bill*." There can be no doubt that the tax-paying clauses of the Reform Bill were intended to make the number of voters as small as possible; so also the shilling to be paid for registration; and how effectual these provisions have been for the intended purpose, we all know very well. The *disqualifications* having been so numerous as, upon an average of England, to lessen the number of voters in a degree of one-third.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL has brought in, and is carrying on, a bill, entitled, a "*Bill for the more effectual Registration of Voters*." In the preamble of the bill, there is not, I believe, a single word about anything but the *more effectual registration of voters*; but the bill contains a good deal besides mere matter about the registration of voters; and if this bill pass, whether Lord JOHN intend it or not, it appears to me, that there will be a *real mutilation* of the Reform Bill; and if this should be the case, and proposed by the Whigs, and adopted by the Tories, it will be as curious an occurrence, as perhaps ever took place, even in the history of these wrangling factions. Upon this subject I have received a letter from a very intelligent correspondent, which I shall insert here, and then add a few remarks of *my own*.

"London, 21. March, 1835.

"SIR,—My object in troubling you with a letter is to complain of a bill brought in by Lord John Russell, called, "*A Bill for the more effectual Registration of Persons entitled to Vote in the Election of Members to serve in Parliament in England and Wales*." This bill is printed, and amongst the 'orders of the day' it stood

"for a second reading, but did not come on, nor will it now be read a second time until next Wednesday.

"According to the *New Reform Bill*, which is now the law of the land, any person (see clause 27) who rents even a part of a house in any city or borough to the amount of 10*l.* a year, is entitled on certain conditions, to vote for Members of Parliament.

"According to clause 28 it is not necessary to have lived a year in the same house, but only that it be of the same yearly rent and in immediate succession, and in the same city or borough; that is to say, that the person claiming to be on the list of voters, shall, for the whole year, not have lived in any house for which he has paid less than 10*l.* a year.

"According to clause 29, if I rent a piece of land in any city or borough returning Members to Parliament, and there be any sort of building on it, and the rent of the whole be of the value of ten pounds a year, I, on certain conditions (i. e. claiming to be rated to the poor; claiming to be registered, &c.) have a right to vote for Members of Parliament.

"Now, Lord JOHN RUSSELL, in the 30th clause of his proposed act repeals so much of the Reform Act (*being 2. of William IV., cap. 45*) as gives persons like myself the right to vote, on account of renting a part of a house to the amount of 10*l.* a year.

"And in the 31. clause of Lord John Russell's proposed act, the right to vote is taken from a person, unless he have lived the whole year on the premises for which he claim.

"And by the 32. clause of this proposed act, a person now having a right to vote on account of a piece of land and a house, rented by him to the amount of ten pounds a year, will lose that right unless the house, or such land be worth 5*l.* So that if the land be worth 9*l.* 10*s.* a year, and the house be worth only 4*l.* 10*s.*, such renter will not have the franchise if Lord John's bill take effect.

"I will only add, that Lord John belongs to that party, whose great objec-

jection to the Tories again coming into power, was the assumed certainty that they would attempt to mutilate the Reform Bill.

"Here is not an attempt, sir: here is a reality: here is a doing of the thing itself: here is an actual mutilation of the bill. One would hope that Lord John Russell does not perceive the effect of his bill; but whether he do, or not, that effect must be to diminish the number of voters, and, therefore, to mutilate the bill; and if once a beginning be made in this work, who is to tell us where it will stop.

"I am, Sir,

"Your most obedient humble servant,
"A. B."

I agree with my correspondent with regard to the tendency of this bill. With regard, indeed, to the inevitable effect of it; for it must diminish the number of voters, and it must, therefore, be considered as a mutilation of the Reform Bill. I agree with my correspondent also, in hoping (and, indeed, I must believe the fact) that Lord JOHN RUSSELL does not perceive the tendency of this new bill; for, even if I entertained, which I do not entertain, an opinion of his total want of sincerity; still the thing is so flagrant, that I must believe him to be destitute of common sense, before I could believe him capable of intending to produce the effects which this bill will inevitably produce; and I should hope, that his lordship, being made to perceive the real tendency of his bill, will be induced so to alter it as to remove the solid objections, so clearly stated by my correspondent.

I cannot, upon this occasion, omit to make an observation or two, of a more general character. The Reform Bill proceeds upon the principle, that property is to be represented, and not persons. I will not, in this place, enter into an argument to show that the single journeyman, or labourer, whose earnings amount to probably forty or fifty pounds a year for himself, besides as much more as he earns for his employer to add to the wealth of the country. I will not, in this place, enter into this argument, which, however,

is so firmly placed on principles of reason and justice, that it finally must prevail; but I will, for the present, confine myself to lodgers, who, in hundreds of thousands of instances, have, upon the *property-principle*, a much clearer right to vote; a much greater stake in the country; are much more valuable to the country, and are much more interested in its welfare, than the mere renters of houses.

Some time ago, there was an application made by Mr. BENJAMIN TILLY of St. BRIDE'S parish in FLEET STREET, an account of which application, and of the result of it, was published in the newspapers, and which account I thought so valuable that I preserved it, and it was as follows :

LODGERS—HAVE THEY A RIGHT TO VOTE ?

REVISING BARRISTERS' COURT, Oct. 4.
(Before Mr. Tomson).

Extension of the Franchise.

" On the list for the parish of St. Bride being submitted for revision,

" Mr. Benjamin Tilly claimed to be placed on the list, his qualification being the occupancy of a first-floor at No. 19, Primrose-hill, Salisbury-square, for which he paid a higher rent than 10*l.* a year.

" The Barrister inquired if the floor, occupied by the claimant, was separate and distinct from the rest of the building — in short, were the doors of his apartments the only ones between such apartments and the street ?

" Mr. Tilly said that there was certainly a door next the street, and inquired whether his claim was not as good as that of a person renting chambers in the Temple and other inns of law, they being lodgers like himself, and yet they have the franchise ?

" The Barrister said that the absence of an outer door at the entrance of the building in the inns of law made each chamber, or set of chambers, a separate house; that they were, in fact, so many houses built one on the other, and because, by that means, separate habitations.

" Mr. Tilly : Then I am to understand that it is the non-existence of a street-door to a house that gives the right of voting to 10*l.* lodgers, and that, if I can only persuade my landlord to get rid of the encumbrance of a street-door, that will confer on me the elective franchise ? (A laugh).

" The learned Barrister said that such was his opinion at present, and that he had no doubt, if houses were built after the manner of the chambers in the inns of law, the franchise must be extended to lodgers.

" The Vestry-clerk, who appeared on the part of the parish for the purpose of resisting the claim, said that the claim was resisted on different grounds than that of the claimant being a 10*l.* lodger.

" The Barrister inquired if Mr. Tilly had given the proper notice. The vestry-clerk stated that he had given the proper notice as specified in the Reform Act, but that the parish of St. Bride had a *local Act*, by which the parish-officers were compelled to make the rate for the poor quarterly, which was always done by the third or fourth of the month, commencing the quarter, which, when once made, cannot be altered, and that, therefore, the officers could not put him on the rate then due.

" Mr. Tilly denied that it was necessary for him to be absolutely rated ; for in clause 30 of the Reform Act it is said, 'that if the overseers shall neglect or refuse to put the name of such claimant on the rate, such occupier shall, nevertheless be deemed to have been rated.'

" The Barrister said that that was true, but it could not have been intended that the parish-officers should be called on to do that which a *local Act* of their own prevents the possibility of their doing.

" The Claimant expressed dissatisfaction at his notice being frustrated by a *local Act*, about which the public never heard before. If there should luckily be an election within the year, I shall certainly tender my vote before the returning-officer.

"The Barrister: You can do so, and I would advise you to do it; and if a committee be appointed, I think you will have a right to be heard before them. But I must dismiss your claim on the ground of *insufficiency* of notice; and, as I see that your object is to try the question of the right of the 102. lodgers (which is a very important question, and one about which I would give you my advice how to act were that the question before me), I would advise you to give notice immediately to the overseers of your claim to be on the list for the next year, and then that question must be decided."

Now, can it be pretended that the Reform Bill meant to shut out persons like Mr. TILLY? If it did intend it, its intention was most fraudulent and infamous; but if we take the proper words, and the fair and natural construction of the bill, it did not intend it. Even this case, however, shows, that there wanted a correction and explanation of the bill. It was, therefore, very right that a bill should be brought in for the purpose of "*more effectual registration*"; but if this bill, when passed, shall be found actually to tend to *diminish* the number of voters at elections, what shall we not have a right to presume, to think, and to say, of the author of that bill? However, I have no doubt that Lord JOHN RUSSELL, when he sees the tendency of the bill, will either alter it, or drop it altogether; though that something ought to be done is very clear.

"NATIONAL DEBT."

I HAVE given notice of a motion in the House of Commons for proposing an equitable adjustment with regard to this debt; or, at least, some measure to exempt from the payment of the interest of it, all persons, except the holders of real property. I perceive that there is a petition coming from MANCHESTER, and one, I believe from OLDHAM, in accordance with my intended motion. I, therefore, republish, in the present number of the Register, my third and last letter to Mr. STUART WOOLLEY, containing the

arguments in support of this my proposition, to every part of which letter I beseech the attention of my readers, it being clear to me that, if we do not come to a just decision on this point, very great mischiefs must speedily arise.

LETTER III.

Bolt-court, 25. September, 1833.

Sir,—In the preceding letter, I took you off the *red herring scent*, and, in putting you on the true scent, showed you, that it was the *bushel of wheat*; that it was the gentleman's standard, and not the Jew's standard, the *market price of gold*, that you ought to have been guided by. There now remains to be proved the third and the fourth propositions, stated at the outset of the aforementioned letter; namely,

III. That the nation has paid the fundholders something nearly double the amount that it ought to have paid them, and that it continues to pay them at this rate at present.

IV. That if this rate of payment be not soon put a stop to, there will not be an established church and a House of Lords in existence, in not a great many years from this day.

Beginning with the THIRD, it is, in fact, already proved to all those who do not think that good faith requires that a man who has borrowed a bushel of wheat should give two bushels of wheat in return; and to those who are unjust enough or unflinchingly stupid enough to entertain such an opinion, all fact and all argument must be thrown away. But, the Jews endeavour to puzzle us, and they do puzzle stupid and besotted persons, by telling us, that those who lent their money, before the depreciation began, lent it in sterling gold, and not in vile and infamous paper. I shall by-and-by have enough to say upon the *nature* of this lending; upon the fraudulentness of the transaction from the beginning to the end; of the base usuriousness of the whole affair! I shall have to show and shall show that, even supposing the loan to have been a bona-fide loan; and supposing that the nation, a hundred years ago, had a right to contract debts to be

paid by us of the present day; I shall suppose that all this is so; suppose it I shall merely for argument's sake; and in order to show that your ignorance is, "*unflinching*," even upon this hypothesis; which hypothesis I shall, before I have done, tear to the very rags, and blow into the air.

I will not, like you, go poking about the *price of stocks*; I will not go to 'Change alley, but let you go there, and keep company with the devil and the Jews, if you choose to do it. I will come to something sensible; something that we all understand or ought to understand; and will refer to documents which your father has had passing through his hands ever since he has been a man. It is not with the "*price of stocks*," or with the Three per Cents. or Four per Cents. or with any other of the devilish stuff that we have to do. What we have to do with, is what *we have to pay*; our affair is, not with exchanges, price of gold, mint-price, market-price, per cents. or any of the infernal rubbish, but with the amount of taxes, which we have to pay annually as the interest of this atrocious and infernal debt. Well, then, my Yorkshire lad, fix your eyes on the following facts:

Annual charge on account of debt, including outstanding debt, and every thing, in the year 1792 .	£ 9,000,000
Annual charge on account of debt, including as above, since 1818.....	30,000,000

Look well at this statement. Everything belonging to the debt is included in the nine millions; and if we include in the like manner in the latter case, the sum has been above thirty millions a year, ever since the year 1818. Now, observe, the borrowing of the money was going on from 1793 to 1816; and during that time the price of wheat was more *than double* what it had been from the time that the debt commenced, in 1694, to the year 1792. Then this borrowing was going on; I mean the *depreciated borrowing*, was going on for twenty-three years; and, during the borrowing in that depreciated paper, the rest of the debt

was contracted, to raise the interest from nine millions a year to thirty millions a year. Now, it is very certain, that the old fundholder, the old Jew and usurer, that lent or pretended to lend his money to the nation before 1792, was, from 1793 to 1818, both inclusive; that is to say, twenty-six years, receiving only one-half of what he called his due; because he was only receiving as much as could buy half the quantity of wheat which could have been bought with the same money before the year 1792. Then, the whole of the interest of the nine millions which we paid during that twenty-six years having amounted to two hundred and thirty-four millions, we paid, allowing this hypothesis to be good, a hundred and eighteen millions too little to these old fundholders during the twenty-six years up to 1818, inclusive.

Very well; now see how we have been over-paying, in the case of the thirty millions a year. We have paid in interest, since 1819 inclusive, nine millions a year in the first place, for the old Jews; the old "*glorious revolution*" Jews; and we have also been paying twenty-one millions a year to the Pittite or Tory or mongrel or Devil-Jews; to the bonus Jews, and all that abominable swarm, hatched by Pitt and his crew. They lent their money, as they call it, during the twenty-six years of depreciation; they lent it during a time that a pound would buy twice as much wheat as it will buy now, though there is a corn-bill to make wheat dear. Multiply the twenty one millions by fourteen, the number of years that we have thus been paying: you will find that we have paid them two hundred and ninety four millions during that time. Divide it and you will find that we have paid them a hundred and forty seven millions too much. Deduct the hundred and eighteen millions which you say we have paid the old Jews too little, and which we have paid them too little according to their cunning and your stupid view of the matter: deduct this, contend that *national faith* requires that we should take a hundred and eighteen millions from one bunch of them, and give these millions to another bunch of them; contend, "*unflinching*" son of a lord, that this is

right and reasonable and just, and demanded by national faith; contend for this and make the deduction accordingly; and even then this oppressed and toiling people have paid the whole body of them, the whole gang, twenty-nine millions too much; and we are now paying them ten millions five hundred thousand pounds a year too much.

This is the great point. The past we might possibly put up with; but it is the future, it is the continuation of this atrocious oppression. Stop now, to be just; give to those who lent their money during the time of depreciation the half of what they are now receiving; and then according to your principle, and according to my facts; according to my unerring standard of value, you act justly.

Thus have I proved that, even according to your own principle, it was just, on the part of Sir JAMES GRAHAM, to propose a reduction of thirty per cent., taking both classes of fundholders together; and as I said before, the only thing which he did which was unjust was, omitting to propose the lopping off pensions, sinecures, and grants, and the repayment of the money which the parsons had unjustly received. But sir, if such be the result of this discussion as far as relates to the mere debtor and creditor accounts, admitting the loans to have been bona-fide, and admitting the working people of the present day bound to pay debts contracted by the Whigs in 1694; if such be the result, making these admissions, what will the result be when we come to take the reasonable and just view of the matter. This view must be taken, however, in what I have to say upon the last proposition, viz.

IV. That, if this rate of payment be not soon put a stop to, there will not be an established church and a House of Lords in existence in not a great many years from this day.

Being at perfect liberty to commit plagiarism upon myself, I shall here begin by pretty freely robbing my own writings upon this subject, which I have the greater right to do, seeing that I am constantly robbed by my brethren of the press, who argue thus: "Genius, or facility of writing," say they, "is a

"gift of God: what God gives to any one of us, he gives to us all; and that one has no right in morality, and ought not to have any in law, to appropriate the fruits of his literary labours to his own exclusive enjoyment; nor indeed has he any right to enjoy them at all, in any way whatsoever, until his poorer brethren of the quill be amply provided for." I shall not stop to dispute this doctrine; it is quite sufficient for me to know by experience that it is acted upon; and that all the "race that write," deeming themselves to be of one family, take from me whatsoever and whensoever they please, without any sort of ceremony. I may therefore be allowed, I think, to take a little from myself; and, as you are now one of the "race that write," tender this little to you for your service; which I shall now do, from my Manchester lecture on the subject, adding here and there observations which I omitted at the time, and when I have done that, offer such further observations as the occasion appears to me to call for.

If the Reform Bill do not lighten the burdens of the people, it is agreed on all hands that the bill will be of no use. We all agree, except BABINGTON MACAULEY perhaps, that unless the Reform Bill lead to measures of relief; unless it lead to a great taking off of taxes, it will be a mere mockery of the people; and that, like *Catholic Emancipation*, it will make things worse than they were before. This is natural, for the nation wants the reform because it is overburdened; it has great hopes and expectations from this reform; and we all know what are the invariable consequences of sanguine expectation disappointed. The labourer, who is discontented at having nothing but potatoes, when he ought to have bacon and bread, will not feel satisfied with those potatoes, upon merely being told that he has now got reform.

To this we come, then; without a great lightening of our burdens, the reform will be a mere mockery; a temporary delusion, and a permanent addition to the grounds of discontent. The next thing then to be considered is, how this lightening of the burdens of the people is to take place; and every one must

answer, that it cannot take place at all, and that it is an abuse of words to talk of it, unless there be an annihilation of the debt. When you hear men talk of retrenchment and economy, as you will hear Babington Macauley, and others, and all the school of Brougham, and all the Whigs themselves, who are in power, and hear them at the same time declare their firm resolution not to touch the interest of the debt; declare that national faith, as they call it, must be kept sacred, though, by-the-by, their national faith means a most infamous plundering of the nation; when you hear men talk thus, set them down as hypocrites or madmen; for, how is relief to come, except by a ceasing to pay interest on the debt?

Gentlemen, there are none of you, I am certain, crazy enough to suppose that the Ministers can pay this interest out of their own pockets; if you wish it to be paid, you must wish yourselves to pay it; and if you wish this, there can be no diminution of our burdens; and the state vessel must go on, blundering about among the rocks, till it go to pieces. The case stands thus: The total clear amount of the revenue, after paying charges of collection and management, and all sorts of things, is stated by the Government to be forty-seven millions. This may be true, to be sure; but I make it a rule never to believe any of their statements or returns. It may, however, be true, and we will take them upon their own showing. The expenses of collection, together with other innumerable charges, direct and indirect, over and above this clear revenue, would still bring the gross amount, squeezed out of the people, to sixty millions; but, at any rate, it would bring it to fifty-six. Now, then, out of the forty-seven millions, thirty are taken for paying the dividends upon the debt, and paying the charges of all sorts relative to the debt. We must give the debt, half at least, of the expenses and charges attending the collection and management of the revenue, and that makes its annual cost thirty-four millions and one-half. This is still far from being all that it costs; for out of the debt grows the necessity of this thun-

dering standing army in time of peace. The debt causes the heavy taxes; these cause distress; distress causes discontent; violent discontent creates threatened commotion; and then it becomes the duty of the Government to have a force at hand to put down commotion. To cry out, therefore, against the standing army being kept up in time of peace; to inveigh against oppressive taxation, and to complain of distress and suffering, and starvation even, is to be stupidly unjust, as long as you keep up the idiot-like cry of *national faith*.

Thus much, then, for the plea of *necessity*; and, though Milton has called that the tyrant's plea, it is only the tyrant's plea when it is false. In this case it is true; and it is, in fact, the plea of industry and want against all-devouring usury. But now for the *justice* of the propositions, even if we were to leave this plea of necessity out of the question. This robbery, as it is called, is really no more than imitating the practice of the wisest and most just of mankind. Many of you, gentlemen, well know that when Solon became lawgiver of Athens he found that ancient and famous republic in a state of utter confusion and destitution; he found it unable to make war against its enemies, unable to defend itself; and he found besides, that all the active and industrious persons in the community were ground down into a state of beggary and ruin by the *usurers*, who had made a great part of the people in a great measure their actual slaves. Rome was in a similar state, and from a similar cause, in the time of Julius Cæsar. Both of them resorted to an adjustment, which freed the people from the claws of the usurers, by making these latter in some cases take a part of their demand, and in other cases relinquish the whole. But not to mention the kings of France, who repeatedly paid off the debts of the state by lopping off, directly or indirectly, the amount of the demands of its creditors; not to mention those, who effected their purposes by clippings of the coins, and by other tricks, upon an equality, in point of baseness, with the tricks that have been played here to lower or to raise again the value of money; not to cite the example

of these *granl* and shuffling *monarques*, let us come to our brethren across the Atlantic, who, having borrowed money to an enormous extent, for the purpose of effecting that "glorious revolution" which, until it had succeeded, we used to call "a foul and unnatural rebellion"; having borrowed of all sorts of people, of all ages and all sexes, an enormous sum of money for this holy, or, as it would have been, *unholy* purpose, and having effected that purpose, never paid one single farthing principal or interest of the borrowed money; it would have been a jest, indeed, to make a revolution in the name of liberty, and to have ended it by making all the people slaves to the usurers! But let us come to our own countrymen, and hear what illustrious persons amongst them have said upon the subject, and that our authorities may be as high and undoubted as possible, let us go in amongst the Ministers themselves, where, sitting with the King himself in council; not the Birmingham council; but the real London council; and not the council from which Sir F. Burdett absconded; but the real King and council, who sit at Whitehall, with Bathurst for their clerk, though crammed in by the Tories, and kept in by the Whigs; let us go into that council, which my Lord Coke describes as "an honourable, noble, and *reverend*" assembly; let us go in amongst these *reverend* persons, and clap our hands upon the shoulder of Sir James Graham, of Netherby; a member, too, in another place of the "*noblest assembly of free-men in the world*"; and let us pull out his pamphlet of 1827, and therein let us read a distinct, a most unequivocal proposition, to deduct *thirty per cent.* from the interest of the fundholders. Only one-third; but we may ask Sir James, reverend as he is, upon what principle it is that he would take thirty per cent., other than that principle which would apply to the taking of the whole.

From this oracular suggestion let us come, if it be robbery to take the interest from the fundholders; let us not amuse ourselves with these small game, but let us come to the robbers upon a grand scale; namely, those who propose

to make new emissions of paper of some sort or other. Sir HENRY PARNELL, and all the Scotch tribe of political economists; all the Scotch bankers, and Mr. MABERLY amongst the rest, whom the Scotch have always pointed out for many years past as a profound financier; all this tribe, who propose joint-stock banking companies; and who always propose to make the paper-money a legal tender, or, whether they be divided as to this latter point or not, all propose to make prices higher than they now are, by the means of this paper. Of course, then, they propose to *lower the value of money*; of course, they propose to deduct in a base and fraudulent manner, from the interest of the debt. At any rate, they are either mad, or they must intend to give the fundholder *less than he now receives*; and if they intend to give him less than he now receives, they intend, to use their own stupid phrasology, to commit a breach of national faith, and to rob the fundholder; and if they do not intend to give him less than he now receives, how can the measures which they propose lighten the burdens of the tax-payer? Supposing the act to be unjust in itself, the only difference between their proposition and mine is, that mine is taking by open and undisguised force, while theirs is theft or private stealing. Our different modes of proceeding serve to mark out different motives: mine may, at any rate, be sincere and honest, but theirs must be in its nature *furtive*. The sly manner in which they are foolish enough to believe they can effect it, would, in any court of justice in the world, be a proof of the furtive intention; that is to say, the thievish intention arising from a roguish mind. Mr. Attwood's scheme, which has many partisans, though paper be one of its ingredients, is open and honest; for he says, and he says truly, that owing to Peel's Bill, and the various other tricks of our at-once bungling and bragging Government, the fundholders, the mortgagors, and other usurers, are now receiving twice or thrice as much as they ought to receive; that they ought to be compelled by law to receive less; and a paper-money ought to be made, and they ought to be made to receive it, which

paper-money would be worth a great deal less than the King's coin, pound for pound. In all but the remedy I perfectly agree with Mr. Attwood, who is a man of great talent; and whose brother, the Member of the House of Commons, has shown more sense and more virtue (except in his opposition to the Reform Bill) than all the whole crew of Ministers and Ministers' underlings, who have been upon the stage during the whole of the twenty-eight years that I have been knocking their heads one against the other, and finding no sense in them, have finally been dragging them in the dirt. I differ with the Attwoods as to the remedy; because, in the first place, it would violate all recent contracts; because I know it would enable me to rob my yearly servants of one-half of their yearly wages; because I know that it would give like ability to all other employers; because I knew that it would rob English, Scotch, and Irish merchants and manufacturers of half the debts due to them abroad; because I know that the mortgagee who lent his real gold upon an estate, would be paid off in paper not worth half the money, and so with regard to recent marriage settlements, rent charges, annuities, and every contract and stipulation for time; but, secondly, and of more weight than all the other considerations put together, because the Attwood remedy might, by some chance or other, prolong the existence of the debt, and of that truly infernal gamble carried on in London, called the Stock Exchange; rather than not see the destruction of which I would behold and endure my share of any possible evil that could afflict us.

Now, then, there is no scheme for lightening the burdens of the country, which does not amount to what my opponents designate a robbery; so that I am not singular in this respect. All agree to take away something: we only differ as to the manner of the taking. But I deny that it is robbery, in any of its shapes or forms; I deny that the nation owes the fundholders anything at all; I deny their claim to a single farthing from the nation; and, when I propose to take the church property and crown estates, for the purpose of giving the proceeds to

the fundholders, it is not a proposition founded on an opinion of mine, that they have a *right* to demand any thing; but founded on the right of the nation to dispose of certain property that it possesses, and which is now of no use to it, and which it in policy ought to bestow on that part of the fundholders, who would be totally ruined, unless this relief were afforded them; and especially that part of them who may have been compelled, against their expressed will, to have their property deposited in the funds. This is the principle upon which I would give the fundholders any thing at all, they having, in point of right, no claim upon the nation whatsoever.

No nation, supposing the whole nation to have been the borrowers, has a right to burden its posterity. I might stop here to show, and I easily could show, that it was those, whom the present Ministers have accused of having usurped the legislative rights of the people, who borrowed the money. I might insist upon, and prove it most clearly, that it was not *the nation* that borrowed the money; but, grant that it was, what right had your father to load you with this intolerable debt? What would be said of a law that should compel the children to pay the debts of the father, he having left them nothing wherewith to pay? Of a law that should make the children work all the days of their lives, to clear off the score run up by a drunken and profligate father? Of a law, which should say to the father, Spend away, run in debt, keep on borrowing, close your eyes in the midst of drunkenness and gluttony; imitate the frequenters of Bellamy's all your life; and your children, and children's children, shall be slaves to pay Bellamy and others with whom you have run up the score? Would not the makers of such a law be held in everlasting execration?

And in what respect does this case differ from that of a prodigal and borrowing nation? "Oh!" say the advocates of the Jews, "the difference is very great; for the nation borrows money to defend itself against an enemy, which defence it could not effect without this borrowing of money." I might stop here, and flatly deny that one penny of this money

was ever borrowed for that purpose; for it is notorious, that it was almost all borrowed for the purpose of carrying on one war to force unjust taxation on the American colonies, and another war to force back the Bourbons upon France, and thereby prevent the overthrow of borough-mongering in England. This is perfectly notorious; but I will not disfigure my argument by any reliance upon it. Let it be admitted that the money was borrowed for the purpose of defending the country; and then, I ask, what right your fathers had to *purchase* ease and safety, and to leave you to pay the debt? What right should we of the present day have to throw upon our children the burden of defending ourselves? If we be in danger, we are to come forth in our persons, or by our purses, for our own defence. By the very argument of our opponents, the resources of the country are the great means, if not the only means, of its security; what right have we, then, to anticipate these resources? What right have we to take beforehand the means of security from our children? A man cannot mortgage that which is entailed on his children. He can mortgage for his *own life*. If these Jew-vermin can show us that the whole nation did by lawful means give its assent to the pretended loans made for them; still they got no further than to prove that the then nation contracted a debt with them. They get not a single inch towards proving that we owe them anything. He that can mortgage beyond his own life; he that can mortgage an estate for any term beyond his own life, can SELL that estate. Could your fathers have sold England? Have not you as much a right to England as they had? Have not you, the people, now living at Manchester, as good a right to live in England as your grandfathers had? To live in England is inseparable from having England and owning it, taking the whole of the people together; and, therefore, as the borrowers of this money could not sell England, neither could they mortgage it; much less, still, could they mortgage the labour of the child unborn; this reform of the Parliament will be a base delusion, if we do not very shortly dissipate all notions so stupid

and slavish, and if we do not put an end to this matchless oppression.

Gentlemen, not another word need be said with regard to the right of mortgaging the strength of the child in the cradle; not another word need be said about the want of the right in a nation to burden posterity, and very little is it necessary to say about the right of the lender to demand a liquidation of the burden. For, if there existed no right in the borrower to make the loan, what right can there be in the lender to demand repayment? This latter knew who it was to whom he was lending, and he knew also the base and dishonest intentions of the borrower to throw the debt upon posterity. If, in consequence of the unjust and cruel law, which I have before supposed, to make children pay the debts of the father, he leaving them nothing wherewith to pay; if, in that case, a lender were basely to administer to the father's profligate extravagance, would not the world call him monster when he came to grind the children to death for repayment of the loan? Yet in what respect would he be more detestable than the atrocious Jews, whether calling themselves Christians or not, who now come and demand from us the pound of flesh in virtue of their bond? In the affairs of individuals the law knows of no such anticipation as this. The law not only will not allow the children to be answerable for the debts of the father, but will not allow them to be answerable for their *own debts* contracted before they arrive at the age of maturity. And why is this? They are not answerable for the debts, because the law considers them as incapable of *giving their assent* to them. How then can you be answerable for these debts, the greater part of which was contracted before scarcely ten men here assembled were twenty-one years of age? Not one farthing, therefore, of these debts is due from you to the fundholders. The great advocate of the abominable Jews, the editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, resorts to a couple of curious arguments in defence of their claims, the first of which is this: that the nation having "*suffered*" the Government to borrow the money, or rather to make the loan (for it was not

money); the nation having *suffered* the Government to do this, is bound to pay the debt. So that here is a Government, with an army, with all the means of compelling the nation to submit to what it pleases; to resist its will is treason; and the Jew, who comes and lends money to this Government, is to come when the people have got the power of altering the law which enabled the Government to do this, and tell then; the blaspheming Jew is to come and tell them that they are bound in conscience to pay back the money that he lent for the purpose of keeping them down, and to threaten to have them crucified, if they hold back a farthing of his demand. But, gentlemen, even if we were to admit this, monstrous as it is, it would not come up to the purpose of our opponents. For, if the nation ought not to have *suffered* the Government to borrow the money, and if it assumed responsibility for this loan, in consequence of suffering it to be made, it must be the nation that was *then alive*; and how are you, who were not then born, or at most were infants, to be held responsible for payment because you did not prevent the Government from borrowing the money?

The other argument of this new disciple of the synagogue, this new child and champion of the hell called the Stock Exchange, is this: that if an invading enemy besiege a town, and demand a *ransom* to spare it from being abandoned to the soldiery, and a sum of money be borrowed to pay the ransom, and thus save the town, the people of the town are bound all to contribute according to their means to repay the money thus borrowed. Certainly, Rabbi, nothing more just; but then it is the people *then alive* that are to repay the ransom; and this is precisely my argument; not only did no man living ever hear of the repayment of such a ransom being thrown upon the posterity of a town, but the thing cannot be, for mankind have never yet heard of a law to tax people for such repayment; and if such law were to be passed, if any lawgivers of a town were equally foolish with the lawgivers of this nation, the people would avoid the tax by abandoning the town, as they are now abandoning England to the amount of

ten millions a year of rents and income, in order to avoid paying their share of this unjust burden called the debt. And this is one great evil of the thing. All the world acknowledges what dreadful evils have fallen upon Ireland in consequence of the absentees not expending their revenues in the country. How many projects have we heard, and sometimes even in Parliament, for taxing the property of absentees at a higher rate than that of other people! Base indeed it is, that those who live on the taxes, and particularly those who live on the tithes, shameful it is in them to carry their revenues out of the country. Sorrowful it is to see men going off with their wealth to the United States of America; but, while in the former instance there are no means of prevention, in the latter instance there is neither prevention nor ground of blame. Men flee from unjust pressure; they flee from a law that compels them to pay the debts of their fathers; and flee they will as long as that law shall exist. I am, therefore, for putting an end for ever to this unjust law, and for the doing of which I have, I think, produced much more than argument sufficient. But I must not dismiss the subject without asking a little, what after all, would *really be due* to these fundholders if we were for argument's sake to admit that they had a claim to any thing at all? The sum is stated in its most modest amount, at eight hundred millions. It would not be right to have an appearance of boldness in addressing persons who are worth eight hundred millions of money, but one might just ask them WHERE THEY GOT THE MONEY? Where did you get it, gentlemen and ladies? There are a good many of you, to be sure, but you have lent more money than there now is, or ever was in the whole world; more pounds of gold and silver than ever came out of the mines. It amounts to more than the whole of the kingdom, lands, houses, mines, and woods, would sell for, if put up to auction, and if foreigners could bring gold and silver into the country, and purchase them. There must be some great mistake then. It is physically impossible that you can have lent this money.

Gentlemen, it has all been a jugglery from the beginning to the end. A loan-monger, or the maker of a loan, has never lent any money at all. He has written his name upon bits of paper; these he has distributed about in sales to under loan-mongers; these have been turned into other bits of paper; and these bits of paper the Government have paid away. I cannot adopt a better mode of explaining this matter than by describing to you a transaction by the means of which I was once likely to become a loanmonger myself, and which first opened my eyes with regard to this matter. When I came home from America, in the year 1800, I was looked upon by the Government people as likely to become one of their vigorous partisans. It was the custom in those glorious times of Pitt and paper, to give to the literary partisans of the Government what were called "*slices*" of a loan. For instance, Moses was the loan-monger; and, as the *scrip*, as it used to be called, was always directly at a *premium*, a bargain was always made with the loanmonger that he should admit certain favourites of the Government to have certain portions of *scrip* at the same price that he gave for it; I was offered such portion of *scrip*, which, as I was told, would put a hundred pounds or two into my pocket at once. I was frightened at the idea of becoming responsible for the immense sum, upon which this would be the profit. But I soon found that the *scrip* was never even to be shown to me, and that I had merely to pocket the amount of the *premium*. I positively refused to have anything to do with the matter, for which I got heartily laughed at. But this was of great utility to me; it opened my eyes with regard to the nature of these transactions; it set me to works to understand all about the debt and the *fantis*, and the *scrip* and the stock, and every thing belonging to it. At every step I found the thing more and more black, and more and more execrable; and it soon brought my mind to a conclusion, that the system was what the *accursed thing* was in the camp of the Israelites; and that this nation never could be happy again until it was got rid of; in which opinion I have remained from that day to this.

Now, if I had pocketed this money, it must have come out of the estates, skill, and labour, of the people. I should have been a robber indeed; this would have been real robbery, and a great deal more worthy of the gallows than the forging of a bank-note, or the stealing of a sheep. From this, gentlemen, you may judge what loan-making was. If I did not get the hundred pounds or two, somebody else did; and we have had to pay interest, and compound interest upon it, from that day to this. I should have thus taken from the nation enough to support four or five labourers and their families, for one year at any rate; and, if I had taken it, and had bought stock with it, as it is called, would it not have been right to pay me with a halter, instead of paying me with money? If certain proprietors of newspapers, whom I could name, were brought to a strict account, what, good God! are the sums which they have got in this way! How soon they would come tumbling from their chariots, and lie by the wayside, food for kites and carrion-crows, unless, out of pure benevolence, taken up by the grave-robbers and Burkers, and carried, "for the benefit of science," to Mr. Warburton's schools of anatomy!

When a man lends money, he knows, or ought to know, the sufficiency of the borrower. He ought to know what security he has. In the case of a mortgage, rent-charge, annuity, he has the land or house as security. In the case of money lent in bond, in other manner, he has the goods and chattels, and, after all, the person of the party; but what security did these loanmongers take? It is the common talk with them, that they have a mortgage upon all the lands and houses and other real property in the kingdom. Let them, then, produce the deed and the bond. They can do no such thing. They have no deed and no bond, and they have no mortgage upon anything. Their security consists solely of an act of Parliament, or acts of Parliament, which are properly called *loan-acts*; and a loan-act is of this nature. The Government contracts a loan with a loanmonger; and an act of Parliament is passed, to provide that the interest of the loan shall be regularly paid, with-

out any deduction, out of the proceeds of the *consolidated fund*. Now, then, what is this fund? The fundholders, and, particularly the ladies, have an idea, natural enough, that this fund consists of a monstrous heap of gold and silver money, kept somewhere or other, under the guard and protection of the Government or the Bank. I beg leave to assure the ladies that there is not any such heap of money, or any heap at all, or any chest, or box, or receptacle for the gold and silver; but that the *consolidated fund* means the clear proceeds of the taxes that the Ministers are able annually to squeeze out of us; that these taxes are paid into the Bank when collected; that out of them the Bank pays the interest to the fundholders half yearly; and that, if the taxes in the hands of the Bank be not sufficient to pay the half-yearly interest, which is frequently the case, the Bank *lends the Government enough to make up the deficiency*; that is to say, makes some of its bank-notes, and lends them to the Government; and for the bank-notes thus lent *we have to pay the interest*. Now, gentlemen, did the world ever hear of such a thing as this before?

However, here we have a clear idea of the nature of the security; and a very consolatory appearance it has to the ladies who do us the honour to lend us money; for, though it does not actually come up to the beautiful scriptural idea of the "*munition of rocks*," it at any rate takes a very wide spread; and really is good as long as the loan-acts shall continue in full force. *Consolidated fund* is a very imposing phrase; but still it consists only of words, and conveys no idea of any thing fixed to the earth; in short, a loan-bill is the fundholder's contract; it gives him a claim upon the taxes annually collected; it gives him no other claim, and if the taxes be not collected, he has no claim at all; which brings us directly to a very important matter closely connected with the subject of parliamentary reform; seeing that every man in his senses deems the reform to be no use at all unless it produce a great diminution of the taxes, which, in other words, seems, at the very least, a great diminution of the security of the fundholder.

And yet, is any one of you, gentlemen, prepared to say that no taxes ought to be taken off; and are you prepared to say that the Corn Bill ought to continue in order to prevent this security from being diminished?

When the Bank stopped payment in gold in 1797, one of the arguments urged against the measure, or rather one of the complaints against Pitt, for having reduced the Bank to the necessity of stopping, was this; that amongst other things, it would be a *fraud* upon the fundholders, a *robbery* of the fundholders, because it put forth a depreciated and compulsory paper instead of the King's coin, and thereby did, in fact, violate all the loan-bills, by compelling the fundholders to take less than the loan-bills had stipulated for. The answer of Pitt was, that it was a case of *necessity*, and that it was the duty of the Government to preserve the country even if it did cause some loss to the fundholders. Pushed hard on the other side, the then Solicitor-General, Sir John Mitford, since Lord Redesdale, rose, and, as a lawyer, said that there was no wrong done to the fundholder; that he lent his money with the knowledge of the *risk* that he ran; that he received an interest *proportioned to the risk*; that the nation was not bound to secure him against all risk; that many persons in the kingdom had a claim *prior* to that of the fundholder; that the soldier and the sailor had *prior* claim; and he asked if any one would assert that the King himself had not a *prior* claim! There was no answer to this argument *then*; and who is to find an answer to it now? And is it not as clearly a case of *necessity* now as it was *then*?

Thus, then, we see that the interest can be lowered, and that the whole can be withheld without any real violation of the contract. But to come closer to our own affair; if we cannot withhold the interest without breach of national faith, how can we without breach of that faith diminish the security for paying it? We have seen that the source of payment is the annual produce of what is called the *consolidated fund*, and that means the taxes; and has not the security been diminished then by the repeal of the salt-tax, the

beer-tax, the candle-tax, and the numerous customs and taxes which have been recently taken off? Has not the security been diminished by reducing the proceeds of the consolidated fund from a clear fifty-four millions a year to a clear forty-seven millions a year? And will the security not be further reduced, when the *malt-tax* shall be taken off? And do you, gentlemen, imagine that the malt-tax can remain on many months after a reformed Parliament shall assemble? Oh! but I had forgotten; there is the HOUSE AND WINDOW-TAX! What, would you have these taken off? Oh, you sad rogues! What, "*rob the public creditor*"? Be guilty of a breach of "*national faith*"! Refuse to pay a tax on your comfortable dwelling, out of which your bed is now and then taken by the tax-gatherer! Refuse to give some money to have the light of heaven let in upon you; and that, too, when you know, rogues as you are, that these taxes are "*necessary to the support of national faith*!" Oh! if you want to skulk out of paying the fundholders in this sort of way; if you want to be guilty of plundering the fundholders in this sort of way, I will set off again up to the *honest* folks of London, and leave you to yourselves. In short, national faith requires house and window-tax to be duly and fully paid.

Well, then, to this point we come at last: even admitting the debt to be a valid debt, which I do not; even admitting that the last generation had a right to burden this, which I deny, as being a thing abhorrent to every principle of reason and justice; to this point we come; that the Reform Bill is to produce no good effect to the people, and the working people especially, unless the security for the payment of the interest of the debt be taken away. Will any one pretend to deny that the Parliament had a right to repeal the tax on salt, the tax on candles, the tax on beer? Then how can any one pretend to deny its right to repeal the tax upon malt and upon hops? Of what use, then, can this reform of the Parliament be, unless we acknowledge the right of a reformed Parliament to repeal taxes; and if we do allow this right,

on what foundation stands the interest of the debt, other than that of expediency and convenience, respecting the power and disposition of the nation to pay? Some years ago, a great loanmonger said, that "*the nation was bound to pay, as long as it had any thing to pay with.*"

This loanmonger chose to place the nation upon the footing of an individual in common life; and insisted that, like the bankrupt, it was under an obligation to surrender all it had. The bankrupt is bound to surrender all the worldly goods that he has then in his possession; but the bankrupt *himself* has been the borrower, or has become the debtor, from some cause or other; it is for his *own use* that he has contracted the debt, and not for the use of his successors. He surrendered *his* all; but he does not extend the surrender to his children. Besides this, the bankrupt is not stripped of the clothes that cover his body; the tools necessary to earn his bread are left him; an act of bankruptcy or insolvency clears him of the past; his creditors cannot deprive him of the use of his limbs, and of his means of making future provision for his wants and his safety. But these inexorable creditors of ours would make us, and even the child in the cradle, slaves to them; would leave us no part of our future earnings; would take all from us except our bare lives; would leave us none of the means of providing either for the safety, or for the upholding of the honour of our country; would make the country submit to invasion, conquest, and everlasting servitude, rather than give up their claim upon the resources of the country! If there be anything so audacious as this; if any pretension equal to this in cruelty, as well as presumption and profligate defiance of the moral sense of mankind, I should be glad to have pointed out to me where I am to find it was ever heard of.

Now, Mr. WORTLEY, I turn to you; and, the *first* thing I have to observe is, that, if you be wise, you will read the whole of this argument of mine several times over; *second*, that you will please to observe, that not only it is not I who owe this debt, but that my way of life exposes me to the payment of as small a share of

it as is paid by any individual in the kingdom, however small the means of that other individual may be, and that therefore it is not for myself that I argue. *Third*, I beg to observe to you, that you appear to me not to see the ultimate consequences of a payment of the interest of this debt at the present rate. When you look at the various taxes, you do, indeed, see that they fall chiefly upon the industrious classes of the kingdom, and you see that the landed proprietors, generally speaking, get, in one way or another, part of their taxes back again. This leads you to the conclusion that, though we are, even according to your own principle applied to the real facts of the case, paying the fundholders ten millions and a half every year too much, *this is no injury to persons in your rank of life.*

Now, sir, this is a grand mistake of yours. It is a mistake, which you make in common with the far greater part of your order; but, it is nevertheless a mistake, and a mistake, too, which will, in time, lead to most fearful consequences. Look at the state of the country at this moment. Is it in a state much short of that which will justify the term *revolution*? What! when the Church of Ireland is overthrown by act of Parliament; and when the doom of the church of England is as clearly written down as if an act of Parliament was already passed for extinguishing it for ever? Can the nobility stand as they are now, after the church is pulled down? It would require "*unflinching*" confidence, indeed, in any man, to answer that question with a "yes"; and, what is it, then, that is shaking all the whole of this grand fabric to pieces? *What is it, I say?* How came tithes, which have never been deemed an unmixed evil for a thousand years, to be now, all at once, deemed incompatible with the peace and harmony of the community? How comes it that the poor-laws, which have existed for more than two hundred years, and always deemed a distinguished honour and blessing of England, how comes it that these sacred laws are now deemed an evil? How happens it that the twelve judges require to be fifteen, and that projectors are at work for adding a hundred or two to the

number? How comes it that commissioners are necessary to inquire into what changes are to be made in our laws, from top to bottom, and that a Bourbon police and hired magistrates are proposed to be established, as necessary to the safety of person and property? What is it, I say, that has produced, and is producing this revolution? It is that DEBT that you are labouring to perpetuate in its unmitigated amount, vainly imagining, apparently, that all other institutions can go to pieces, and that the whole of this industrious people can be reduced to beggary, while your particular order, and that of the base usurers, stand firm as rocks, and revel in luxury.

If this really be your imagination, vain, indeed, is that imagination; as vain as was that of the insolent and stupid noblesse of France, who feasted with and married amongst the tribes of the farmers-general and the intendants and rich *rentiers* (that is to say, *fundholders*), up to the very moment when their chateaux were in flames! Their cause, rightly understood, was the cause of the industrious classes. They joined the rentiers, however; they bore the sword, and compelled the people to administer to the heaps of the rentiers. When the taxes, arising from the debt (for that was the true cause), became intolerable, the people took vengeance, not on the rentiers, who were snugly out of sight, but on the noblesse, who had borne the sword and compelled them to submit to the exactions. This lesson, which would have been thrown away upon none of the rest of God's creatures, seems to have been wholly thrown away upon you, who come to the working-classes and tell them that they shall pay the fundholders at the same rate that they pay them now. These abominable Jews, continually at work, taking away the fruits of industry and of estates into the bargain, will, I dare say, offer you the office of a Rabbi, and will chuckle all the while, as their progenitors did when they were crucifying the Christian English children at Lincoln, for which a just king hanged some and banished the rest from this land, in which banishment they remained for three hundred years, till revolution and corrup-

tion brought them back, again to curse that land.

When you are so very insolently speaking of the pamphlet of Sir James Graham, of the writings in the *Quarterly Review* and the *Morning Herald*, and of the petitioners of Scotland and of Hampshire, you ought to have reflected on what these *petitioners* said, at any rate. The rest of us were mere individuals, or editors of publications: but these petitioners were a part of the PEOPLE; that very people whose voice produced the Reform Bill, in spite of a vast majority of your order. You ought to have recollected this, and that ought to have led you to reflect on the ultimate consequence of these opinions being so decidedly entertained by that people.

The people, then, see clearly that they had nothing to do in the contracting of the debt; that the debt never was contracted by them nor for them. by any sanction of theirs. Every working man, who earns thirty pounds a-year, to keep himself and family, knows that he pays six or seven of the pounds towards the interest of this debt. All the people know that this is unjust, and these petitioners actually complain of the injustice. Having thus made up their minds, the next thing they do is to look about *for the cause of the continuation of this injustice*. They do not blame the Jews; they do not see them: they do not know their names; they are out of sight; they neither know nor care, whether they have beards or not. But, *they know who it is that takes the money from them*. They do not blame the mere journey-men tax-gatherer and exciseman. They dislike them, but they know that they are not the real cause. They look higher up, to find those who set tax-gatherers and excisemen to work; and having found them, and examined into the *motives* from which they support the Jews, their feelings towards these supporters are commensurate with the merits of the case; and that case it is impossible for any one of common sense seriously to contemplate, without coming to the conclusion, expressed in the proposition with which I began this letter; "that, if this rate of payment be not soon put a stop

"to, there will not be an established church and a House of Lords in existence in not a great many years from this day."

You will start when I tell you that thousands and even millions will exclaim, "So much the better"! Ah! do not deceive yourself: such is the pass to which things are come, that, as I have so frequently said, something must give way; and it must be some *great* thing, too: it must be, in short, that which is falsely called the NATIONAL DEBT, or it must be that establishment and that aristocracy which, in one shape or another, have existed in England, ever since the country bore that name. In France the infernal system of funding and of paper, by creating bands of rentiers with a noblesse to bear the sword of taxation for them, overset a government of twelve hundred years' standing. Here the monster has establishments of only a thousand years' standing to encounter; and, whether it be a thousand more or less, unless the monster be arrested in his progress, the fate of these establishments is as certain to come as the fate of those establishments which we have witnessed in France.

WM. COBBETT.

LONDONDERRY!

(Continued from page 758).

Sir R. PEEL rose and said, I beg to remind the House that I am placed in a rather hard position, by a debate going on in this way in which I am almost, by the forms of the House, precluded now from taking part; a debate arising upon a question which the noble Lord put to me, and which I answered. (Cries of Go on, go on). I thank the right hon. Gentleman for the spirit in which the conduct of his Majesty's Government has been viewed by him on the present occasion; a spirit very different from that which was manifested by the hon. Member for Middlesex. Sir, if the other night, in answer to the question which was put to me by the hon. Baronet, the Member for Nottingham, I had said that I should advise his Majesty to recall this appoint-

ment, or even had I advised the noble Marquis to retire, I should have been depriving Lord Londonderry of all the grace and dignity which now attaches itself to his voluntary act, in concurrence with what seemed to be the opinion of the House of Commons. (Hear, hear). I should have been wrongfully depriving him of that credit which is now so fully his due. (Hear, hear). The hon. Baronet says truly, that the Government could hardly have abandoned the noble Marquis after he had accepted a post in their service, and in a time like this of great difficulty. But I ask, whether in stating the intended course of his Majesty's Ministers I made the declaration in any way which could be considered insulting to the House of Commons? (Hear). The hon. Gentleman put a question to me directly, and it was directly answered (Hear, hear). But the hon. Baronet says the debate of Friday night is to be considered not so much in the light of a censure of the noble Marquis, as in that of our foreign policy. (Hear, hear). Now all I can say is, that, if this proceeding were intended in the light of a condemnation of our foreign policy, that question is one of too much importance to be decided in a conversation of the kind; there was no vote, but merely an incidental conversation on going into the committee of supply. (Hear). I beg to repeat, with all respect to the House, that upon such grounds as these we should not have suggested it to the noble Lord to retire from the post to which he had been appointed; for until a regular vote had been passed upon the subject, should we, as his Majesty's responsible Ministers, have tendered any advice to the Crown to revoke that appointment. I thank the House for this privilege they have awarded me of addressing them, and I will not further trespass upon their attention than to state that which I freely admit, the honourable member for Middlesex's full right to give notice of a motion involving a censure of his Majesty's Government. I think it hardly fair to threaten us night after night that such a motion would certainly be brought forward at a very early period, and yet always to shrink from the question

when it comes to the point. (Hear, and cheers). The motion which was given for Friday to stop or limit the Supplies I was prepared to meet, because I did think that if that vote had been carried it would have been such a declaration of want of confidence on the part of the House as in the face of it no Ministry could go on. I can only add that I shall be equally willing to meet the honourable Member upon this question whenever he may think proper. If the hon. Member cannot himself find a remedy for the dilemma in which he appears to be placed, let him but name a day and I will endeavour to facilitate his object. (Loud cheers). But if the hon. Member is not prepared to name a day for this purpose, I hope at least, in the meantime, he will not keep up this vexatious and unfair course of proceeding. (Cheers).

THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

In answer to a question from an hon. Member, we believe Mr. P. Stewart,

Sir ROBERT PEEL said it was true that the late Government had, with a view to economy, determined on building a residence for our Ambassador at Constantinople. An architect had been sent out to examine into the matter, and it appeared by his estimate that the cost would be about 45,000*l.*, but notwithstanding this expenditure it was calculated that the building of this residence would be a saving to the country.

SEED BAGS.

The following is a list of the Seeds in the bag. A copy of it will be found in each bag. Each bag is 10*s.* 6*d.* There are no *larger bags*; because it has been found inconvenient; and, in the case of *LARGE GARDENS*, two or three bags may be had; which will be convenient, too, for *different sowings*. I trust that the Seeds will now be found to be *safely done up*; and I pledge myself for their *goodness*. The number on the bags tells the *sort* that is within. Owing to an accident, the list is not

quite alphabetical; but, this is of no importance.

No.

1. Asparagus.
2. Windsor Bean.
3. Long-pod Bean.
4. Early Masagan Bean.
5. Scarlet Running Kidney Bean.
6. White Running Kidney Bean.
7. Black Dwarf Kidney Bean.
8. Dun ditto
9. Speckled ditto.
10. Beet, blood Red.
11. White Brocoli.
12. Purple ditto.
13. Early York Cabbage.
14. Savoy.
15. Scotch Kale.
16. Carrot.
17. Cauliflower.
18. Celery.
19. Chervil.
20. Cress.
21. Endive.
22. Leek.
23. White Coss Lettuce.
24. Mustard.
25. Onion.
26. Parsnip.
27. Parsley.
28. Knight Pea.
29. Early Scarlet Radish.
30. White Turnip Radish.
31. Spinage.
32. Squash.
33. Garden Turnip.
34. Cucumber.
35. Green Cabbage Lettuce.
36. Green Coss Lettuce.
37. Cobbett Corn.
38. Early Dwarf Cabbage.
39. Early Battersea Cabbage.
40. Early-frame Pea.
41. Dwarf Marrowfat Pea.
42. Tall Marrowfat Pea.

N.B. I have no *Cis-Alpine Strawberry Seed*; but, packets of *fine plants*, at 2s. 6d. each packet; which will bear great crops this year. To be had at Bolt-court.

From the LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, MARCH 20.

BANKRUPTCIES ANNULLED.

WRIGHT, H., Old Broad-street, merchant.
LAYTON, J. W., Kew, Surrey, coal and corn-merchant.
BAKER, G., High Hill Ferry, Upper Clapton, dyer.

BANKRUPTS.

BOWERMAN, R., sen., and G. Bowerman, Ensham, Oxfordshire, carriers.
BOWMANEN, J., Oxford, chemist.
FARR, R., Doncaster, Yorkshire, hardwareman.
HUGHES, R. C., Leamington Priors, Warwickshire, hotel-proprietor.
MANWARING, G., sen., W. Manwaring, and G. Manwaring, jun., York-place, York-road, Lambeth, engineers.
MUSSON, B., Manchester, grocer.
NOBLE, W. A., and J. Edington, Globe-stair, Rotherhithe, engineers.
PETTIFER, H., Little Pulteney-street, cheesemonger.
PUGH, C., Newtown, Montgomeryshire, ironmonger.
TELFER, G., Phoenix Wharf, City Basin, Middlesex, coal-merchant.
WHITWORTH, J., Birmingham.

TUESDAY, MARCH 24.

BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

HANCOCK, C., Hillingdon, Uxbridge, brick-maker.
HEAVERS, H., Hadleigh, Suffolk, linen-draper.

BANKRUPTS.

ALLEN, W., Holt, Norfolk, grocer and London porter-dealer.
BAYLEY, J., Manchester, commission-agent.
BEVAN, C., Great Portland-street, Marylebone, glass and china-dealer.
HARBUTT, T., Tynemouth, Northumberland, common-brewer, wine and spirit-merchant.
KENNINGTON, T., Wrawby, Lincolnshire, horse-dealer.
OWEN, R., Carnarvon, draper.
THOMPSON, F. F., Sloane-street, Chelsea, wine-merchant.
VADLEY, T., Liverpool, merchant.
WILLIAMS, G., Union-court, Old Broad-street, and Palmer-terrace, Holloway, merchant and agent.
WILLIAMS, R., Trederwen, Montgomeryshire, nurseryman.
WILKES, W. and R., Shrewsbury, drapers and tailors.
ORK, T., Northampton, carver, gilder, and picture-frame-maker.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, March 23.

—We have had a very large arrival of Wheat and Flour since this day week, with a good supply of Barley, Malt, Oats, and other articles: the arrivals of Oats and other grain from Ireland continue moderate, owing to the weather and contrary winds.

The mealing trade was very heavy this morning, and Wheat 1s. per qr. lower than this day week.

Malting Barley 1s. per quarter cheaper than last Monday; the Barley trade was checked by some cargoes of Foreign being offered duty paid. Grinding Barley, Beans, and Peas, dull sale, and rather cheaper.

We experienced a steady sale for Oats, at last Monday's prices. Good heavy Irish Oats scarce, and inquired for; while heavy, dark-coloured Scotch Oats, being rather plentiful, hung on hand. Fresh, good-coloured English Oats, free sale.

In corn under lock nothing doing.

Wheat, English, White, new	42s. to 50s.
Old	48s. to 50s.
Red, new	38s. to 42s.
Old	38s. to 40s.
Lincolnshire, red	36s. to 41s.
White	42s. to 44s.
Yorkshire, red	36s. to 40s.
White	40s. to 42s.
Northumbrl. & Berwick	36s. to 39s.
Fine white	37s. to 41s.
Dundee & choice Scotch	40s. to 42s.
Irish red, good	35s. to 36s.
White	38s. to 40s.
Rye	30s. to 34s.
New	34s. to 36s.
Barley, English, grinding	24s. to 28s.
Distilling	28s. to 32s.
Malting	32s. to 35s.
Chevalier	38s. to 41s.
Malt	44s. to 54s.
Fine new	56s. to 64s.
Beans, Tick, new	34s. to 36s.
Old	38s. to 40s.
Harrow, new	36s. to 38s.
Old	40s. to 43s.
Peas, White, English	34s. to 36s.
Foreign	34s. to 36s.
Gray or Hog	34s. to 36s.
Maples	36s. to 38s.
Oats, Polands	22s. to 26s.
Lincolnshire, short small	23s. to 24s.
Lincolnshire, feed	21s. to 23s.
Yorkshire, feed	22s. to 23s.

Black	23s. to 25s.
Northumberland and Berwick Potato	25s. to 26s.
Ditto, Angus	24s. to 25s.
Banff and Aberdeen, com.	21s. to 25s.
Potato	25s. to 27s.
Irish Potato, new	22s. to 23s.
Feed, new light	19s. to 21s.
Black, new	21s. to 22s.
Foreign feed	22s. to 24s.
Danish and Pomerian, old	20s. to 21s.
Petersburgh, Riga, &c. ..	22s. to 23s.
Foreign, in bond, feed ..	12s. to 14s.
Brew	16s. to 18s.

SMITHFIELD, March 23.

This day's supply of Beasts was, for the time of year, rather limited; its supply of Sheep, Lambs, Calves, and Porkers, moderately good. The prime small Beef and Lamb sold somewhat briskly, at an advance of about 2d. per stone; but otherwise trade was dull at Friday's quotations, with, indeed, the exception of the best naked, or recently shorn Sheep, which formed a considerable proportion of the Mutton supply, not producing more than from 2s. 8d. to 3s. per stone.

About 1,800 of the beasts, fully two-thirds of which were Scots, the remainder about equal numbers of Homebreds, Devons, Shorthorns, and Welsh runts, with a very few Irish beasts, were chiefly (say about 1,400 of them) from Norfolk; the remainder from Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire: about 350, in about equal numbers of Shorthorns, Devons, Scots, Herefords, Welsh runts, and Irish beasts, from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and others of our northern districts: about 150, chiefly Devons, Herefords, and runts, with a few Irish beasts, from our midland and western districts: about 160, fully 100 of them Sussex beasts, the remainder in about equal numbers of Devons and runts, with a few Irish beasts, from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey; and most of the remainder, including about 30 Townsend cows, from the stall-feeders, &c., near London.

A full moiety of the Sheep were new Leicesters, in about equal numbers of the South-down and white-faced crosses, fully two-thirds of the latter being out of their wool: about a fourth Southdowns; and the remainder in about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, and Kentish half-breds; with about a dozen pens of horned and polled Norfolks, a few ditto of old Lincolns, horned Dorsets and Somerset, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

The Lambs, in number about 500, were for the most part Dorsets; the remainder chiefly new Leicesters, with a few Pens of West Sussex Southdowns?

Per stone of 8lbs. sinking offal.

	s.	d.	s.	d.	
Inferior Beef	2	6	to	2	2
Ditto Mutton	2	2	to	2	4
Midling Beef	2	6	to	2	10
Ditto Mutton	2	8	to	3	0
Prime Beef	3	6	to	4	0
Ditto Mutton	3	6	to	4	0
Veal	3	6	to	5	0
Pork	3	8	to	4	0
Lamb	5	4	to	6	2

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. } Fri. Sat. Mon. Tues. Wed. Thurs.						
Cons. Ann. }	92½	92½	92½	92½	92½	92½

COBBETT-LIBRARY.

Fourth Edition.

COBBETT'S Spelling-Book.

(Price 2s.)

Containing, besides all the usual matter of such a book, a clear and concise

INTRODUCTION TO ENGLISH GRAMMAR.

This I have written by way of

A Stepping-Stone to my own Grammar;

such a thing having been frequently suggested to me by Teachers as necessary.

1. ENGLISH GRAMMAR.—Of this work one hundred thousand copies have now been published. This is a duodecimo volume, and the price is 3s. bound in boards.

2. TULL'S HORSE-HOEING HUSBANDRY; or, a Treatise on the Principles of Tillage and Vegetation. With an Introduction, by Wm. Cobbett Esq. Price 15s.

3. THE EMIGRANTS GUIDE. Just now Published, under this Title, a little Volume, containing Ten Letters, addressed to English Emigrants. A new edition, with a Postscript, containing an account of the Prices of Houses and Land, recently obtained from America by Mr. Culbourn. Price 2s. 6d. in boards.

4. THE WOODLANDS; or, a Treatise on the preparing of the ground for planting; on the planting, on the cultivating, on the pruning, and on the cutting down, of Forest Trees and Underwoods. Price 15s. bound in boards.

5. YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA. Price of this book in good print and on fine paper, 4s.

6. FRENCH GRAMMAR; or, Plain Instructions for the Learning of French. Price, bound in boards, 5s.

7. COTTAGE ECONOMY.—I wrote this Work expressly for the use of the labouring and middling classes of the English nation. I made myself acquainted with the best and simplest modes of making beer and bread, and these I made it as plain as, I believe, words could make it. Also of the keeping of Cows, Pigs, Bees, and Poultry, matters which I understood as well as any body could, and in all their details. It includes my writings, also on the Straw Plait. A Duodecimo Volume. Price 2s. 6d.

8. MARTENS'S LAW OF NATIONS.—This is the Book which was the foundation of all the knowledge that I have ever possessed relative to public law. The Price is 17s., and the manner of its execution is I think, such as to make it fit for the Library of any Gentleman.

9. MR. JAMES PAUL COBBETT'S RIDE OF EIGHT HUNDRED MILES IN FRANCE. Second Edition. Price 2s. 6d.

10. A TREATISE ON COBBETT'S CROWN; containing Instructions for Propagating and Cultivating the Plant, and for Harvesting and Preserving the Crop; and also an account of the several uses to which the Produce is applied. Price 5s.

11. LETTERS FROM FRANCE; containing Observations made in that Country during a Residence of Two Months in the South, and Three Months at Paris. By JOHN M. COBBETT. Price 4s. in boards.

12. SERMONS.—There are twelve of these, in one volume, on the following subjects: 1. Hypocrisy and Cruelty; 2. Drunkenness; 3. Bribery; 4. Oppression; 5. Unjust Judges; 6. The Scurrilous; 7. The Murderer; 8. The Gamester; 9. Public Robbery; 10. The Unnatural Mother; 11. The Sin of Forbidding Marriage; 12. On the Duties of Parsons, and on the Institution and Object of Tithes. Price 3s. 6d. bound in boards.

A Thirteenth Sermon, entitled "GOOD FRIDAY; or, The Murder of Jesus Christ by the Jews." Price 6d.

13. PROTESTANT "REFORMATION" in England and Ireland, showing how that event has impoverished and degraded the main body of the people in those countries. Two volumes, bound in boards. The Price of the first volume is 4s. 6d. The Price of the second volume 3s. 6d.

END OF VOLUME LXVIIII

Printed by William Cobbett, St. Andrew's Street; and published by him at 15, Pall-mall, London.

